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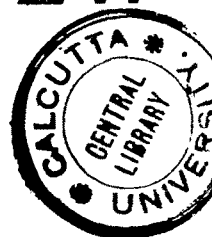


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## NOTES

### Kerala✓

Kerala is the burning question of the day. That the agitation is a mass upsurge of the people of that small State cannot now be denied even by the Communists, however much they use dialectics in the attempt to confuse issues.

Kerala is the smallest of the 14 States in the Indian Union, with an area of 14,937 sq. miles and a population of about 14 millions. And in this small State more than 75,000 people have courted arrest—and are still doing so—despite police opening fire on four occasions, killing 16 people including a woman and wounding over a hundred. Lathi charges are the order of the day, taking place all over the country, to disperse picketers and processionists and men, women and children, young and old, are taking part in the movement. Fifty thousand special police have been <sup>ordered</sup> ~~used~~, we are told, all Communist party rankers, and the government has been trying to enforce law and order therewith, as yet without any degree of success.

The question is whether it is a mass conspiracy to overthrow a government established, according to democratic procedure, by the majority party in the legislature—however minute that be—by the combined opposition, or whether it is a mass demonstration of a democratic minority, which constitutes about 45 per cent of the population, against the attempt to destroy the inherent rights of the people through thinly-veiled totalitarian

enactments, as in the Education Act and the Land policy.

The Party in power and the Communist party in India say that these are large-scale disturbances and it is a conspiracy. Indeed, the C.P.I. has gone further and said that if the Centre intervenes then it would create disturbances along the same lines all over the country. This the Government of India, if it has any guts, should take as a challenge and prepare accordingly. For, if it falters at such a puerile threat then it would be putting all disruptive activities at a premium.

The combined opposition has submitted a charge-sheet to the President, to justify the movement which they claim is a mass upsurge of the democratic section of the peoples of Kerala, who are fighting, by peaceful methods, the evil forces of Communism.

We are in the dark about the contents of the charge-sheet, which is due to be made public soon. And until then no comments are possible beyond saying that a long-term and large-scale enquiry is clearly called for. It is futile to look to the Constitution, which is as faulty and incomplete as possible. The framers of the Constitution were people learned in law but ignorant in the extreme about the exigencies of democracy. The law-breaker has all the advantages of committing all the crimes imaginable and yet reaping the benefits of the Constitution, which is like the Procrustean bed, only it is the law-abiding citizen who has his head chopped off because he does not fit the bed.



### Co-operative Movement in India

The co-operative movement in India although started more than fifty years ago, was almost in a state of decadence before independence. Since the attainment of independence all-out efforts are being directed towards reorganising and developing the movement. The progress of the co-operative movement since independence has become steady, although still much remains to be done and achieved in this respect. The total number of co-operative societies which increased from an average of 159,185 for the five years ended June 1950 to 244,769 in 1956-57, further increased to 257,824 by the end of June 1958. The membership of primary societies also increased during the year 1957-58 from 19.37 million to 21.46 million. The working capital of the co-operative societies at the end of June 1958 amounted to Rs. 697 crores as against Rs. 568 crores during the preceding year. The average of the working capital stood at Rs. 189 crores for the five years from 1946 to 1950.

At the end of June 1958, the number of co-operative societies per one lakh of inhabitants was 64.69 as against 62.4 a year before, and the number of members of primary societies per one thousand inhabitants rose from 49.4 to 54. On the basis of a population of 397.37 million and on the assumption that an average family comprises five members, it is estimated by the Reserve Bank that about 107.5 million or nearly 27 per cent of the population are being served by co-operative societies as compared with 25 per cent during 1957. There has been a considerable fall in the number of societies that went into liquidation during 1958. The number of societies that went into liquidation in 1958 was 1,081, as against 2,258 during 1957. This indicates an improvement and stability in the position of the co-operative societies in the country.

The credit societies still form the bulk of the movement. They are of two types: societies engaged in short-term credit operations and those engaged in long-term credit operations. The short-term and

medium-term credits are provided by three classes of societies, namely, (a) primary credit societies—agricultural and non-agricultural, (b) Central co-operative banks and (c) State co-operative banks. The long-term credits are given by Central land mortgage banks and primary land mortgage banks. Agricultural credit societies form the base of the co-operative movement in India and they are the most important sector of the movement. At the end of June 1958, there were 166,543 agricultural credit societies and they constituted about 64.9 per cent of the total number of societies. They had a membership of 10.22 million.

A State-wise distribution of the movement shows that Uttar Pradesh has the largest number of agricultural credit societies with 44,060, Bombay following next with 18,345 societies and Madhya Pradesh is third with 16,750 societies. The non-agricultural credit societies, consisting of urban banks, employees' credit societies and other special types of credit societies also increased in number from 10,150 in 1957 to 10,430 during 1958. Their membership also increased from 3.24 million to 3.67 million. Their working capital stood at Rs. 102.53 crores in 1958, as against Rs. 100.41 crores in 1957.

The number of State co-operative banks declined from 23 to 21 owing to amalgamation of apex banks in some States. The owned funds of the State co-operative banks increased by 36 per cent and deposits by 18.4 per cent. At the end of June 1958, there were 15 central land mortgage banks with a paid-up capital of Rs. 2.26 crores. The assistance given to different types of co-operative societies by State Government by way of contribution to their share capital rose from Rs. 7.74 crores in 1957 to Rs. 16.49 crores in 1958.

### Foreign Investments in India

Underdeveloped countries have to depend greatly on the inflow of private foreign capital for industrial development. Before the second world war, Britain was the traditional supplier of industrial finance to such countries, particularly to

her dominions and colonies. During and immediately after the second world war, British economy having been totally shattered, the flow of development capital from Britain almost stopped. To reorganise the economies of the war-devastated countries of Europe, the Marshall Aid plan was devised and this was a form of financial aid from one State to another. This greatly helped these countries to reorganise their industries.

Now those countries have again undertaken to export capital to other areas which lack development finance. A UNO study—the International Flow of Private Capital, 1956-58—indicates the flow of private foreign capital to the underdeveloped regions of the world. Now the prospects for such capital appear to have improved and the backward countries are receiving private development finance, but the distribution is very uneven as the countries needing such capital most are not receiving to the needed extent. The study indicates that the most significant development of recent years is the emergence of western European countries as important suppliers of private capital. But while the countries of Asia and Africa need most the development finance, the inflow of private foreign capital to these areas has been very small. The countries in Latin America are favoured by private investors and private development finance is coming in large volume to these countries. Another significant development in this connection is the enactment of legislative measures in underdeveloped areas designed to attract the inflow of private capital.

The UNO study makes the observation that during the four years 1955-58, the total outflow of capital from the exporting countries (including the retained profits of foreign branches and subsidiaries) exceeded \$17 billion, the year 1957 recording a peak outflow of \$5.7 billion. This is more than three times the total outflow of nearly \$5 billion in the five years 1924-28. Notwithstanding the decline in the purchasing power of dollar since then, the outflow of private foreign capital after the second world war has considerably in-

creased. But during the period 1955-58, the outflow of foreign private capital to underdeveloped countries was on an average \$2 billion a year. Official long-term capital and grants are however pouring in larger volumes to these areas.

The report indicates that foreign direct investment in India has traditionally concentrated in plantation industry, trading and transport. In recent years, however, the investment in manufacturing industries, including petroleum, has increased much. In addition to direct investments by entrepreneurs and purchases of foreign bonds and shares by individuals or institutions, another source of foreign capital has developed and it is the bank finance. The commercial banks in overseas countries are making a significant contribution to the international flow of private capital by participating in loans raised by International Bank for Reconstruction and Development in developed money markets of the world. In recent years, the commercial banks have thus been providing much development finance to underdeveloped countries, apart from financing the current trade. These private banks have somewhat obviated the inability of low-income countries and their enterprises to float issues on international markets by participating in direct foreign investments and also by supplementing official loans. Such loans have raised the credit-worthiness of underdeveloped countries.

The Reserve Bank of India in its Monthly Bulletin of June 1959, has published a study on foreign investments in India during 1957 and 1958. Foreign business investments in the private sector represent all investments of a long-term nature by non-residents in business enterprises in India. Such business investments consist of the net foreign liabilities of branches of foreign incorporated countries functioning in India and foreign-held shares including proportionately free reserves and foreign-held debentures of Indian joint stock companies. The foreign liabilities of the banking institutions have been excluded by the Reserve Bank from

this study in view of their extremely short-term nature.

Foreign business investments in India in the private sector traditionally consist of investments by private foreign agencies. In recent years, however, a significant part of such investments is accounted for by borrowings by private companies in India from the IBRD and in 1957 such borrowings from the IBRD by private enterprises stood at Rs. 32 crores. Taking into account of capital repatriation, the net foreign investments in India during 1957 amounted to a record figure of Rs. 48.8 crores, as against a net inflow of Rs. 36.8 crores in 1956 and an annual average net inflow of Rs. 17.6 crores during 1954-55. The book value of the total foreign investments in India at the end of 1957 was Rs. 555.6 crores and these include the IBRD loans obtained during each of these periods. Excluding the IBRD loans, the net inflow of private foreign investments amounted to only Rs. 16.8 crores in 1957 as compared to Rs. 24.7 crores in 1956. This decline in the net private capital inflow from foreign countries during 1957 was the result of a reduction in re-invested profits and an increase in capital repatriation that year. The total profits accruing to non-residents in enterprises controlled by them amounted to Rs. 34.8 crores in 1957 as against Rs. 46.2 crores in 1956. The amount of profits retained in business in 1957 was Rs. 9.6 crores as against Rs. 19.4 crores in 1956. The total profits of foreign enterprises in India are influenced to a large extent by the movements in the profits of the tea industry which are liable to great changes in the demand for tea in overseas markets.

The industry-wise breakdown of the capital inflow in 1957 shows that the petroleum industry received Rs. 17.5 crores as against Rs. 12.3 crores in 1956. Iron and steel industry received Rs. 30.3 crores as against Rs. 9.1 crores in 1956. The manufacturing industries collectively, excluding the petroleum industry, received Rs. 36 crores as foreign capital in 1957. The foreign investments in Utilities and Transport during 1957 amounted to Rs. 3.1 crores

as against Rs. 6.4 crores in the preceding year. In the capital inflow of Rs. 36 crores in the manufacturing industries, there is included a loan amount of Rs. 29.9 crores from the IBRD to the iron and steel industry.

Of the total private foreign investments in India (excluding IBRD loans) the amount of direct investments at the end of 1957 stood at Rs. 446.1 crores and that of portfolio investment at Rs. 62.6 crores. The percentage of direct investments to total private investments comes to nearly 87. During the year 1957, the USA was the largest exporter of capital to India with Rs. 10.4 crores, followed next by the United Kingdom with a net investment of Rs. 7.1 crores. But in respect of outstanding investments, the U.K. still maintains the overwhelming lead. At the end of 1957, the total amount of British private business investments in India stood at Rs. 412.7 crores, whereas the aggregate amount of the U.S. investments amounted to Rs. 57.2 crores. Although there has been in recent years a steady increase in the inflow of business investments in India from the USA, such investments are mainly concentrated in the petroleum industry, and they account for about 90 per cent of the total inflow in 1957. The repatriation of British capital from older industries, like tea and managing agency and trading activities was mainly responsible for reducing the volume of net capital inflow from the U.K. In recent years the business investment capital from West Germany and Japan is also rising steadily.

The year 1958 provides mixed trends. There has not been much capital inflow in petroleum industry. The Reserve Bank estimates that there was a net inflow of private foreign capital of Rs. 10 crores during 1958 and this takes into account of both the petroleum and non-petroleum industries. The drawings on IBRD loans constituted the major component of foreign capital receipts of the private sector in India during 1957 and 1958. The IBRD loans amounted to Rs. 25.2 crores during 1958. Thus the total private foreign capital received by India during 1958 comes to

about Rs. 35 crores as against Rs. 48.8 crores during 1957.

In recent years owing to increased developmental expenditures, India's overall investment position shows a substantial reduction in her international creditor position since 1956. In 1955 India enjoyed a creditor position to the extent of Rs. 498 crores and in 1958 she was turned into an international debtor to the extent of Rs. 648 crores. These changes reflect primarily the changes in the official sector. The official sector enjoyed a creditor position to the extent of Rs. 970 crores at the end of 1955. But this sector became a debtor abroad to the extent of Rs. 60 crores at the end of 1958. The debtor position of the official sector is accounted for mainly by the fact that expenditures on the Plan is financed by loans obtained from abroad. The official sector also undertakes to finance the payments deficits to a considerable extent. The official borrowings abroad amounted to nearly Rs. 652 crores during the four years, 1955-58, while the official assets abroad nearly halved from Rs. 1171 crores at the end of 1955 to Rs. 592 crores at the end of 1958. The following table will indicate the position of official liabilities during the four years, 1955-58:

#### Official Liabilities, 1955-1958

(In crores of rupees)

|                    | 1955  | 1956  | 1957  | 1958  |
|--------------------|-------|-------|-------|-------|
| United Kingdom ..  | 33.6  | 33.8  | 26.0  | 49.7  |
| U.S.A. ..          | 91.9  | 115.3 | 232.2 | 306.3 |
| IMF/IBRD ..        | 26.6  | 26.9  | 132.5 | 161.9 |
| West Germany ..    | ..    | ..    | 0.6   | 20.4  |
| USSR ..            | ..    | 1.1   | 13.3  | 52.6  |
| Pakistan ..        | 38.5  | 38.6  | 38.5  | 36.1  |
| Other countries .. | 10.2  | 9.0   | 7.9   | 25.0  |
| Total ..           | 200.8 | 224.7 | 451.0 | 652.0 |

#### The State Trading Corporation

The second annual Report of the State Trading Corporation reveals that the turnover in commodities directly traded in

by the Corporation rose to Rs. 28.57 crores from about Rs. 10 crores in the previous year. The commodities in which the Corporation traded included among other things, mineral ores, heavy chemicals, fertilisers, non-ferrous metals, raw silk, jute bags, woollen textiles, shoes and handicrafts. The gross receipts of the Corporation aggregated Rs. 2.86 crores as against Rs. 35 lakhs in the preceding year. A dividend at the rate of Rs. 7 per cent on the paid-up share capital has been declared, as compared with 6 per cent in the preceding year.

Out of the net profits, the Corporation proposes to set up a Trade Development Fund for providing essential facilities in mining areas and pre-notional expenses in exploring new markets and developing preference for Indian industrial products abroad. A sum of Rs. 15 lakhs is being appropriated for this purpose. Another fund will be set up, known as the Price Fluctuation Fund, with a sum of Rs. 30 lakhs. This Fund will be directed against seasonal fluctuation in prices. A sum of Rs. 15 lakhs is added to the Insurance Fund to finance a scheme for self-insurance. During the year 1957-58, the Corporation made efforts to secure balanced trade with the East European countries and commenced link business. It also organised bulk exports of iron ore through a number of ports for the first time, such as, Cochin, Karwar, etc., and developed markets for Indian ores in European countries.

The year 1957-58 witnessed a world-wide depression in economic activity and this was initiated by the recession in the United States of America. As a result of this recession, there was a notable decline in the world trade. For the first time after the Second World War, the world trade experienced visible shrinkage and exports fell considerably. The demand for industrial raw materials in the industrially developed countries also declined and the capacity of the industrially backward countries to import consumer goods was greatly impaired. The countries of the ECAFE region suffered from the deterioration of their terms of trade. From the

base figure of 100 in 1953, the index declined to 69 at the end of the first quarter of 1958. The recession in industrial activity, the decline in purchasing power and the deterioration in the terms of trade placed serious handicaps on the country's efforts to increase our exports.

While the stringency in India's foreign exchange reserves compelled her to cut drastically the import trade, the need for expanding exports was all the more felt to pay for the imports of essential machinery and of industrial raw materials, and also for maintaining a stable price level. With this background of economic atmosphere at home and abroad, the Corporation's endeavours were directed towards sustaining traditional exports of India and at the same time it aimed at building up exports of handicrafts, etc., to new markets to pay for essential imports.

In its efforts to diversify foreign trade and to develop new markets, the Corporation provided service facilities for business contacts for private exporters with countries with controlled economies. The endeavour of the Corporation in this regard was to secure balanced trade with the East European countries. The Corporation provided special rupee payment arrangements and overdraft facilities to enable a smooth flow of Indian goods. These facilities helped Indian exports to expand in countries which agree to bilateral balancing and practise State trading. Unfavourable balances were persisting in India's trade with these countries. The special payments arrangements considerably reduced India's imbalance in trade with these countries of East Europe, namely, Czechoslovakia, Rumania, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, the German Democratic Republic, China and the Democratic Republic of Korea. Indian exporters and importers freely made use of these special payments arrangements. This development helped the Corporation to service imports required for public projects and for industrial units, and to promote overseas sales of Indian exportable surpluses.

The total value of contracts registered under these arrangements aggregate to Rs.

19.48 crores. Exports covered by those contracts included edible oils, spices, crushed bones, hides and skins, mica, tea, coffee and some light engineering goods. The Corporation also commenced link business, technically known as compensation transactions, for example, import of rice from North Vietnam was compensated by export of gunnies, sugar, hemp and cotton waste.

*Bulk Business in Mineral Ores:* The export of mineral ores from India constituted the main business of the Corporation. From July 1, 1957, the Corporation has been the sole exporter of iron ores. The export of minerals are done mainly on the basis of bulk contract. The advantages of bulk contracting and bulk handling are notable in the export of iron ore. Firm contracts were entered into for the export of 2.2 million tons of mineral ore and of this quantity, 1.9 million tons had already been exported. Bulk contracting enabled the Corporation to enlarge the volume of country's exports and also to stimulate production in new areas and to rationalise movements from the mining fields to the ports. The facilities in the major ports were fully utilised and for the first time exports of iron ore were organised through the port of Cochin and minor ports at Karwar, Mangalore and Belikars. Since then exports have also been made from Cuddalore and Paradip on the East Coast. Bulk handling at the ports made it possible for the Corporation to achieve economy in transportation and loading.

The Corporation has been able through bulk contracts to renovate the trading mechanism and to spread its purchases with a view to stimulating production in new areas. The beginning was made with mine-owners' co-operatives and associations of traders and the export of low-grade ores through minor ports was specially organised. The bulk handling made it possible to achieve notable economies in transportation and loading. The Regional Office in Madras was able to set up a record loading of 5,800 tons a day without the help of mechanical facilities at the quay side, a

record which was further raised to over 7,000 tons a day. The success of the Corporation in handling iron ore has induced the steel industry of Japan to turn to India as a dependable source of supply for their growing requirements. An agreement for the supply of a further 2 million tons from the Rourkela area, for a period of ten years, commencing from 1964, was concluded between the two countries in March 1958. The export of ores under this agreement will be handled by the Corporation. The market for Indian ores in European countries is also being developed and extended. Exports to Czechoslovakia, Poland, Yugoslavia and Hungary have been stepped up, while exports to Italy have been maintained.

In regard to the export of manganese ore, the Corporation could not achieve similar success as there was a steep fall in the world production of steel, and the emergence of new sources of supply nearer to consuming countries. The Corporation helped to preserve contacts with the old buyers by means of joint sales programmes with the principal producers of manganese ores. The total quantity marketed by the Corporation during the year under review was 4.41 lakh tons, out of a total export by India of 13.10 lakh tons.

The indiscriminate export of iron ore is being viewed with concern by a large section of people in this country as it will cause a depletion of the natural resources which are vitally needed for the future development of our own industries. Instead of exporting iron ore, India should export pig iron as that will help the development of our industries.

### Urban Housing

A peculiar feature of the process of urbanization in Asia is that there is a larger urban population than is justified by existing levels of agricultural and non-agricultural productivity. This rise in population has not been determined by the "pull" factors such as employment opportunities and expectations of higher incomes from industrial, commercial and service developments, but rather by "push" fac-

tors arising out of village poverty. Be that as it may, the rapid growth of urban population has created a great problem of housing in the cities—of which the problem of industrial housing is one aspect only.

In many advanced countries even governments are coming forward to assume an increasing responsibility for the provision of housing to middle and lower income levels, and to the working classes. In India, however, it is only after the end of the Second World War that the Government began to show some interest in the solution of the problem of housing. However that interest generally has not gone beyond the grant of house-building loans to different categories of citizens and it is only in the field of industrial housing (and lately in that of *bustee* re-housing) that the Government of India has accepted the principle of granting subsidies also. The Subsidised Industrial Housing Scheme which was begun in 1952 envisaged the grant of both loans and subsidies by the Central Government to State Governments, statutory housing boards, industrial employers, and registered co-operative societies of industrial workers, for the construction of houses of industrial workers governed by the Factories Act, 1948. Up to the end of 1958 a total sum of Rs. 31.64 crores was sanctioned as loans (Rs. 16.24 crores) and subsidies (Rs. 15.40 crores) under the scheme for the construction of 105,000 units. The progress of actual construction was however extremely slow and it was not possible to complete the construction of more than 78,500 units by that time.

The Government of India has now come to the conclusion that the reluctance of the employers to take advantage of the financial assistance offered by it has been one of the most important factors retarding the progress of industrial housing. This news will certainly be received with great disappointment and regret throughout the country. To provide housing for the workers is considered to be a normal function of their business by employers in other countries. In India on the other hand the recognition of this responsibility on the part of the employers has been extremely tardy; and it appears as if they are not going to accept it even with liberal assistance

from the Government. Nothing could be more unfortunate and it is to be hoped that employers would soon come to see the reasonableness of the Government's proposal and would sincerely try to implement it as expeditiously as possible.

The construction of industrial housing would not be a complete or even a major solution of the problem of urban housing unless it is matched by the construction of middle-class housing. The Government is yet to recognize the principle of subsidizing middle-class housing. It would not be proper again to suggest that the employers' failure alone has produced the delay in the construction of industrial housing. The Central Government, and the State Governments to a lesser degree, must also share the responsibility. In several places construction, even by Government Departments, has been held up owing to red-tape and lack of flexibility in Central Administration.

### Official Secrecy

Democracy is irreconcilable with an excessive insistence on secrecy on the part of the administration. In a way democracy may even be defined with reference to the degree of publicity of official work. Responsible representative government involves an obligation upon the part of the administration to keep the people and Parliament informed, from time to time, of the state of affairs of the nation in as full a measure as is not incompatible with the maintenance of national efficiency, security and integrity. The difficulty, however, begins with a definition of what is not incompatible with the maintenance of national efficiency and integrity. The officialdom, everywhere and at all times, has a natural tendency towards secretiveness and the general reluctance of individuals to part with unpalatable information about themselves is magnified many times more in their case.

Constitutionalism is inseparable from the growth of the publicity of official work. The range of what can be kept secret has been more narrowly circumscribed with the growth of constitutionalism. But this trend has not kept an even pace in all countries or even among different departments of the government, of the same country. The most democratic countries,

even, do not allow the citizens to have a look at their foreign records. The situation in this country however is most unfortunate. So far as security requirements are concerned there is perhaps nothing much to lose from publicity in so far as nothing of much value is unknown to the foreign powers. Most of our industrial and defence installations have been set up and equipped by foreigners who know everything about their actual and potential capacities. The Indo-American Technical Co-operation Agreement requires the Government of India to keep the Government of the U.S.A. informed of aids received by the Government of India from other sources. Yet Indians themselves are denied even preliminary information about many of the important State undertakings so much so that it has also attracted the wonder of foreign observers.

A concomitant of this secretive conduct is the excessive security-consciousness exhibited by the Government, where a V.I.P. is concerned.

### Ever-Elusive Rehabilitation

Even in the twelfth year of freedom the rehabilitation of several thousands of refugee families remains as distant as ever. Such a situation should appear discomfiting to any government—much more so to a professedly democratic government. Not so in India, however, where vested interests, on both sides, seem to have been created in deferring the rehabilitation of the refugees for as long a period as possible, the government showing a remarkable unconcern for the problem. Symptomatic of this general indifference of the authorities to the miserable plight of these wretched families was the holding of the rehabilitation conference of high officials in cool Srinagar which was neither near the venue where the unsettled refugees are expected to be rehabilitated nor near that where the refugees have to stay at present. The recent storm havoc in West Bengal has rendered hundreds of refugee families homeless; the work of development in Dandakaranya is being held up due to administrative difficulties. These apparently did not trouble the Minister; for otherwise he would certainly have liked all his officials to have a first-hand experience of conditions in those



places. The attraction of the cool heights of Srinagar apparently proved stronger than the call of distress of the refugees.

The work on the Dandakaranya project provides a fresh demonstration of the utter short-sightedness of the policy-makers. The whole scheme seems to be on the verge of a collapse. The rate of reclamation of land has been extremely unsatisfactory and the outlook for the future is gloomier still—because the Madhya Pradesh Government seems no longer willing to allow its reserve forest land to be reclaimed by the Dandakaranya Development Authority for the rehabilitation of refugees. The State Government has suggested the use of nistari forest land which had been acquired from the private landlords. As the nistari lands do not lie in a contiguous area the Dandakaranya scheme will be bereft of its most publicised superiority of offering a compact area for rehabilitation. Moreover, the reclamation of these dispersed nistari lands would be faced with the difficulty of having to dislodge the tribals from the areas where they have a traditional right of collecting wood for fuel and other privileges.

Out of about 35,000 families to be rehabilitated in Dandakaranya only 201 families have so far been moved to the area. This pitiable record owes nothing to these groups of refugees who have shown a remarkable willingness to work hard and efficiently. If this willingness is not greatly effective it is due principally to the sapping of their energy through long years of camp life. Many of the refugees weigh less than 100 pounds and over three-fourths of these have been found to lack normal physical fitness.

### Politics in Punjab

Punjab is one of the problem States of India. The internal strife within the ruling party recently came to the fore over the Chief Minister's order for an enquiry against Sardar Gian Singh Rarewala who has been relieved of the Irrigation portfolio. The enquiry is about the purchase of a tubewell belonging to Sardar Rarewala by the Irrigation department at an allegedly inflated rate. Sardar Rarewala's demand for a judicial enquiry has been turned

down by Sardar Pratap Singh Karon, the Chief Minister.

Referring to this controversy the *Hitavada* writes:

"It will be readily conceded that the nature of the allegations is serious, though the amount involved is small. The dispute between Mr. Rarewala and Sardar Pratap Singh centres not round the need for a probe but the nature of the proposed probe and the circumstances preceding the change in portfolio. Mr. Rarewala has complained that the change was preceded by secret enquiries against him by the Chief Minister through his own anti-Corruption Department and intimidation of his relatives by the Police. Such a secret enquiry against a Minister is unheard of, says Mr. Rarewala. Perhaps he is not aware that when the first Congress Ministry was set up in old Madhya Pradesh, Dr. Khare was accused of having made secret enquiries against one of his colleagues over a deal concerning a manganese dump. Mr. Rarewala may or may not be justified in holding that the Chief Minister's action is aimed at undermining his (Rarewala's) position and is therefore prompted by a political motive; but he is on firm ground in asserting that if the Chief Minister thought that "I had forfeited his confidence, he should have demanded my resignation." There is some force also in his demand that a departmental probe is not the way to deal with a case of this nature and that the matter should be decided after an enquiry either by a Chief Engineer from outside the State, or a Judge or by the Congress High Command. There will be general support to his demand that the probe should be conducted by a person whose impartiality cannot be impeached and the best way to ensure impartiality would be to secure the services of a Judge. It is, however, doubtful if any High Court Judge would consent to hold an enquiry in the light of the developments in the Mundra-LIC deal, the Bose Board's Report, the UPSC findings and the remarks of Mr. Nehru regarding the merit of the Bose Board's findings. A Judge, if at all he agrees to serve as the inquiring authority would insist on a previous assurance that his finding, whatever it may be, will be unquestioningly accepted by the State Government.



ment as well as by Mr. Rarewala. Latest reports show that the Chief Minister has himself started the probe, which apparently shows that he wants to forestall the issues, before they attract the attention of the A.-I.C.C. The Congress High Command is at present engaged in solving big issues like Kerala and the West Bengal food problem and it is just likely that the constitutional issues involved in the dispute between the Punjab Chief Minister and Mr. Rarewala may not receive the attention they deserve. It has been even alleged that the Chief Minister has wrongly stated that the Irrigation Minister agreed that pending the departmental enquiry, he should surrender charge of the Irrigation portfolio. It may be that the rivalry between the old PEPSU and Punjab Congressmen still persists, but the issues raised by Mr. Rarewala are such as to make it necessary in the interests of setting up healthy constitutional precedents, that the Congress High Command should not overlook them.

### Free Trips

The Orissa Council for Child Welfare has, in co-operation with the Central Social Welfare Board and the Indian Council for Child Welfare, drawn up a scheme under which school children aged between 12 and 16 years will be able to spend two to three weeks in a holiday resort without any financial burden to their parents. Only children belonging to families with an annual income of less than Rs. 2,400 will be entitled to enjoy the benefits offered under the scheme. Although Oriya parents with small means will heartily welcome the scheme, its implementation to the universal satisfaction of the guardians and students will not be easy. Apart from the questions of the basis of selection and the number selected every year its implementation will be seriously limited by the extreme dearth of suitable accommodation in places where their sojourn may, in addition to being pleasant, also prove somewhat instructive to the students.

### India and Ceylon

History geography, economics and culture tend to make Indo-Ceylonese co-operation

almost inevitable. Both the countries have been deeply influenced by the spirit of Buddhism and in recent times both have shared the humiliation of foreign domination followed by the joy of national liberation. Independence for both posed almost identical problems of providing economic content to political freedom and they have found much benefit in mutual economic co-operation through Colombo Plan and other economic efforts.

The Indian President's visit to Ceylon has gone a long way in cementing Indo-Ceylonese friendship. The President was accorded the most rousing reception by the people and the Government of Ceylon. Despite heavy rains thousands of people came to greet him on his arrival at the Ratnamala airport in Colombo on June 16. This was an unmistakable indication of the Ceylonese people's goodwill towards India and her leaders. Quite understandably, both the President and the Ceylonese leaders reiterated in their speeches the age-long bond of friendship and good neighbourliness between the two countries. As Dr. Rajendra Prasad remarked, these feelings were rooted in the ancient and medieval history of the two countries and were being further strengthened by the common experience and the common era of national freedom.

Inaugurating the Vidyalandara University of Kelaniya, eight miles from Colombo, Dr. Rajendra Prasad stressed the need for the exchange of scholars between the two countries. Although India provided excellent opportunities for Buddhist studies in India, there can be little doubt that Indian students can gain much from cultivating greater contact with the universities and educational institutions of Ceylon. Similarly, India also can offer the Ceylonese students opportunities for studies in several branches of learning which are not easily available within Ceylon.

The President uttered a timely warning against what he described as the growth of narrow nationalism among the re-awakened nations of Asia and Africa. The people of Asia and Africa, constituted such a large proportion of humanity that unless they took the road of tolerance and mutual respect for each other's way of life—in other words, if they adopted

nationalism in the narrow sense, if they became fanatical, followed the nationalism of their own country and forgot their duty to the world and humanity, the President said, they could become the greatest curse to the world. This warning applied to all countries of the Afro-Asian region and its validity was beyond question. Following this principle Dr. Rajendra Prasad gave the only wise counsel to the people of Indian origin residing in Ceylon. "My request to you, or if you like, as the President of the Republic of India, my order to you," he told them, "is to do your best to the country in which you live, not only for your own sake, but for the sake of your motherland also." If this principle is observed in practice by racial minorities in the Asian and African countries and if the governments of the countries within which the racial minorities live come forward in all sincerity to help the process of assimilation, much of the present tension in *intra*-Asian and Asian-African relations will disappear.

### Government and Handlooms ✓

The Government of India has decided to reduce the special rebate hitherto allowed on handloom cloth sales. Expressing anxiety at this new policy the *Hindu* writes that the new policy may adversely hit the weavers in the Southern States of India.

The newspaper writes: "Mr. Lal Bahadur Shastri seems to believe that at some stage, this cottage industry should be able to stand on its own feet and the time is now propitious to make a beginning. He does not mind taking 'some risk' in the matter, because the industry has reached a stage of prosperity, warranting the taking of such a risk. The handloom weavers in the South have led a crisis-to-crisis existence for a long time and if they were able to survive the competition of the mills and a variety of adverse factors, it was because of the organised help afforded by the State in recent years through the All-India Handloom Board. When huge accumulations of unsold handloom cloth threatened to throw hundreds of thousands of weavers out of employment last year, it was an extra rebate that helped move the stocks and avert a serious crisis.

No exception can normally be taken to the wholesome principle that any industry worth the name owes it to itself to be self-supporting. But if it has been considered sound policy to subsidise the handloom industry to enable it to just survive, it was never on the grounds of its being the most efficient producer of cloth, but because of its immense employment potential. Nearly three million looms in the country provide gainful employment directly to over eight million weavers and other allied industries, deriving their existence from the handloom, are estimated to provide for another fifteen million. Even in advanced countries, the principle of subsidy for certain sectors of the economy, in the interest of maintaining employment, has always been followed.

### Backward Classes ✓

The scheduled castes and tribes, who constitute the core of backward classes in this country, constitute between themselves nearly one-fifth of the total population of India. They have been subjected to exploitation and servitude for generations and have even now to live under appalling conditions of poverty, illiteracy, unemployment and underemployment, and antiquated social customs and practices. The framers of the Constitution, while abolishing the harmful formula of communal representation, wisely provided for reservation of seats for the representatives of scheduled castes and tribes in Parliament and State legislatures for a limited period of ten years from the commencement of the Constitution in 1950. The Constitution similarly provided, though in a less rigid form, for the recognition of the right of the backward classes to special consideration during recruitment of officers to various grades of public service. The underlying hope was that during this period there would be sufficient improvement in the social, economic and political status of these people which would largely obviate the need for reservation.

The years of freedom have however signally failed to bring about any marked change in the psychology of the people as very little has been done to create a sense of urgency in their mind for purposeful action in rebuilding

India. The situation is all the more disappointing in regard to the condition of the Backward Classes to whom the ideals propounded in the Constitution and the Planning Commission have largely remained a distant dream. The Backward Classes Commission in its report submitted about four years ago referred to the "painful experience of finding among the masses a feeling of restlessness, discontent, apathy, a sense of resignation or resentment at their low social level" and discovered that, apart from the policies of the Governments—Central and State—"the administrative machinery through which their policies are implemented has not been sufficiently reformed and geared up to zestful action."

The Report of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Tribes for the year 1957-58 which was placed before Parliament during the Budget Session virtually reiterates these criticisms. The total allocation of Rs. 91 crores for the welfare of 7,12,62,673 people in five years works out to no more than Rs. 3 per head per year. Obviously no revolutionary transformation can be expected to be achieved with such a meagre investment. It becomes a matter of the utmost concern therefore when it is found that the administrative machinery cannot utilize even this small sum. During the first two years of the period of the Second Five-Year Plan a sum of only Rs. 19.36 crores could be utilised by the State Governments both on State and Centrally-sponsored schemes against the proportionate Plan allocation of Rs. 36.4 crores during that period. The administrative departments have complained of a lack of suitable scheduled caste candidates for various posts while nine hundred graduates and eleven thousand matriculates belonging to the scheduled castes and tribes had registered themselves as unemployed with the employment exchanges.

Under such circumstances it does not require much intelligence to see that the objectives of the farmers of the Constitution have not been realized by the time they hoped it would be possible to do so. The period of the reservation of seats in Parliaments and legislatures is to expire in about seven months' time—though the position would not be materially affected until 1962—unless a general election is

decided to be held between 1960 and 1962 which is not a likely probability. An extension of the period of such reservation would thus seem to be an inescapable decision if the ideals of democracy and socialism are not to be rejected as invalid. A caution however is necessary so that a new vested interest is not created in backwardness as has been complained of in certain quarters. The suggestion for an extension of the reservation with a provision for phased withdrawal of the concession leading to its discontinuation at the end of the next decade thus merits especial consideration.

### Prospects for Pakistan ✓

Several decisions of far-reaching importance to the future of Pakistan were adopted in the high-level conference, held in the middle of June at Nathiagali in Western Pakistan, which was attended by the President, General Mohammad Ayub Khan, his Cabinet Ministers (with the exception of those who were abroad), the two Governors of the two wings of Pakistan and high-ranking army and civilian officers. Notable decisions arrived at in that conference included the announcement of a four-tier structure of "basic democracy," and those relating to the shifting of the Federal capital from Karachi to a new site at Potwar plateau, about seven miles from Rawalpindi along Murree Road, the setting-up of an auxiliary capital in East Pakistan and the establishment of a steel plant in Western Pakistan.

The four-tier structure of basic democracy will consist of union panchayats, the teshil or thana council, the District Council and the Divisional Council. The union panchayats will consist of ten elected members on the basis of one representative for every 1,000 to 1,500 people and five nominated members representing special interests like women, agricultural labourers and experts. The members will elect a Chairman from amongst themselves. The panchayats will perform administrative, judicial and police functions and will also be responsible for development and national reconstruction work;

They may even be entrusted with the supervision for the collection of Government dues. The Council at the other three tiers will have equal number of officials and non-officials. This parity is designed to promote a greater understanding of each other's problems by the officials and non-officials and to bring about greater co-operation between them in the common goal of achieving the spiritual and material welfare of the people.

Elections to Union Panchayats will be held on the basis of adult franchise under the auspices of an independent Election Commission. The official communique issued at the end of the conference significantly added: "In case the new constitution provides for indirect elections to the Parliament or to the office of the President, the Union Panchayats might well form the electoral college for such elections. In that case, only the elected members of the Union Panchayat, and not the nominated members, will vote." It is hoped that it would be possible to complete the elections to Panchayats by next October.

The acceptance of the principle of adult franchise for panchayat elections is certainly a welcome decision but in the absence of the political parties, which still remain illegal and are proposed to be kept so for a considerable period to come, it would not be easy for the people to understand the various issues involved when they are asked to vote. The Government's move to punish dishonest politicians and corrupt officials has failed to arouse public enthusiasm to the extent that it has failed to extend honourable treatment to the honest public leaders most of whom are still rotting in jails. The relative numerical preponderance of officials in the councils at various tiers has also naturally evoked much criticism—especially as not infrequently highly-placed officials were found to have involved themselves deeply in politics.

According to Mr. Zakir Hossain, Governor of East Pakistan, the Constitution of Pakistan would envisage the greatest possible degree of decentralization and except for defence, currency and internal affairs which will be the exclusive domain of the Central Government, in all other matters

the agencies of the Provincial and the Central Government will work under the same authority. The Constitutional Commission will be appointed sometime this year; its report will not be available until about the end of the next year at the earliest. Meanwhile the country will continue to be ruled under the present system where virtually nobody has any right to utter a word of criticism against the persons in authority in public.

### Africa in Turmoil ✓

We append below a letter from Mr. Mboya, which appeared in the *New York Times* of June 28:

(Mr. Mboya of Kenya is chairman of the All-African People's Conference.)

Having visited the United States in 1956, I was much impressed with the increase in knowledge about Africa. The questions I was asked were based more on interested understanding than on detached curiosity. Four questions in particular which seemed to trouble Americans came up at almost every meeting. I should like to answer them here.

(1) Are Africans ready for self-government?

I was often reminded of the lack of adequate numbers of educated persons to run the new governments which we in Africa have been demanding. I was told that the high illiteracy rate in many dependent territories would make it impossible for Africans to operate a democracy successfully.

While conceding that Africa has a long way to go toward creating a generally literate community, I answered that this was a common argument used by colonial powers in defense of their continued rule. Often my questioners assumed that the colonial powers were primarily concerned with the education of our people, and that there were deliberate training programs looking toward the day of independence.

In fact, however, colonial systems give priority to—and indeed are based upon—such activities as permit or promote the human and material exploitation of the people and territories concerned. Effort is concentrated on extractive industries

and quick profits. In every case, investment in education, public health and other social development programs lags behind.

Ghana's recent history clearly illustrates what I mean. When the all-African Cabinet took over the Government, about 20 per cent of the country's children were in school. In five years, this Government has raised the figure to 85 per cent and continues to open a new school every other day. There has been nothing to equal this in eighty years of colonial rule.

This, then, is my answer to those who ask to wait until we are prepared by the colonial powers for self-government. While we are appreciative of the benefits we have derived from our contacts with Europe and other parts of the world—especially in the post-war period—we are convinced that, if we are to develop rapidly and effectively, as indeed we must if we are to meet the technological and scientific challenges of the twentieth century, we must not only have an effective voice in the government of our countries, but become master of our own fate. To suggest that this would lead to an overnight reversion to barbarity shows an utter disregard for history and the fact that Africa, despite her many temporary handicaps, lives in the twentieth century, receptive to all the influences of the attitudes and developments of the present.

The question is not whether African freedom will come, but how and when. Even in areas where there is white settlement it must come, and it is futile to think otherwise. In this context, all one can say about South Africa is that her prospects look blacker each year.

(2) Is the African independence movement democratic?

African nations, like all others, enjoy the right to experiment, and above all the right to make mistakes. It is true that a lot depends on the personality of the leadership, especially during the early days of independence. There does not seem to be, however, any alternative to this period of youth and adventure.

Some non-Africans are concerned about the development of opposition parties and others about the forms that

governmental institutions will take. Many people seem to expect that Africa must keep what she inherits from her former colonial masters. Africa cannot, however, for very obvious reasons, adopt a blueprint of European or American institutions. Her governmental institutions must recognize Africa's cultural and social background and must move away from the forms used by the colonial powers—fitted for indirect rule—to a representative system.

It is unrealistic to expect effective opposition parties in the early days of independence, when the momentum and personality of the liberation movement is still strong and popular, and when genuine differences are usually lacking. To suggest that the popular leaders who combine during the struggle for liberation should break up and form different parties because the book so requires is not only reckless but is to ignore the urgent problems that a new state faces.

(3) Does the policy of non-alignment adopted by Africans mean that they are falling victim to Communist propaganda?

In so far as the African struggle is one against colonial rule, and since all leaders have publicly committed themselves to freedom and universal suffrage, Africa is essentially committed to the democratic tradition. In this common identity the free world has a position of advantage over the Communists.

But, although African leaders do not take a neutral position in their choice of democracy and freedom, I doubt whether this is the position the West truly represents in the eyes of the uncommitted world today. Inconsistencies between standards preached and actual practices based on expediency, and the priority given alliances over the basic human rights of peoples in Africa, Asia and the Middle East have contributed to a loss of faith and confidence.

The West has friendly embraces for the Union of South Africa, despite her racist policies and denial of human rights to 11,000,000 non-white people. Why, our people ask, doesn't the West put South Africa in the same category with the Soviet Union? Why is Portugal's use of slave

labor not classified with the Siberian slave labor camps? France uses NATO arms supplied by the United States against Algerians. The British shoot more than fifty unarmed demonstrators in Nyasaland and their agents beat to death eleven Kenyans in the Hola detention camp. The free world raises not a finger. Contrast this with the reaction to Hungary and Tibet! The Africans wonder why double standards are used where human rights are involved, and naturally suspect the motives of some of the nations in the free world.

(4) What is the future of the white settlers in Africa?

The fear of possible victimization of immigrant groups or of anti-white racism on the part of Africans is often expressed. On the contrary, experience in the independent states so far has shown a deliberate policy of assuring foreign investors of their safety.

The problem really is one for the immigrants themselves. They have come to regard as a right the position of privilege and domination they have always enjoyed.

When Europeans emigrate to America they are content to be called Americans; equally they are content to be called Canadians when they go to Canada. They insist on democratic equality there. But in Africa, they are ashamed to be called African. How then can we solve this problem for them?

In conclusion, one thing that I must emphasize is that no country can afford to ignore the emergence of new nations in Africa. Each year new states will be born, and with these changes must be established new relationships. Above all, it must be recognized that emergent Africa must not only claim but assert her right to interpret and speak for herself.

#### **Administrative and Ethical Standards**

We reproduce below from the *Hitavada* a report of a speech by an Elder Statesman of the highest calibre. We merely add that we agree:

At Madras, on July 11, Mr. C. D. Deshmukh, Chairman of the University Grants Commission, called for a "comprehensive review by a High Level Commission of the law and order situation in the country."

Delivering the second and last of the V. S. Srinivasa Sastri Endowment Lectures in the Madras University in the evening, Mr. Deshmukh said that to a certain extent there appeared to be a vague awareness on the part of publicmen charged with the governance of the country at the highest level that there were many features of the law and order situation which gave cause for anxiety.

Posing the question, "Have the citizens of India given a good account of themselves as free citizens of no mean country?", the former Union Finance Minister surveyed the present situation in the country in all its aspects and deplored the fall in both administration and ethical standards.

In Mr. Deshmukh's view, it behoved the public authorities to go a little more deeply into this problem in order to find out if there were many predisposing causes which aggravated the situation or made it more of a threat for the sound operation of their infant democracy.

It was now recognised, albeit somewhat grudgingly that the Administrative machinery at all levels from Ministerial downwards, was 'erratic and inadequate' both in the conduct of day-to-day affairs and in the implementation of planned development, Mr. Deshmukh said.

He added: Uneasy public heard of nepotism (still very common), highhandedness, gerrymandering, feathering of nests through progeny, and a dozen other 'sins of commission and omission and yet was helpless for lack of precise data, facts and evidence. It was in order to deal with such a situation that a high level impartial standing judicial tribunal was called for, to investigate and report on complaints or laying of information. 'If such a commission is established, I shall be happy to make a beginning by lodging half a dozen informations myself.'

Among the 'major weaknesses' in Indian polity mentioned by Mr. Deshmukh in his lecture were: (1) Insufficient realisation of the fact that Indian masses lack the extent of education that is commonly prevalent in the more advanced countries; (2) Nomination by political parties of candidates on communal or sectional grounds and (3) Singular tolerance of multiple standards of behaviour and ethics.

Mr. Deshmukh analysed the various forms of democracy in the world and said the essential conflict between individual selfishness and the community's greatest good always remained and every system of governance that might be devised was a sort of unstable equilibrium. In this context he referred to the 'trusteeship theory' currently advocated by 'a new political party' and said that the community could never be well served by a substantially large number of men of wealth and property preaching and professing to practise the doctrine of trusteeship.

'The only kind of trusteeship that is likely to succeed', said Mr. Deshmukh, 'is the trusteeship of natural endowment and talents, matured by education and culture and placed disinterestedly at the service of fellow beings' (who however ignorant and unlettered they may be are shrewd enough to suspect, detect and resent ulterior motives).

Mr. Deshmukh emphasised the "supreme importance" of having Ministers of the right mental and moral calibre. He said that there seemed to prevail a "pathetic belief" that officials must make up for the failings of both ruler and the ruled, i.e., the people and their chosen public servants, viz., the Ministers. This was an empty utopian dream. Every official failure could be traced to a Minister's incompetence, he said.

If men of right mental and moral calibre for holding the post of Ministers were not available in adequate numbers in a ruling party, the obvious remedy was to reduce the number of Ministries and Ministers. If even that was not possible, the reins of Government should be handed over to a Cabinet of all talents drawn from all the important parties as well as the non-party public on the basis of an agreement to implement a national programme such as the series of Five-Year Plans, the former Finance Minister said.

Mr. Deshmukh said that the present situation in India could be justly described as one of 'Dharma-Glani' (the languishing of the moral law). "Then according to the *Bhagved Gita*, things have to be very

much worse before they become better. Without irreverence, he said, he wished to doubt the present in an ultra-pessimistic light. He believed that with their spiritual heritage it would be possible for them to check the languishing of the moral order. The lead in such an endeavour must be taken by the truly educated and enlightened and the discriminating amongst society must join their forces in order to ensure that political power was wielded, not by the ill-educated or the self-seeker, but by the dedicated, cultured and intellectual."

### Kerala

*The Statesman* of July 10 reports the Kerala situation as follows:

Trivandrum, July 9.—The Kerala Government said in a Press Note tonight that it would put down the picketing of buses and schools "with a strong hand." The Government said it was taking "strong measures" to protect schools and transport buses as it could not allow the lives of citizens to be placed at the mercy of a few hooligans.

Trivandrum, July 9.—Firebrand Revolutionary Socialist Party volunteers today attempted forced entry into the Collector's office here. As they tried to break the police cordon at the office gate, they were resisted. The volunteers laid themselves on the ground. They formed a human chain by locking their hands and legs together, tightly, clasping each other. The police with great difficulty removed the volunteers one by one. Seventeen volunteers were taken into custody.

The PSP today began mass picketing of public offices in Travandrum District as part of the "liberation struggle."

Usual picketing of the Collector's office by the Congress, PSP, and Muslim League volunteers continued.

Trivandrum, July 9.—The Opposition leader, Mr. P. T. Chacko, tonight said that reports received by him from various quarters showed that the Communists had started street fighting in pockets where they were strong.

He said in a statement that four people

had been murdered at Kallada village, in Quilon district. The police, he said, had recovered three bodies.

He alleged that the police were not giving any protection to the people of Kallada, who were "falling victims to these atrocities."

He also said that in another place, Allappally, in Alleppey district, 14 persons were stabbed yesterday and two of them had succumbed to their injuries.

At Nedumangad, in Trivandrum district, one person was stabbed today and he was in a serious condition.

Trivandrum, July 9.—One person was killed and several were injured in a clash between two groups of people at Mallappally in Alleppey district last night. It is stated that trouble started when a landlord questioned some people about missing coconuts from trees in his compound. One of the landlord's men was killed and a Catholic priest attracted to the scene received a stab wound.

P.T.I., quoting an official source, says, the deceased was Mr. Perumal, whom the Congress claim was one of their members.

Ernakulam, July 8.—Five leading advocates, practising in Karala High Court, in a joint statement here today said that the present struggle against the Kerala Government was not in opposition to legislative measures but was directed against "a Ministry which functioned under the dictates of a party which offered lip service to the Constitution and sought to undermine the very foundation of democracy."

The signatories to the statement deplored the statements made by Mr. V. D. Savarkar, Mr. C. D. Deshmukh and Mr. N. V. Gadgil on the situation in Kerala. They said that these statements had been made "in absolute ignorance of the conditions prevailing in the State."

Mr. S. A. Dange, M.P., the Communist leader, reiterated at a meeting on the Calcutta Maidan on Thursday his party's stand on the demand for resignation of the Communist Ministry in Kerala.

He said the Communist Party was prepared to resign and seek re-election in Kerala if the principle of recall of legis-

lators was accepted and necessary provision made in the Constitution.

He elaborated the principle further. If 30 per cent of the electorate in a constituency should make a written representation to the President against an elected member he should resign and seek re-election. "We ask Mr. Nehru to move this amendment in Parliament and we assure him of our support."

Without this the so-called mass upsurge against any Ministry was untenable. In many States, particularly in West Bengal, Andhra, Punjab and Maharashtra, the Communist Party could mobilize 10,000 volunteers to demonstrate before public buildings and holding up public vehicles, 10,000 more to go to jails and several hundred others to create a "state of hysteria." "Will that be called a mass upsurge and on that count will the Ministry be asked to resign?", he asked.

*The Hindu* of July 5, gave the following reports:

Trivandrum, July 4.—One of the injured admitted in the hospital after yesterday's police firing in Cheriathurai near Bhimapalli, a coastal suburb of Trivandrum, died early this morning, bringing the death roll in the firing to three. One woman had died on the spot (as reported yesterday) and a man succumbed to his injuries in hospital later. Four others are still in hospital. One of them is reported to be in a serious condition.

Leaders of the Opposition parties, who later visited the scene of firing, said they found no evidence justifying this action by the police and alleged that the firing was "part of the Government's strategy of unleashing violence to subdue the mass agitation."

This is the fourth police firing since the Opposition agitation to end Communist rule in Kerala started on June 12. The other three were at Ankamali, Pulluvil and Kochuveli in which 12 persons were killed and 36 others injured.

The Auxiliary Bishop of Trivandrum in a statement, said that the police had fired at the Church and presbytery at Cheriathurai yesterday.



The Vimochana Samara Samiti and the Bishops have telegraphed to the President of India, the Prime Minister and the Home Minister about this incident.

Messrs. M. K. Mustapha, General Secretary of the Kerala Pradesh Congress Committee, G. Chandrasekhara Pillai, President of the District Congress Committee, R. Parameswaran Pillai, ex-Mayor, T. K. Narayana Pillai, former Chief Minister of Travancore-Cochin State, Kainikara Padmanabha Pillai, K. P. Nilakanta Pillai, former Speaker, and a few others met the Government of Kerala, Dr. B. Ramakrishna Rao, yesterday separately and in groups. It is understood that they represented to the Governor the serious situation in the State and alleged police excesses.

Mr. Ponnara G. Sridhar, PSP, M.L.A., and a Councillor of the Trivandrum Corporation, in a statement, has alleged that he was waylaid at Vengannoor yesterday and was "kept under illegal custody by the Communist goondas" for about two hours.

A piecegoods shop belonging to one Chellappan at Valiathurai has been looted yesterday afternoon by the local Catholic fishermen suspecting that Chellappan was giving information about their activities to police.

The Government Press Note on the morning said:

"The Government regret to announce that police were forced to resort to firing at Cheriathurai, a coastal suburb of Trivandrum City, yesterday at 12-25 p.m.

"A report was received that a crowd had surrounded a Government godown (for cement and iron) at Valiathurai, and that the watchman there was being threatened. The Sub-Inspector of Police, Fort, with the Sub-Inspector of Police, Traffic, and two sections of the armed police were directed to the place to deal with the situation. Information was also received that crowds were gathering in the Cheriathurai area, south of Valiathurai. Therefore, the Sub-Inspector, Puthenchanthai, who was patrolling the Veli Area in a radio vehicle and a patrol van was also directed to join the Sub-Inspector, Fort, and his patrol party. The party went to Valiathurai and then patrolled up to Poon-

thurai and turned back on the way back. When they were at a point about a furlong north of Bhimapalli and near the Youth Congress Office, Cheriathurai, they found the road blocked by means of catamaran logs. The police vehicles had to stop at the road block. Suddenly, there was heavy stone-throwing at the vehicles from the mob, partly stationed at the sides of the road and in neighbouring compounds. Some policemen received injuries even inside the vehicles. The police patrol consisted of two radio vans, one jeep and two police vans.

The police party found themselves in a trap, neither able to go forward nor to turn back. The police party then got down from their vehicles. The stone-throwing increased. More policemen received injuries from stones. The Sub-Inspector warned the mob to disperse and that fire would be opened if they did not do so. The warning was not heeded to. An MSP Sub-Inspector, who was in the rear of the column, received a stone hit and fell down. Six or seven members of the mob attempted to drag the Sub-Inspector away. While doing so, part of his uniform was torn. In self-defence he fired two shots from his pistol. The officers present found that there was no way except to clear the road block somehow, and extricate themselves and the vehicles as quickly as possible. As the policemen were trying to clear the road block, the stone-throwing was intensified. In order to enable the policemen to clear off the road block, firing in the directions from where stones were coming was ordered. In all, 16 rounds were fired excluding two rounds fired by the MSP Sub-Inspector from his pistol. As soon as the road block was cleared, the policemen were ordered back to their vehicles, and the police party drove away. The police party stopped at Vallakadavu, and waited for reinforcements to go back to the scene of firing and to ascertain the number of casualties.

"On receiving information, the Collector, Trivandrum, and the Superintendent of Police, Trivandrum, proceeded to the spot with a strong police force. On the

way, they found Shri R. Parameswaran Pillai (ex-Mayor, Trivandrum—Congress) bringing one of the injured in a car. Four other injured were in a van which preceded the car.

"The Collector and the Superintendent of Police, with reinforcements, went back to Cheriathurai and searched the area. They found one dead body, that of a woman aged about 30, with a gun-shot injury. The dead body was removed to the mortuary.

"Three Sub-Inspectors, one Head Constable, one Naik, one Lance Naik and 14 Constables who received injuries at Cheriathurai have been admitted in the hospital. The injured members of the mob, removed by Sri Parameswaran Pillai, have also been admitted in the Hospital.

"The police party returning to Cheriathurai found that the road blocks which had been moved to the sides by them to drive through and most of the stones, had already been removed from the place in a well-planned effort to suppress the evidence of the earlier rioting.

"It may be recalled that on Thursday at Cheriathurai in front of the Youth Congress Office, a crowd of about 500 attacked a State Transport bus."

Mr. R. Sankar, President of the KPCC, in a statement, issued today, regarding the firing at Cheriathurai said: "The police opened fire today at Cheriathurai, a coastal village adjoining the Trivandrum City. Five girls belonging to this village picketed the Collectorate in the morning. The villagers told me when I visited the village within three hours of firing that a local policeman had threatened them early in the morning that they would be taught a lesson before noon today. Just about noon, the police vans arrived and stopped in front of the office of the village Youth Congress. Seeing this, some of the villagers gathered there. The police at once started chasing them. An alarm was raised and the people living in the nearby houses in the village ran about in fear. The police chased them and opened fire. Many fell down. The police even entered some houses and fired at innocent people engaged

in their usual avocations. Some of the villagers jumped into the sea and saved themselves. A pregnant woman squatting in the courtyard of her house was shot at and she died."

Till 4 p.m. eight casualties are known to have occurred. Of the remaining seven wounded persons the condition of three is serious, Mr. Sankar said.

The police is stated to have driven from the village up to Vallakadavu and on their way, aimed their fire at the labourers assembled near the foodgrains depot. No casualty is, however, reported. The village is stated to have presented a dismal appearance and women and children were seen wailing, Mr. Sankar said.

Mr. Sankar continuing said: "I made very searching enquiries and I did not come across any evidence of provocation for this atrocious crime. One police officer was heard speaking to a journalist about some road obstruction but we saw no evidence of it. I know there is no use in asking the Communist Government to desist from such crimes. I have a feeling that this is a part of their recent strategy of unleashing violence on the people indiscriminately with a view to terrorising and thus subduing the mass agitation. I once again appeal to the people to maintain absolute non-violence in the face of these and worse provocations lest we should fall into the trap laid by the Communist Government."

Mr. Pattom Thanu Pillai said that the shooting at Cheriathurai was "fully in accordance with and the result of the policy of terrorism unashamedly pursued by the Communist Government." He said that at the place where the police opened fire at 12-30 p.m., a woman's dead body was still lying when he visited the spot at 2-15 p.m. "I was told that the woman was pregnant and was with a suckling baby. About a dozen persons, it is said, have been removed to the hospital. So far as I have been able to gather, there was absolutely no provocation or justification for the firing. There was not even a crowd. Isolated individuals were shot. Five women from that place, I am told, took part in the

picketing at the Collectorate today and that is the only cause for the firing. How long are we to put up with this kind of error is the question on everybody's lips. How long will the Government of India permit this terrorist situation in this unfortunate State?"

Mr. Mannath Padmanabhan said: "If on the 15th, the police had selected the northern portion of Trivandrum Beach at Kochuvelli for firing today they have chosen the southern portion at Cheriathurai. Have not the Communists quenched their thirst for Catholic blood? Why do they select Catholics alone as fodder for their cannon?" he asked. He said that no one could be misled by these deliberate firings in picked-out places. "Rumours were afloat in the city from morning onwards that the police were busily preparing for a firing today." Today, it was alleged that the police had chosen Cheriathurai for the mere reason that they sent five girl pickets to the Collectorate in the morning. He said the fisherfolk narrated harrowing stories of police atrocities. They said that they were assaulted when they had flocked around the net to observe the day's fish-catch. Some of them jumped into the sea to save their lives and it was reported that even in the deep sea they were not spared.

#### Nkrumah and Welensky

The Welensky Government has had serious accusations made against it for atrocities perpetrated on the grounds of an "emergency." The repercussions in Ghana are reflected in the extracts given underneath from the *Evening News* of Accra of March 23, received by Sea mail:

Roy Welensky has missed the boat! It is shocking that a man who brags so much of the murderous degree he has struck with his Herenvolk civilisation cannot understand the simple logic advanced by an African whose cultivated sobriety is a positive challenge to his racial theories.

In what plainly represents a very poor answer to Dr. Nkrumah's statesmanship, Mr Roy is obviously trying to ignore the essential challenge thrown him by Ghana

Premier last week: namely, that he represents in Central Africa the interest of minority settlers and must first, in order to qualify to speak with majority voice, first establish in his country the democratic principle of one man, one vote.

Since 1951, the Nkrumah Government has been popularly mandated by the Ghana people to man the ship of state under a Democratic system under which the very people possess the right to remove him from office if they find that he does not represent their true aspirations.

The people deported from this newly-liberated country (we require eternal vigilance for peaceful and unmolested growth) are not Ghanaians; if they were Ghanaians, they would have been jailed and not deported, according to the popular will. Welensky can tell it to the marines that his government is democratic. *It is not.* It is Colonial, imperialistic and fascist. The world knows better.

Welensky reduces himself to the level of a ruffian when he resorts to cheap lying to make up for the deficiencies in his case. The local detainees were held not for opposing Dr. Nkrumah but for undermining the Security of the State, the preservation of which is the first thing in a modern Democracy. Besides, the M.P.'s among them were only two not forty as he deliberately misquotes. Of course, the case of these two men is still *subjudice* and we leave off further comment until later.

The uneasy situation in Central Africa must have thrown Welensky's nerves into a neurotic blitz for him to have gone the length he did to fabricate evidence upon which to continue his suppression of the legitimate organisation and aspirations of the African people in order to prepare the way for the Colonial office to give him power by 1960.

But despite the fact that the leaders have been arrested and their organisation suppressed, the irresistible might of African nationalism surges on to victory and the ultimate defeat of the imperialist organisation which Welensky represents is inevitable.

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## TAGORE AND THE REACTION IN THE WEST

By SUDHANSU MOHAN BANERJEE, M.A., LL.B., I.A.A.S. (Retd.)

Before we take stock of what Tagore stands for, his philosophy of life, his religion of man, his doctrine of harmony, and his influence in the West, we have to realise and appreciate two things. First, he was born in an epoch and in a family where old ideas and ideals were having their first shock from the impact of a western civilisation. Secondly, though we have hailed him as a prophet of nationalism or a preacher of internationalism, as a seer and a sage, as a creative idealist or educationist, or as a leader of thought and leader of men, he was essentially first and last a poet, a dreamer, a weaver of imageries, rich, rapturous and resonant, sensuous, passionate and sensitive to every yearning in man and nature, susceptible to their every change in mood and every challenge in outlook and combining them in an expression of rare harmony and beautiful diction. Today when time has come to evaluate Tagore, not merely in subjective adulation, but also in an objective valuation of what he stands for, what he tells us, what he preaches, this limitation of a poet's outlook on life has to be recognised. He was himself aware of this and he reminded us often about it.

Do not ask me—what is Mukti or  
freedom or where is it.

I am not a Sadhak.

I am but a poet, I stay very near  
the world and its worldliness

On this side of the life's stream.

In the front meanders the river  
with its flow and ebb,

It moves on swift current

Taking good and evil, shadow and  
darkness

Waves splash on the life's board,  
Love and Light

In the sands of time.

My heart leaps up in that music  
and dance

That spark of breath  
which weaves

Life's joys and sorrows, its  
passion of pride and praise  
Its tears and laughter.

That I have caught in my lute.\*

Even if he did not make any lasting impression on European literary form of expression, there is no question that he made a deep influence on contemporary thought pattern and concept of humanism. There was a new enlargement of the idea of cultural rapprochement which was taking shape. His recognition of Man was something poetic. He denied the negation of Man but he did not say like Protagoras or Emmanuel Kant or Karl Marx that Man was an end in itself. To Tagore Man was of course the meeting point of Man but to him, the individual man, the unsophisticated, the untouched, the unorganised Man appealed. His religion of man referred to that individual man who was part of a transcendental world, who was a focus point of divinity. His humanism was therefore bound to differ from that brand which arose from an ethical union, from a concept of society based on values liberated from the time-honoured spiritual bondage. Today's radical humanism speaks of a rediscovery of the essence of Man's nature. It is not to believe but to question and enquire. Man is a focal point there also, but reason is not a metaphysical category but a biological heritage which enables man to rediscover the essence of his nature. It is not only the conscious harmony of nature, but an empirical reality.

\*Writer's own interpretation.

Tagore's approach to world problems is also imaginative and poetic in a sense. He is attracted to them by the unlimited capacity of an universal mind and the appreciation of a great creative artist. So he was not realistic to that extent as Gorky would be or even a Rolland. He was guided more by heart and imagination than by intellect and experience. I am borrowing these words from Sri Aurobindo when he characterised the main difference between Vyasa and Valmiki.

The extent of his popularity in those days following the award of Nobel Prize is recorded in the various languages in which his books were translated—every available European language not merely English, French, German or Italian was the vehicle of his thought—Swedish, Danish, Dutch, Czech, Russian, Spanish, Portuguese, Yugoslav, Latvian, Estonian, and even Hebrew. There is a translation of *The Gardener* in "Jiddish" also. *Broken Ties* were translated in French (A quatre Voix) by Macéleine Rolland in 1925. We not only find a Russian translation by Khakhlova from Leningrad but a Bulgarian also from Sofia in 1926. *My Reminiscences* (Mina Minnen) created a furore in Stockholm seven years after the Nobel Prize. There is a Latvian translation of 1937 of *Lover's Gift* when Tagore has ceased to be a fashion in Europe. Government Publishers of the Soviet Regime published *Glimpses of Bengal* in 1927. There was a Czech translation from Prague in 1922. Though there was no translation of *Lipika* in English there was a German translation in 1926 from original Bengali.

It was against this background that we have to trace the evolution of not only the poet's philosophy of life and religion of man but also his evaluation of the West and the West's evaluation of him. It can be compartmentalised in a way. His early sweet contacts as a student and through their art and literature, science and technique evoked praises where necessary, moulded his thought and his outlook on life. Since 1912 he has been a world figure. He burst into western consciousness—some hailed him as a New Messiah, others were

critical. Countries competed with countries. The war and its aftermath had left its trail and they tried to get as much comfort and solace as they could from Tagore. But did Tagore fail as an universal Teacher? The pendulum swung from one end to another. Even in 1929 he was accused—China's future has been much more seriously prejudiced by the ideas imported and peddled by such persons as Bertrand Russell, John Dewey, Tagore, etc., than by all opium, morphia, heroin, cocaine and hasheesh imported and produced in China during the past three centuries.

Apart from any Western influence which he had imbibed here in his own land, his first real contact with Europe came in 1878 when he came to England with his brother Satyendranath for further education. It was remarkable that in a young man of 17/18 the first vision of a sea voyage was no catch, but in a speech at Milan later, he said—Italy was my first introduction to Europe. He saw her in moonlight in midnight. It was the sight of Europe asleep—like a maiden dreaming. His first genuine experience of Europe was at the International Exhibition at Paris. He was later admitted in a public school at Brighton. There is a humorous story of his contact with English Society when in a Fancy Dress Ball he robed himself as a Zamindar of Bengal. He joined afterwards the London University College and studied under Prof. Henry Morley.

His second visit to England was in 1890 twelve years later when he was 29 years of age. It was mainly a holiday when Europe of his vision gathered through literature, the ideal Europe was in the front. His next trip to Europe was 22 years later when at the request of Rothenstein and others who had read some of the translations of his poems and short stories he went there. We remember what this great artist wrote, "I have carried the manuscript of these translations about with me reading them in railway trains and on the top of omnibuses and in restaurants and I have often had to close lest some stranger would see how it moved me." Gradually his English renderings got into the English

press and even before he got the Nobel Prize, papers like the *Times Literary Supplement*, the *Manchester Guardian* and people like Stopford Brooke, Yeats, Ezra Pound, May Sinclair began to speak of his poetry and the inspiration it gave to them. *The Manchester Guardian* wrote in 1913 at the time of the great Damodar Flood, "We do not deserve his *Gitanjali* if we do not care about the people to whom he made these songs in the Bengali rhythm." The charge was laid by a leading Vienna paper in 1913 (as quoted by Aronson) when he got the Nobel Prize. 'Has the award of the prize been due to the exotic Buddhistic fashion?' Others were more furious. I quote again from Aronson "The awarding of the Nobel Prize for literature . . . to a Hindu has occasioned much chagrin and no little surprise among writers of the Caucasian race . . . ."

Stopford A. Brooke said, "I have read them with more than admiration and with gratitude for their spiritual help and for the joy they bring and confirm . . . . . I wish I were worthy of them."

In America also his name was just being flashed. At Rochester at Urbana, at Chicago he was giving lectures. The subjects chosen such as the Problem of Evil, Race Conflict, Nationalism versus Internationalism showed the impact of the West on his mind. In one of these meetings he met the German philosopher Aucken. He emphasised that the meaning of the living words that come out of the experiences of great hearts can never be exhausted by any one system of logical interpretations. They have to be endlessly explained by the commentaries of individual lives and they gain an added mystery in each revelation. For Western scholars the great religious scriptures of India seem to possess merely a retrospective and archaeological interest but to us they are of living importance.

Then came the Nobel Prize in 1913 in November. It need not be gainsaid that the shock was too great for the West. The man who burst into the rich canvas of Europe and America in 1912-13 in a dazzling glare was the first non-European recipient of a world prize. He was a man in whose mental composition and intellectual poise several influences had worked from early boyhood. His family's tradition was of course there. Upanishadic monism coupled with Vaishnavic dualism, tantric esoterism, a pagan outlook and added to them a scientific attitude towards life and a sense of unflinching rationalism tinged

with a mystic touch plus a western influence, all combined in giving his poet's creed a philosophical outlook of a curious mixture. Yet the fact is that the receptive mind of the poet blended them into a harmonious cocktail of a beautiful colour and rich vintage. His bias for Buddhistic tenets was also recalled. The charge was laid by a leading Vienna paper in 1913 (as quoted by Aronson) when he got the Nobel Prize. 'Has the award of the prize been due to the exotic Buddhistic fashion?' Others were more furious. I quote again from Aronson "The awarding of the Nobel Prize for literature . . . to a Hindu has occasioned much chagrin and no little surprise among writers of the Caucasian race . . . ."

Another big paper on the other side of the Atlantic wrote, "It will take time for us to accommodate ourselves to the idea that any one called Rabindra Nath Tagore should receive a world prize for literature. The name has a curious sound. The first time we saw it in print it did not seem real." (Quoted by Aronson). Arguments and sometimes violent discussions started on the merits and demerits of Rabindranath's poetry and possible political implications of the award. Even in the *Cambridge History of English Literature* published in 1916 no mention was made of Rabindranath or to his English *Gitanjali*, though the chapter on Anglo-Indian Literature was written by an English Professor who was in Calcutta and in Bengal, Prof. Oaten. It was openly hinted that Prince William of Sweden who had visited the Tagores earlier and was convinced of 'the poet's loathing of British rule' was responsible for this award and who were the other competitors that year, Thomas Hardy and Anatole France. Occidental misgivings continued, though men like Stopford A. Brooke, Yeats, Ezra Pound, men who could speak with authority were simply enamoured of him. Charles Andrews speaks of the exotic influence which Tagore's poems made on him and of the night at Hampstead Heath when he thought and thought of the beautiful lines he had heard. Lowes

Dickinson speaks of a meeting with Bertrand Russel and Tagore. Russel began to talk. Tagore fell into silence. But afterwards he said it had been wonderful to hear Russel talk. He had passed into a 'higher state of consciousness' and heard as it were from a distance, and Dickinson questioned—What, I wonder had he heard. Even as late as 1921 or 1925 a leading Western paper (*Manchester Guardian* quoted by Aronson) wrote: "It is difficult for the average westerner to appreciate much of this, he dips into something that cannot fathom. We treasure the volume as we treasure a Persian carpet or a Japanese print. . . ."

Another wrote ". . . . The Editor is quite right, we from the West do not want from the East poetic edifices built upon a foundation of Yeats and Shelley and Walt Whitman. We want to hear the flute of Krishna as Radha heard it, to fall under the spell of the blue god in the lotus heart of dream." Again another opined that Tagore did not bring any thing new, or strange. It was like the return of a prodigal—a Victorian coming back with what has been lent by the West. People like D. H. Laurence were sceptic about him and it is stated, wrote that this wretched worship of Tagore attitude was disgusting.

As late as 1929 Rabindranath in an unprecedented sarcastic fury wrote to C. F. Andrews from America. "In the meantime their newspapers are hilariously impressed by this figure of an oriental mystic coming out of the railway train and also down from his cloudland of introspection, to the mundane world, dressed in a long robe and blue socks, graciously posing himself to be photographed. Yesterday I gave a lecture to a small group of students and some of them sat mopping their faces with powder puffs and some at the end came to shake hands with me. The President benignly pleased had a photograph taken later of a group composed of an oriental fool and a member of the the Nordic race who always minds his own purpose. . . . This is a fit climax which had its first act in the Immigration office, Vancouver."

Charles Andrews recalled in his inimitable way how Rabindranath reacted to the First World War and the gospel of so-called nationalism. In 1916 he arrived in Japan with the prestige of an Eastern Bard who has won the brightest of the Western laurels. It was the advent of a Hero—"roses, roses, all the way." But his outspoken frankness on nationalism at the Imperial University at Tokyo cost him his popularity.

He had told them frankly—Let Japan find her own true mind which will not merely accept lessons from others but will create a world of her own. The newspapers howled at him as the poet of a defeated nation and in reply Andrews says he wrote one of the most beautiful poems which I quote below:

"My master had bid me, while I sing at the roadside to sing the song of Defeat for that is the bride whom he woos in secret. She has put on the dark veil hiding her face from the crowd but the jewel glows on her breast in the dark. She is forsaken of the day and God's night is waiting for her with its lamps lighted and its flowers wet with dew . . . But the stars are singing the love-song of the eternal to a face swift with shame and suffering. The door has been opened in the lonely chamber, the call has sounded and the heart of the darkness throbs with awe because of the coming tryst."

But this very delicate beauty of his mental pang is at once his strength as well as his weakness. Man the universal gets mixed up with Man the individual.

It was however in Germany that he got his best, was lionised to an extent unheard of. Tagore and Keyserling became fashion just in the post-war days. German 'Kultur' wanted a reorientation and Tagore was handy. We read that in May 1921, all Europe celebrated Tagore's birthday in a way that seemed staggering. We have to remember it was Germany after the First World War, prostrate, hungry and like a beaten lion licking its wounds, which had become introspective. Was it the beginning of a decline of the West as Spengler prophesied, was it that a new message was need-

ed, a new hope, a new faith? Thoughts turned to Tagore. His Christlike face, flowing robes and dreamy eyes drew thousands. Arrangements were made to publish in Germany alone 30 lakhs of his books when already 8 lakhs had been sold. If we are to believe, it is told, that fifteen thousand copies were sold on the day following a lecture in Berlin in 1921. *Sunday Times* of London was stupefied and wrote: "It is perhaps politically typical in Germany today that one of the best-read authors is the Indian Tagore whose mystic dullness appeals as a kind of anodyne." In France it was stated, "The youth of Germany looks towards the East and turns its back to Europe." We read stories of the triumphal marches of the poet as if he was a religious revivalist and certainly Count Keyserling or Hermann Hesse did much to contribute to this theory. Some thought Rabindranath typified an impact of Christian ideas on a truly representative Hindu Mind.

And that is why the poet's prayer arises:

"Where can I meet thee unless in this mine home made thine? Where can I join thee unless in this my work transformed into thy work? If I leave my home I shall not reach thy home; if I cease my work I can never join thee in thy work. For thou dwellest in me and I in thee. Thou without me or I without thee are nothing."

Tagore and Rolland, two master minds were life-long friends. Dr. Kalidas Nag tells us how the nature and character of God in the old and the new Testament, often drew them in a discussion. We are reminded of what Rolland wrote in *Jean Christophe*:

"The West is burning away," says Oliver, "Soon . . . Very soon . . . I see other stars arising in the furthest depths of the East." And Christophe exclaims, "Bother the East! The West has not said its last word yet. Do you think I am going to abdicate? I have enough to say to keep you going for centuries." But Oliver was not content with vague feelings of impending doom. He studied Eastern

philosophies and religion. They opened his eyes to the futility of all action not rooted in detachment and divine indifference to earthly gains. Indeed Oliver seemed in some respect, to reach certain conclusions about the ultimate significance of all action, not dissimilar from the conclusions reached in recent times by Aldous Huxley. Was Oliver the prototype of Rolland?

Even before he became acquainted with Rabindranath Tagore's famous lecture in Japan in 1916 (*The Message of India to Japan*) Rolland looked in Asia for new elements of thought which might revitalize Europe. He himself (with the help of his sister, a fellow traveller as he calls her in the pilgrimage of soul) had translated extracts from Tagore's lecture and published them in the form of an appendix to one of his anti-war pamphlets which were distributed in the trenches. Tagore himself was quite unaware at that time of the interest Rolland took in him. Only in 1919 Rolland wrote his first letter to Tagore, enclosing the "Declaration of the Independence of the Mind" which he requested Tagore to sign. It is one of the miracles of human history, said Rolland, that one century should have produced two giants of faith and action in one and the same country, two men who were friends although they according to Rolland, represented two opposing poles of humanity. For while Mahatma Gandhi was the universal stream of faith incarnate, Rolland discovered in Tagore the free soul, the individual conscience. These two personalities were like the thesis and anti-thesis of life both contradicting and supplementing each other. The fact that, in his book on Mahatma Gandhi, Rolland took sides and chose the 'free soul' as opposed to the stream of faith was the result of his sufferings during the war years, his conviction that the faith of the masses was blind and unconscious and could easily be led to destruction and even self-annihilation. And when Tagore in 1921 'felt suffocated by the blind belief and obedience of the followers of the faith of the Master' Rolland saw in Tagore's doubts and fears the individual conscience at work: "We



know this anguish and this protest. They belong to all times. The last noble souls of the expiring antique world gave vent to the same feelings in the face of the Christian faith which gradually asserted its sway. We ourselves feel that such a sentiment of opposition or antipathy rises in us, in the face of those human tides which the blind flow of faith, national or social, often causes. This is the eternal revolt of the free soul against ages of faith to which this faith itself might have given rise, for though faith is, for the minority of the elect, infinite liberty, it is for the mobs who acclaim it, only an additional chain of slavery . . . Gandhi is a mediaeval universalist. With all veneration to the Mahatma, I am with Tagore."

Those of us who were at least teenaged then to appreciate even faintly what was happening will recall in those epoch-making days of Jallianwallah Bag and Rowlett Bill, poet's surrendering his Knighthood and the non-co-operation movement, a frenzied drama of passion and prejudice, a titanic struggle to capture our allegiance between faith and reason, between a Gandhi and a Tagore, when a Chittaranjan was shouting with all the dynamic fervour and warmth of a new convert and a Sir Asutosh trying to stem the tide to save like King Canute his little Empire of the College Square from the onslaught of a rushing tide. In remarkable words the great sentinel gave vent to his fear:

"The infinite personality of man can only come from the magnificent harmony of all human races. My prayer is that India may represent the co-operation of all the peoples of the world. Unity is that which embraces and understands everything . . . it cannot be attained through negation . . . But to say that it is wrong to co-operate with the west is to encourage the worst form of provincialism and can produce nothing but intellectual indigence. The problem is a world problem. No nation can find its own salvation by breaking away from others. We must all be saved or we must all perish together." Brave words . . . Today we can appreciate

how a true poet was also a prophet. He saw ahead and said:

"Our first duty at dawn is to remember Him. He who unites us in wisdom—"

Gandhi's reply was characteristic: The poet lives for the morrow. The house is on fire. Men are dying for want of food. My duty is to feed the hungry. The human bird under the Indian sky gets up weaker than when he pretended to retire. For millions it is an eternal vigil or an eternal trance. I have found it impossible to soothe suffering patients with a song from Kabir . . . . Do right. Dark and tragic words were Rolland's comments. Tagore, the great sentinel, was equally emphatic. "India's destiny is bound up in Narayana, and not in Narayani Sena . . . . Swaraj—Home Rule is not really our goal. Our battle is a spiritual battle, a fight for humanity. We must emancipate men from the meshes he has woven around him, from the organisations of national selfishness. We must persuade the butterfly that the freedom of the sky is better than the shelter of the cocoon." It was at this time that he was founding the Visva-Bharati where he inscribed the aims to be—"To seek to realise in common fellowship of study the meeting of the East and the West—free from all antagonism of race, nationality, creed or caste and in the name of one Supreme Being, Shantam, Shivam, Adwaitam, The All Peace, the All Good and the One."

Rolland hailed Tagore as one of the beaconlights of a new changing world. In subsequent years when Tagore came into contact with Mussolini and others, the free individualist as Rolland was, he had to correct many of Tagore's impressions about the fascist countries. In an unpublished letter of Rolland to Rabindranath dated 11-11-26 from Villeneuve which Aronson quotes and in which this incident is referred to, Rolland's words are worth repeating, "I had no interest in my mind but your glory, which I value more than your rest. I did not want devils misusing your sacred name in the annals of history. Forgive me if my intervention has caused you some restless hours. The future will

show that I have acted as your faithful and vigilant guide."

Writing many years later, an English commentator of a Tagore Volume wrote:

"In 1914 when Mr. Yeats found that the prose translations of the poet's *Gitanjali* had stirred his blood as nothing had for years, he could not help regretting that he knew nothing of their author's life nor of the movements that had made them possible. Scarcely had anyone at that time, outside Bengal, heard even the name of the poet-philosopher. Today the case is very different: his name is greeted with enthusiasm, wonder and reverence in almost every part of the civilized world, and pictures of him are to be found in thousands of homes. In most of the great cities of both hemispheres surging crowds have been held spell-bound by the melody of his voice, even when they did not understand the language of his addresses or recitations; larger numbers have been fascinated by his refined and well-chiselled lineaments, which together with his silver locks, his flowing beard, his eyes full of mystic inspiration, and his long and loose robes, have recalled to their minds the vision of a prophet of Judea or of a seer of ancient India. No poet, ancient or modern, has been received during his lifetime with the honour and respect with which Dr. Tagore has been greeted, whether in the West or in the East, and there is scarcely any cultivated language into which some, at least, of his works have not been translated."

So here was a poet of the East whom the West accepted with mixed feelings. Was he a product of the West? Was he a product of the assimilative forces at work or was he merely the East speaking to the West? Did the West accept him merely as a poet, as a literary man, as a writer of short stories and novels or was he more accepted as a philosopher, a prophet, a preacher for the under-dog and the have-nots? Was it the story of a conscience or was he a charlatan whom the spirit of the time and the frustration of an age threw up?

His very last words on the crisis of

civilization still ring in our ears. "As I look around, I see the crumbling ruins of a proud civilization strewn like a vast heap of futility. And yet I shall not commit the grievous sin of losing faith in man. I would rather look forward to the opening of a new chapter in his history."

The poet had always claimed a rapprochement not only between East and West but between its materialistic development and technological order and its spiritual, aesthetic and artistic experiment.

The Hibbert Lectures seem to be a turning point of his attitude towards the West and though his fame had declined and had shed some of its mystic lustre, a sober estimate became possible not only of the poet but also by the poet, though even in 1936 competent critics thought that there was only raw material of poetry in Tagore but never poetry itself. Even Yeats, the sponsor, had become Yeats the perverse. Though there was a modest revival, there was definitely later in Europe, particularly in England, an idea that Tagore was nothing but a dreamer and a visionary. In 1934 *The Morning Post* wrote, "Tagore dreams, while Shaw talks. There is nothing Tagore likes than dreaming and there is nothing that Bernard Shaw loves than talking. So the two are extremely happy in each other's company."

The hysterical acclamations of frustrated millions died down as it did, but as Thomas Slurge Moore wrote a few years before Rabindranath's passing away, "You have had a myriad lovers in your lifetime, myriad more who though of a more trustworthy character will never fill their eyes with your bodily presence. So you are one of the luckiest poets."

The measure of his moderate revivalism in the late thirties when Europe was being threatened by another war was typified by Oxford's honouring him with an Honorary D. Litt.

This was the era also of his recognition as a bizarre artist—a painter of repute.

His estimate of the socialist regime in Soviet Russia in his famous *Letters from Russia* had established him in another part

of the world as a world figure and is responsible for the great veneration with which he is held in Russia today. We read of the great efforts that are being made in that part of the globe for the centenary celebration of the Poet. Only the other day a newspaper wrote that there was a Tagore play on the Soviet stage, *Bisarjan* or *Sacrifice*. Tagore's poetry, we were also told, has been a fountain of inspiration for the Soviet Composers. Wonderful songs have been composed by Sergei Vassilenko on the Tagore pattern. As early as 1924-26, six songs were issued by the State Music Publishing House of Moscow. In 1935 all Russia heard with delight and surprise four fine delicate love lyrics composed by Mikhail Ippoliliv-Ivancv, based on Rabindranath.

The last ten years of his life saw also a definite change in his attitude. He was more introspective, more agnostic, more philosophical and searching than any period of his life. It was a definite change of weather. He himself said, "The solitary enjoyment of the Infinite in meditation no longer satisfied me and the texts which I used for my silent worship lost their inspiration without my knowing it. I am sure I vaguely felt that my need was spiritual self-realisation in the life of men through some disinterested service." That is why he wanted to be a world worker. "Esha devo Visvakarma." All work that is good, however small, is universal in character.

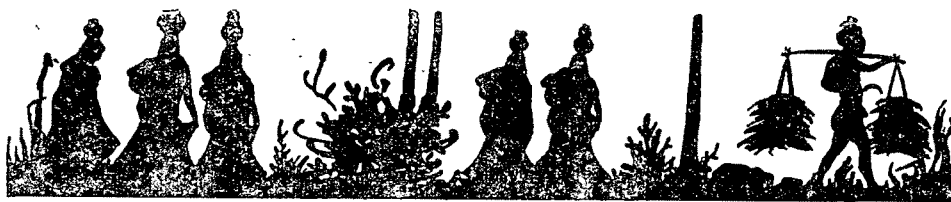
This was perhaps in a way influenced partially by his visit to Russia. He saw the Russian Experience as "turning the tide of wealth from the individual to collective humanity." He saw the practical demonstration of how enormous difficulties could be surmounted. And naturally his thoughts turned to his own little

efforts at Sri Niketan and earlier experiments at centres like Patisar, and other places. Let us in all humility not forget in these days of plans and programmes that it was a dreamy poet who was one of the first pioneers of national planning and who was not merely content to give it a theoretical expression but tried to give effect to it though in a tiny way. It is more than a shame to forget Rabindranath as the forerunner of planning who thought of bringing the fruits of applied science to the doors of hungry men and women, who was not merely a visionary, a dreamer, a poet living in ivory tower, but also an active worker, and a still active educationist.

Speaking at America of his school he said :

"The school must have a world whose guiding spirit must be personal love. It must be an Ashram where men have gathered for the highest end of life, in the peace of nature, where life is not merely meditative but fully awake in its activities, where boys' minds are not being perpetually drilled into believing that the ideal of the self-idolatry of the nation is the truest ideal for them to accept. Where they are bidden to realize man's world as God's Kingdom to whose citizenship they have to aspire. Where the sunrise and the sunset and the silent glory of the stars are not daily ignored, where nature's festivities of flowers and fruit have their joyous recognition from man and where the young and the old the teacher and the student sit at the same table to partake of their daily food and the food of their eternal life."\*

\*Some of the quotations are from Aronsen's book on the subject and are acknowledged with thanks.



## GROWING IMPORTANCE OF FOOD

### In Policy and Planning

By PROF. AMAR NATH DUTTA, M.A.

DIFFERENT countries all over the world are running fast on the track of development to increase their standards of living and push levels of economic activity upwards still. The marathon of economic advancement has led other countries on the wing to think seriously about their own economic development and participate in the race. This calls, apart from what happens in the advanced countries, for an ever-increasing proportion of expenditure devoted by the Government and people of the under-developed countries. This makes profound changes in the economic indicators of such countries. In the context of such changing, flexible and dynamic socio-economic variables it would be interesting to study the role that food production plays in a less advanced economy. For the purpose of a limited discussion let us have a look on the Indian economy.

In order to industrialise the country and make it economically more sound, the people of India undertook a stupendous task of planning activity. The entire apparatus of planning is still on its momentum, for the latter is a continuous flexible process. The First Five-Year Plan (1951-1956) to the order of Rs. 2,069 crores has already completed itself and the economy is now getting its way into the third year of the Second Five-Year Plan (1956-61). Total plan expenditure was envisaged to the tune of Rs. 7,200 crores, the public sector making its share to the extent of Rs. 4,800 crores and the private sector covering the rest, Rs. 2,400 crores. On account of a shortfall of internal resources, stringency in foreign exchange reserves and rise in the cost structure, the Planning Commission in May, 1958, split up the plan into two parts: Part A, the "core" of the Plan, and Part B, the supplementary part. Rs. 4,500 crores would be spent on Part

A, and if further financial provisions could be made, then the 300 crore-bound Part B would be implemented. On account of price rise, the Planning Commission made the sum total of Part A to the order of Rs. 4,650 crores, that is, by adding to it extra Rs. 150 crores.

In a country swashing with an extensive track of unemployed reserves and struggling with bitter pangs of growing population, the magnitude of employment and income generation would obviously act as the yardstick of its economic regeneration and material welfare. Total employment during the First Five-Year Plan was generated to the extent of 4.5 million and the Planning Commission professed extra employment of 15 million and odd people in the Second Plan. 6 million of employment was to be generated in the urban sector and 9 million in the rural sector. Such a humdrum figure is obviously a fantastic one and based on wishful thinking. For the Planning Commission now feels ill at ease with its publicised targets. In the appraisal of the Second Plan issued by the Planning Commission it is reported that about 2 million jobs have been given outside agriculture and about 1 million in agriculture. Total estimated employment comes to 6.5 at the end of the Second Plan instead of the stipulated figure of 7.9 million total.

The results are self-expressive. With a generation of employment to a total of 8 million (realised) and expected 3.5 million in the urban sector and 9 million and odd in the rural sector, it will usher in a tremendous force reflecting a shooting magnitude of demand. This would be supported by an increase in the tempo of deficit financing of Rs. 532 crores in the First Plan and Rs. 1,200 crores in the Second Plan. It is strange but a fact to note that a

major part of this swelling expenditure in the form of rising income is going to be spent leisurely on foodstuffs and basic consumables. According to the Report of the World Economic Survey, the "widespread tendency for demand to exceed available supplies of goods and services of countries in the early stages of development has frequently reflected the deep-rooted aspirations" for a higher living standard. "Food constitutes the major component of consumption in countries with low levels of living and output" (*Economic Development and Stability, Report of the World Economic Survey 1957, U.N.O.*). This becomes all the more true if we reflect on the time-honoured socio-economic background of our country. Ceremonious by nature, the people residing in this land of festivals and rituals naturally become sensitive to an increase in their incomes through a liberal and lavish approach in their expenditure pattern.

There the problem arises. Apart from other consumption goods, the production of which is strictly limited due to specific factors in a vast country as this one, with sweeping changes in their demand, without anything done to increase their production, we may say, the food production, the 'basic' of all basic necessities, remains virtually stagnant, or else will increase at a snail's pace. What will happen in the face of these two forces exerting relative pulls to each other? In the opinion of a distinguished economist, "When the largest part of the new incomes created is likely to be spent on consumption, and the largest part of the additional consumer demand is likely to fall on inelastic outputs like agricultural products the risk of creating an inflationary spiral becomes manifest." (Dr. Bhabatosh Dutta: *Economics of Industrialisation*).

Here it is that we find the supreme importance of an increasing food production. This calls not only for a rise in the absolute amount of production but an increasing rate in the amount of food production. And the task assumes paramount urgency in view of the rapid strides that a dynamic pulsating economy is making on all fronts.

The basic importance of a galloping rise in food production can be conveniently discussed on following accounts: (a) The output

capacity to meet the increasing demand and halt the inflationary spread; (b) to act as a buffer reserve against normal developmental operations and in the face of dwindling foreign exchange reserves; (c) its employment potentiality in throwing surplus population to the extra primary operations; (d) as a support to the Financial Planning.

The first point has just been discussed. In a developing economy the techniques involve large expansion of fiscal and monetary operations and the strategy implied is either deficit financing or borrowing or taxation or utilisation of larger foreign exchange reserves. In any of these cases, extra money spills over the entire economy and the problem is one of regulating the emerging inflationary pressure. If the country had unlimited supplies of foreign currency reserves like a widow's cruse, then of course, the inflationary pressure could be obviated by a larger amount of imports. But this is not the case in our under-developed economy where many contingent demands crop up on existing resources. Due to bottlenecks, and specific shortages of inputs and factors of production, physical output may not correspond to demand in which case physical controls are virtues(?) out of necessity.

The basic remedy in such a situation is a colossal increase in food supplies. In a developing economy industrialisation has to be started through the building up of heavy machinery and key industries on all fronts. For one reason or the other it is a brain-wave to cry for additional imports of foodgrains. It is, therefore, fundamental, that Government should build up buffer stocks of foodgrains and other strategic commodities and operate on them to moderate price fluctuation. In the considered opinion of the Planning Commission, it becomes decidedly important in the case of foodgrains.

Next comes the question of employment potentiality. The national income structure of different countries, reveals, on analysis, the employment structure of their economies respectively. All kinds of economic activity have conveniently been divided into three types of occupations: (a) Primary occupations meaning agriculture, forestry, pasture, fishing, animal husbandry and the like; (b) Secondary

occupations mainly concerned with industrial pursuits, house-building, manufacturing and mining operations; (c) tertiary occupations concerned with a service type, e.g., banking, trade, insurance, commerce, transport, etc. In the advanced countries, a major portion of the population are employed in the secondary and tertiary group of operations, while in the less advanced countries, the majority hinge on the primary occupations. Agriculture in main is the harbinger of their economic activity; There are exceptions, however, like the countries of Australia and New Zealand. But these are exceptions in the literal sense and do not come under the general order for analysis as such.

India follows the same order. *The Report of the National Income Committee* (1951) reveals that about 70 per cent of the population are engaged in agriculture and nearly 50 per cent of national income come from agriculture. Food occupies about 70 per cent of the total agricultural production. Agriculture has been a business—not only that—a way of life in India. Any Plan for economic development will have necessarily to be tied with a Plan for the development of agriculture and on that account food production. Economic development will be a utopia without a corresponding development on the food and agricultural front, when the former is an economic function of the latter.

With the development of a country its national income increases. But its composition changes. With the satisfaction of pent-up demand for old products, new wants craving for newer types of productions appear. In order to arrange for increasing supplies of new production, the production-structure has to be re-oriented, the economy has to be streamlined, which again means re-shaping the entire occupational pattern in favour of secondary and tertiary sectors.

In India, the occupational pattern has practically remained unchanged over the last three or four decades, despite considerable increase in industrial production. The secondary and tertiary sectors have not grown rapidly enough to make an impact on the primary sector, nor has the primary sector itself thrown up surpluses which would create favourable

conditions for employment elsewhere, when agriculture still plods the familiar field. Development implies a shift and a process of transfer of a part of the labour force to secondary and tertiary occupation—the pace of which depends on an increase in the productivity of agriculture itself. Agriculture thus largely acts as a basis of expanding operations. After examining the scope of accommodating extra labour force in small industries sector, which itself will not generate a revolt of rising expectations, the Planning Commission stipulates a fourfold increase in labour force in mining and manufacturing industry.

Finally, in evaluating the requirements of surplus food production we come to the question of physical and financial planning of resources. Changes in the disposition of physical resources are an index of the economic activity. Real resources must exhibit a dynamic growth and equilibrium pattern all along the line. Physical planning is simply the other name of developmental effort in terms of factor allocation, capacity utilisation and income output maximisation. The economy moves on and keeps itself in a state of flux; it oscillates from a lower level to a series of upper levels and displays the need for balance at each stage. Here comes financial planning. Money is a means to measure changes in output. Balance therefore is to be achieved in the Plan in both real and financial terms. Money incomes are generated in the process of production and supplies are utilised in response to it. Money incomes flow in such a way as to balance between demand and supply of consumers' goods, savings and investments and between receipts and payments abroad. But these should not involve the minimum strain on the price structure of a country. The Second Plan leaves an uncovered deficit of Rs. 400 crores. Due to the high-level of investment activities acute stringency that developed in the money market reacted adversely on the loan operations of the Government. In the Memorandum on the "Appraisal of the Second Five-Year Plan" the Planning Commission notes that "behind the inadequacy of financial resources lies the major limiting factor to developmental effort, viz., food production. High domestic prices as well as the large

import requirements are related in part to the insufficient response of food production to the pressure of demand. It is to the extent that success in this regard can be secured that the rate of investment (employment) in the economy can be stepped up. Hence increased food production will act in the interest of the developmental effort itself.

Having disposed of the need for increasing food production let us cast a look at the picture as it is today. The situation is the result of the working of three variables: Growth of population, Quantum of food production, Qualitative changes in the propensity to consume.

It is a fancied idea that in the face of a surging, swelling and swashing population with food production proportionately more limited, India is already in the grip of the celebrated Malthusian theory of population. Taking a fairly long account of two decades, it may be fittingly replied that a country cannot but import a large amount of commodities to feed its teeming millions which has received scratches of ill-treatment unawares from Britain and Pakistan. Burma was separated from India in 1937. A decade passed and in 1947 the eastern part of Bengal and the western part of Punjab, India's granary of the east and west and a booty of political smugglers were runcated and snatched away in the name of Pakistan. India has, during the last five years, imported food to the average of 1 million tons, while the figures for post-independence period continually went on increasing. Excepting for 1954 and 1955 the years of bumper harvests, India imported 1,420 million tons and 3,580 million tons in 1956 and 1957 respectively. Needless to mention that in the face of an urgent need for foreign exchange reserves such a boosting figure of food imports would obviously count as a drag on our foreign exchange. On account of her increase in population at the rate of 1.25 per cent per annum, 12.5 per cent in a decade, the Foodgrains Enquiry Commission calculates that India's import amount to Rs. 150 crores per year on an average. In physical term it would mean 3 to 4 million tons of foodgrains. It is relevant to note here that according to a technical population study (undertaken by the Princeton University office under the auspices of the

World Bank) that current rate of increase in India's population has gone up from 1.5 per cent per annum assumed in the Second Plan to 1.75 per cent per annum. Let us now look into the requirements of food *vis-a-vis* increasing population in absolute terms.

According to the Planning Commission certain assumptions were made in regard to the para-meters of national income, population and consumption habits as also saving, investment and such others. With the help of these projections, it was shown that the country's 1950-51 national income could be doubled by 1971-72 and per capita income could be doubled by 1977-78. The average consumption standard would be raised by 70 per cent as compared with 1970-71. A 12.5 per cent population growth in a decade was assumed. But the rate of growth of population is now changing. Even, however, in this assumed model of unchanged rate of growth of population it may be easily shown that food supply would fall far short of its requirements. In a recent paper (in *Commerce Annual Number*, 1958) submitted by Prof. K. K. Saxena of the University of Allahabad, an interesting and valuable study has been presented. In following the census report he thinks that population will increase from 360 million in 1951 to 410 million in 1961, 460 million in 1971 and 520 million in 1981. The maintenance of consumption at current level will then require a stepping up of agricultural production from 51 million tons in 1951 to 85 million tons in 1961, 96 million tons in 1971 and 108 million tons in 1981. This represents an increase of 21 per cent before 1961, 37 per cent before 1971 and 54 per cent before 1981. The question that naturally comes to our mind is: How do we make provision for all this? Can we meet this deficiency? It is tragic, but a fact to note that the existing irrigated area under rice and wheat alone—some 35 million acres—would yield an additional 3 million tons or even a little more if a 20 per cent increase is brought about only in this area, and that also at the end of the Second Plan. And thus there comes afterwards yawning gaps between achievements and aspiration, a world of difference! Solace is sometime sought by comparing the population figures of different countries with India.

According to the census figures on population, Indian population increased by 10.4 per cent in 1921-30, 12.7 per cent in 1931-40 and 13.2 per cent in 1941-50. On an average it was 1.7 per cent per decade during 1891-1920 and 12.0 per cent per decade during 1920-50. According to Prof. Kingsley Davis, a noted population expert, Japan similarly during 70 years (1870-1940) experienced a growth of about 120 per cent and the United States of America a growth of 230 per cent. Under the circumstance a 1.2 per cent rate of population growth in India in comparison to other countries is hardly a phenomenal one. Malthusian phantom cannot obsess the surging spirit of India's developing economy. But the whole problem assumes paramount importance when we think of population in terms of food supply. The increase in our numbers is not off-set by a corresponding increase in production of industrial goods, food and other agricultural commodities. An increase of the order of cent per cent in foodgrains and other important crops—just in a year is something which deserves our immediate attention.

Next come the qualitative changes in the consumption of food. The preliminary impact of development spurts of an under-developed country on consumption is two-fold: (a) it creates differences in income distribution in different sectors of the economy through high investment; (b) it results in a shortage of consumers' goods. As a result, in the initial stage, the per capita consumption of consumers' goods has increased, but the consumption levels have not shown remarkable improvement. Since the pattern of consumption differs markedly in urban area from its rural counterpart, the problem of food supplies becomes acute. In the *National Sample Survey Report* the following list is given:

|                | Urban | Rural |
|----------------|-------|-------|
| Rice           | 54.78 | 45.91 |
| Wheat          | 31.28 | 16.36 |
| Jowar          | 6.37  | 11.36 |
| Bojra          | 10.64 | 4.55  |
| Misc. (grains) | 7.01  | 21.82 |

Food is supplied in the urban area essentially through the traders. Their manipulations

push the price of food higher and higher upwards. Prices as a result remain high with some amount of stickiness in them. This in turn is due to the supply and demand imbalance which gives rise to fluctuations of stocks of major foodgrains and select increase in per capita consumption in the urban areas. The elasticity of demand is less than unity with an increase in incomes. The people accustomed to consuming inferior types of foodgrains would now consume or at least try to consume better foodgrains. This however lends importance to a rational and a dynamic price policy. Dr. P. C. Bansil, in a learned discussion (*Commerce: Annual No 1958*) on consumption pattern of the people of this country arrives at two conclusions: (a) Generally people believe that income elasticity for home-grown food would be more than one, so that every increment in income would bring about a greater demand for food. But the scanty data on the subject in his considered opinion do not substantiate this proposition. (b) Having presented a table on the ranges of elasticities of expenditure, he maintains that the future food policy in India has to aim at a reduction in per capita consumption of foodgrains and increases in that of protective foodgrains. None of these conclusions can be accepted wholly on the face of it. Without being boorish or blunt, we modestly lay down that absolute statement of the order like that cannot be held tenable. The two conclusions would, however, have to be qualified to distil out the partial truth they contain. We would briefly criticise them.

The basic idea that we must get along with at every stage of a discussion on consumption function is propensity to consume (or schedules of consumption) that fairly represents that proportion of income which would be spent on consumption out of income received and so work out different figures for varying incomes. Such a relationship can be postulated as a linear function (consumption function of income) at a given income level assuming a definite pattern of income distribution. But when the pattern itself changes the consumption schedules shift upwards or downwards. Assuming, therefore, a given set of income figures consumption function may convey



veniently be worked out on time series approach with statistical value. The schedule cuts across the income consumption line of 45° angular projection and the difference between the two represents saving and consumption. Prof. Fellner in his book, *Trends and Cycles of Economic Activity* discusses the whole dynamic time series approach. He says, "The linear shape of the function is merely a simplifying device, but it is realistic to assume that with an unchanging distribution of income the c.c. function (consumption schedule) would faithfully reflect itself. Leaving aside tautologies, the space for which is awfully limited, Dr. Bansil's first conclusion falls to the ground, mainly on following grounds:

(1) The income consumption line, obviously not the function where total income = total consumption holds good for a substantial majority of our population even today.

(2) An unchanging structure of income distribution cannot be realistically assumed. An economy in its streamlined ventures would result in a series of oscillations of all economic variables, viz., income, investment, consumption, saving, interest; etc. So a single consumption function cannot faithfully portray the entire economy and its innumerable changes in the nature, composition and textures of economic indices; and finally

(3) As Prof. Fellner himself points out, "the time series behaviour of the saved proportion of income is very different from its household behaviour. The c.c. line (consumption function) expresses a different sort of relationship from that which can be derived directly from household budget statistics." At another place he mentions: "there exists a significant difference between the behaviour of a family (cross-section behaviour) when it moves from a lower income to a higher income class at a given time of the national income, and the behaviour of a family when its income rises roughly in the same proportion as the incomes of other families in the economy."

An economic abstraction cannot be generalised without having its support in statistics, logic or otherwise.

The second conclusion: The pattern of consumption changing in favour of protective (selective) food can truly be maintained but

better be supplemented in the light of what follows: On certain assumptions, the Mehta Committee estimated that during the 2nd Plan period, the consumer demand for foodgrain will increase by about 10 per cent. "This when combined with an increase from 4.0 per cent to 4.5 per cent in the per capita consumption of foodgrains, on account of an expected increase in the 'Per Capita' total consumer expenditure, gives us an expected increase between 14.4 per cent and 15.0 per cent in the consumer demand for foodgrains during the 2nd Plan period."

Again one thing is not however clear. In his table of elasticity ranges which he has shown, the elasticity for main foodgrains and cereals had the lowest range of values. So far this is right. But it is difficult to imagine how the pattern of consumption would overnight change in an opposite fashion with a change in the income of the people when the income elasticity for meat, dairy produce, vegetables, sugar and beverages are approximately equal to unity? A counter reply to Dr. Bansil's inference may be found in the *Enquiry Committee's Report*: "Food, as it is today, is too costly for most of the people. Unless we lay more stress on productivity than on price, we cannot reconcile the subsistence farming on the one hand, and poor purchasing power of the masses on the other."

The upshot of the second part of this discussion is this: A tug-of-war is going on between two pulls of forces in mutually opposite directions. Population is increasing, employment, however small, is making its way and so aggregate demand is increasing on the one hand; on the other hand, the rate of production of the agricultural and the consumption goods remain more or less fixed or increasing in a way that is incapable to touch a silver line. This spells its reaction on the economy. In the short period it results in an increased cost of living and a shooting price level. In the long period the problem manifests itself in the form of higher import. But we are handicapped that way also, for it must be constantly borne in mind that capital repayment by this country would start right from 1961 to the extent of Rs. 100 crores for the debts that we have incurred in the process of

development from abroad. However, unless timely controlled, this zig-zag movement of supply and demand without the non-producers of food getting any share of it may well reflect a situation—the type closely resembling “scissors crisis.”

The situation in practice is more grim: for nearly two-thirds of the annual rice production is retained by the producers for domestic consumption, barter sales, seeds and payments in kind, releasing only one-third in the market. To a great extent this feature is also highlighted in the All India Rural credit Survey which shows that about 65% of the total sales of crops are effected in villages by traders. The rest makes its access into the assembly markets which cannot be controlled because of their unorganised composition. It should also be remembered that in our country supply and demand of goods are not identical with production and consumption. In between the two there is a twilight zone of “stock reserves” when foodgrains are sold to traders and are detained in stock. So in the sphere of exchange, this propensity to stock plays a large part. In response to the slightest changes in economic situation, changes in prices, expected production and state of monsoons, the dimension of the stock changes. It is, therefore, in the fitness of things, that this stock should be controlled to recover it out of the clutches of unscrupulous traders to ensure smooth and extensive competition between agricultural producers in the market in the long run failing which in the short run it may be controlled by the Government. So, two things can be done to tackle the situation.

In the short period, it should be clearly mentioned that proper arrangement should be made to market the whole produce without any loss or speculative hoarding anywhere. That can be done by socialising the entire trade of foodgrains, in plain terms by state trading. That is the short period measure. In the long period, however, the problem is connected with the raising of food production, which brings other questions like land reforms, irrigation, co-operative farming and institutional factors like credit, marketing and finance.

The case for state trading assumes importance in the theories of acute demand and supply imbalance. The Foodgrains Enquiry Committee recommended state trading on all hands and commended along with it the setting up of a price Stabilisation Board and Foodgrain Stabilisation Organisation. At the latest session of the N.D.C. the Government have sounded the proposal to establish a Price Stabilisation Board, through which the state would assume the wholesale trading in foodgrains. In order to avoid costs, the Government thinks that another organisation is hardly necessary.

The basic need and philosophy behind State Trading may be summed up as follows:

(a) The disquieting paradox that the producers do not get high prices, while the consumers are being forced to pay high prices and also that the increased deficit financing will have consequent adverse effect on foodgrain prices.

(b) It is assumed that the low price the producers get is a result of unequal competition as between buyers and buyers. In order to neutralise this unequal competitive power and checkmate the unscrupulous speculative hoarding and other malpractices, state trading is propounded.

(c) A smooth functioning which depends also in some way with the development by a broadbased co-operative system. The second plan has a target of setting up 18,000 primary marketing societies. But even if this plan gets through, we shall reach a stage in a decade and a half where 50 p.c. of the total trading business is performed through co-operative.

(d) A price support programme is hereby given effect to. The Reserve Bank through its traditional credit squeeze could touch only a fringe of the problem as most of the traders have enough liquid cash of their own.

*Operational Strategy:* The entire operation is to be carried on in two stages: (1) The State would license wholesale trade and regulate its functioning strictly. (2) The second would involve the setting up of a state-sponsored Body to undertake large-scale purchase and sale operations.

*Limitations:* The total turnover of marketable surplus calculated about 200 mil. on tons valued at Rs. 800 crores would have to be controlled by the Government. This is a colossal task. The entire surplus has to be procured, stored and sold, and such a big amount of money is to be invested from the public exchequer.

Secondly, there is the storage problem. Godowns owned by the Central and State Governments would not accommodate more than 40 lakh tons. This means that the Government would have to provide storing anyhow for the extra 160 lakh tons of foodgrains.

Thirdly, this would give rise to another difficulty. The conflict of interests between the surplus and the deficit states would always provoke the latter to indulge in distributional problem or else the manipulating operations would be carried within the States, which is natural.

Finally, costs of the project would increase due to recruitment of trained personnel, inspecting staff, publicity organs, etc., to sound the producers of the changing prices and costs of governmental transports.

Such limitations as these are there. But these must not jam or jar the fundamental task of this hour—that is—how best to control the entire trading operations on a large scale.

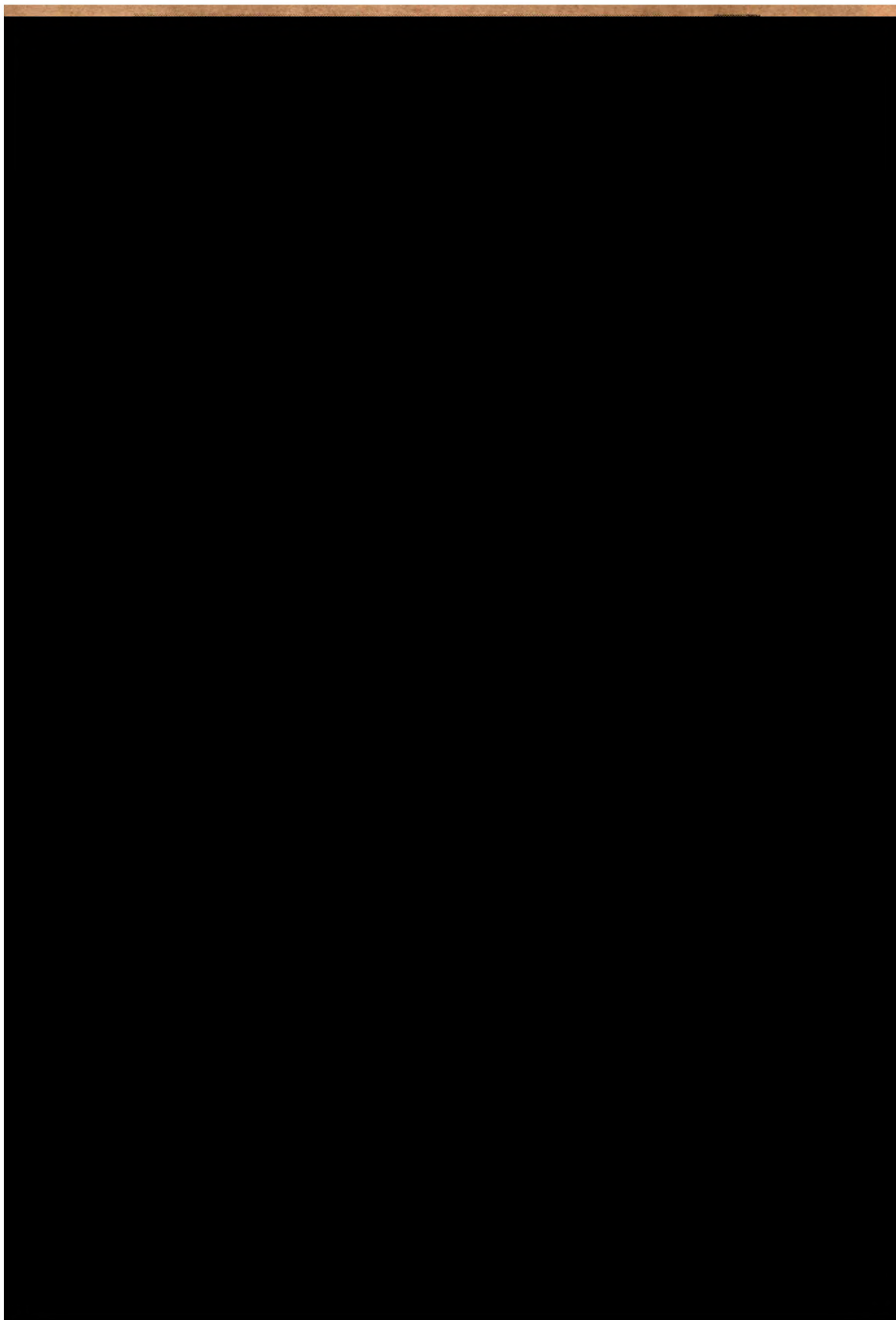
Scathing criticisms have been levelled in some quarters against State Trading Corporation. Reference is often made to its soaring unsuccess during the years 1949-52, when it committed the country to a loss of Rs. 50 crores per year. The whole concept is still not explained properly and kept in a nebulous form. These criticisms are not bad, though unpalatable and also may contain handful of truth in them. The root of the entire problem does not lie on the surface, but goes even deeper to the question of physical and financial planning. In countries with a planning apparatus, first-hand assessment of physical resources is primarily made and then a financial plan is drawn up to mobilise physical estimates. Sad enough, in India

a poor and practically no assessment was made in the true sense of the term during the plan periods in consideration. A financial plan was tentatively drawn up instead and then frequent adjustments made on the availability of resources, thus always pulling the cart before the horse. Foreign aid is an inelastic commodity. Friendly western countries have already warned India of the inadvisability of framing the next plan on the basis of needs rather than resources.

Whatever the case may be: foodgrains control in our country is an uphill task and faltering is more likely in such a case. We should be more cautious as not to err on the wrong side of the situation. Chastisement may scratch our certain defects but that does not carry us too far. Positive action is to be assumed at any point by the State if the situation has to be tackled and normally restored.

In this context, it is heartening to observe that according to the resolution adopted by the Public Co-operative National Committee in its meeting on November 5, 1958, intensive efforts will be made to mobilise maximum public participation at all levels in the country. The Committee appointed three Sub-committees to work out detailed proposals. The first sub-committee, with Mr. Sriman Narayan, Member (Agricultural), Planning Commission, as Chairman will formulate concrete proposals, which are to be popularised through the medium of local bodies, non-official committee and voluntary organisation, for mobilising public participation in the drive for increasing food production, ensuring proper marketing and fair distribution. The second sub-committee with Mrs. Deshmukh as Chairman will formulate detailed proposals for local bodies, particularly Panchayets, Co-operatives, non-official bodies at various levels and voluntary organisations for mobilising public co-operation in the matter of food and drinking water. The third sub-committee headed by Dr. V. K. R. V. Rao, will define an appropriate approach for the campaign of public co-operation in planned development in the country.





This time let us view the problem in its long-term aspect. As is known to all, the demand-supply imbalance can be palliated by a stricter control of supply at the short period and through it, may contrall the demand for the product; the long-period corrective lies in adjusting the supply of the output. In this case where the total demand for the product is increasing at a break-neck speed, production of food, agricultural commodities and consumers' goods is to be increased as of necessity. The bigger issue remains before us: are we going to shape the realistic, hard, closed-closet programme necessary to achieve food self-sufficiency? The bold answer is: we can, but only if there is a general national awakening, a mobilisation of thought and resources from the man in the ivory tower of bureaucracy and in the facade of business to the ordinary man behind the plough in the field. In order to step up agricultural production to a very high order, the fundamental task lies in getting through and through with a nation-wide and business-like programme for food production. We are to streamline the entire economy in that way. It is high time to realise that agriculture in this land is a craft, a business and a way of living. It is interesting to see how this business may smoothly go on.

Firstly, the village farmer is today broadly following the traditional time-old techniques and methods of cultivation. As a result the production of some varieties of crops yield abnormally low in the world. Secondly, the crux lies with increasing the output. And this can only be done in the face of a drastic revolutionary change in farming methods and practices. But for the poor handicapped agriculturist this would be an entirely new venture when he is not certain of its future impact on agriculture. Thirdly, in a period of acute food shortage and consequent rising inflationary pressure, the man in the field would venture to take up new farming methods more assuredly if he is given a governmental guarantee about the sale of his crops. *The Eastern Economist* aptly states, "The need is for a

floor under farm prices to remove from the cultivator the risks he will be asked to take in investing in improved seeds, implements, insecticides, fertilizers, irrigation and the like." Fourthly, comes the question of ware-housing and storing facilities, which is long overdue, the provision for which is extremely poor. Fifthly, the credit facility is conspicuous by its absence in the village sides. To sustain the farmer in the process of technical changeover he should be equipped in the transitional period with due credit facilities on the basis of his production potential. Sixthly, a "realistic vigorous approach to land reform is essential in a dynamic and business-like food production programme." The slow pace of land reforms is not only condemnable, it also keeps the farmer in a grip of uncertainty which does not in any way enable him to continue expenditure on farm improvement and development. He does not know where he stands at the present moment. The question of land reforms is intimately associated with the question of ceiling in urban income, which is still floating in the welter of controversies in the high level of the A.I.C.C. In the second plan, the problem of landless farmers is to be solved partly by redistribution of land in this fashion. On the basis of 20 acres for an individual nearly 60 million acres would be available for the entire community. "These surplus lands would hardly be sufficient for increasing the size of ridiculously uneconomic holdings to 2 acres each."

Next: There is at present virtually no rural distribution system which gets agricultural aids in the form of improved seeds, fertilizers, etc., in required time and bulk. A reliable and efficient country-wide network of seed multiplication farms, model farming stations, fertilizer centres and all that call for immediate attention.

Finally, the irrigation problem. We are not using the irrigation potential to the full. This is partly because neither the canals nor the fields are prepared for irrigation waters from complete projects and partly because the farmers lack education

Besides, the time-lag between the availability of benefits and their utilisation is a hurdle to be skipped with technical integrity.

The Planning Commission in its memorandum on appraisals notes: "The lag in the use of irrigation facilities was greater in areas in which the existing legislation does not provide for a compulsory charge in respect of lands for which irrigation is available, whether or not the supplies are utilised; also because sufficient attention has not been given to the construction of distributaries and field channels along with provision of storage capacity and to such measures as the setting up of demonstration farms, introduction of new crop patterns and assistance to cultivators."

This is important. Statistically it may be pointed out that in the year 1951 nearly 51.5 million acres were under irrigation. This represented only 17 per cent of the total cultivated area, leaving the rest, 83 per cent under the vagaries of monsoon. The first plan target of irrigation was 19.7 million acres extra. The achievement was 6.3 million acres under major and 10 million acres under minor irrigation. The second plan target for food production is 15.5 million tons extra on the basis of extra irrigated facilities to be extended over 21 million additional acres from large irrigation works and 9 million acres from minor irrigation works. The achievement is far from being satisfactory. At present there is no record of areas getting benefit from small works which go out of irrigation every year nor

is there a close enough correspondence between returns of areas irrigated and of additional irrigation facilities established in successive years. Further, the application of the principle of cost in charging irrigation rates has led to trouble for the cultivators who mostly depend on monsoon rather than irrigation. Naturally this shows their reluctance to use the latter on payment of charges. It is, therefore, in the fitness of things that concessional rates are charged from the very start.

These are the schedules in the transformation programme. The whole programme hinges on co-operatives. Consolidation through co-operative farming should be the transformation point to allow for technical improvements in agricultural farming. But on investigation it has been found that while individualistic way of life is being preferred to joint-family living, rural people are not willing to a considerable extent to part with their ownership of lands and get into the benefit of co-operative farming.

But these troubles are pretty enough to stand the tide of rash emendation or a silent revolution. On final analysis it appears that any scheme for rural upliftment rising out of any corner must be preceded by a thorough estimate and understanding of benefits from such changeover. This can only be done through preparedness-cum-proper training. A broad-based systematic education can do it.



## KENYA IN FERMENT

### The Genesis of the Mau Mau

By PROF. SUDHANSU BIMAL MOOKHERJI, M.A.

THE 19th century was the age of the expansion of Europe beyond its own frontiers. The tables have been turned in the 20th and Europe is being pushed back to its original frontiers. The process is, however, incomplete as yet. A struggle to end colonialism is on.

The Crown colony of Kenya in what is called the British East Africa has been passing through a crisis for about six years. The Mau Mau rebels have been up in arms against the Government from 1952. The rebellion is inspired by the Kikuyu, the largest and most powerful African Tribe of Kenya, and is confined almost wholly to the Kikuyu tribesmen.

Kenya with its 225,000 square miles is quite a large country. The population is less than six million. Yet, paradoxically enough, land is the crux of the Kenyan problem. Sir Philip Mitchell, the Governor of Kenya, who laid down his office in June 1952 shortly before the Mau Mau outbreak, warned the Colonial Office sometime before his retirement: "We (in Kenya) are confronted with an agricultural, economic and social revolution." He had suggested a Royal Commission to study the land question in East Africa. Negley Farson, an American journalist, had pointed out a few years earlier in his well-known book *Last Chance in Africa* that land is "the main tension-making problem in Kenya." English writers like Norman Ley and MacGregor Ross had warned that the alienation of lands to European Settlers would lead to disaster. The prophecy has come true, to the letter, so to say.

Europeans began to settle on the cool, high mountain slopes of Central Kenya in the early years of the 20th century. Later on, the British Government, at their instance, set aside for them a European reserve of some 16,000 square miles popularly known as the White Highlands. "In the total land surface of the country", observes John V. Murra, "this may not be much, but given the present technology it includes 35 to 50 per cent of Kenya's cultivable land." (*Kenya and the Emergency—Current History*, May, 1956). The nature and legality of the settlement have been challenged by many. The English contend that the High-

lands, unoccupied when they came, were a sort of no man's land, a bone of contention between the Kikuyu and the Masai pastoralists with neither having an effective control. It should be remembered, however, that the white settlement began at a time when the Kikuyu population had been halved by small-pox, locusts, famine and drought. Much of their territory wore a deserted look; but traditional ownership had not lapsed. European penetration, it must be noted, has affected all the African tribes of Kenya—the Suk, the Kipsigi, the Kamba, the Teita, the Masai and the like—but none so adversely as the Kikuyu, who "had foreigners billeted on them permanently."

The Kikuyus, a healthy people, began to recover from their population losses before long and found land in short supply. Farms were fragmented. Holdings became uneconomic. Pastures were over-graped. Erosion became a real threat. Hundreds of thousands of Kikuyus became landless in the long run. They drifted into towns or became squatters on European farms, where they were allowed to grow their own food on small patches given to them by the white Settlers. But they had to render seasonal service to the farmers on whose lands they were allowed to squat. The squatters were, to all intents and purposes, serfs of the European settlers. Villeinage, long dead in Europe, was born anew on the Kenyan highlands. Here was a problem which needed for a fair and satisfactory solution all the tact, sympathy and generosity in the world. To quote Sir Philip Mitchell, ". . . many Kikuyus long ago did find the constraints of British rule irksome, if not intolerable, and some were deprived of land which they genuinely believed to be theirs by right. That may have been a small number, claiming with justice little pieces of land, but it soon grew to be a general accusation and grievance."

The Kikuyus number more than a million. They are quite advanced and are one of the most outstanding tribes of Africa. John Gunther's comment on the British attitude to the Kikuyus is revealing: "Most Britons in Kenya despise Kikuyus . . . the British do not re-



cruit Kikuyus into the King's African Rifles, just as they did not allow *Bengalis* to enter regiments in the old days in India. *The Kikuyus, like Bengalis, were considered to be too intellectualized and unreliable . . .*" (*Inside Africa*, p. 364). The Kikuyus had an organised school system and the Kikuyu Independent Schools Association ran a number of national schools before the outbreak of the Mau Mau Rebellion in 1952. Peter Koinange, the great Kikuyu leader, founded the Kenya Teachers' College at Githunguri to train teachers for the national schools. Jomo Kenyatta, another great Kikuyu, became later on the Principal of this College. The Kikuyu national schools, naturally enough, soon became the nursery of the incipient African nationalism. Little wonder, they were all closed down under Government orders after the outbreak of the Mau Mau rebellion.

The Kikuyus are politically quite awake and their first political organisation—the Kikuyu Central Association—was founded as far back as 1922 by Harry Thuku. The Association stood for the recovery of the 'lost lands' in the 'White Highlands'. Jomo Kenyatta was its Secretary-General. It steadily developed a more overt and anti-white nationalist outlook. The Association, dissolved during the World War II, was revived under a new name the Kenya African Union (K.A.U.)—in 1944. The K.A.U. was not an exclusively Kikuyu organisation. It stood for all the tribes of Kenya. Its membership was thrown open to all Kenyan Africans. Under Kenyatta's leadership the Association soon had about a hundred thousand members. The Government suspected that the K.A.U. was only a hoax, that it was the old Kikuyu Central Association (K.C.A.) under a new name and on a broader base and kept a sharp eye on its activities. The Government are convinced that the Kenya African Union was the secret fountainhead of the Mau Mau movement. The Union was therefore suppressed and outlawed in June, 1953.

The Mau Mau is, in fact, a mixture of various elements. In the words of Gunther, "A new impulse towards nationalism and political freedom gave focus to the most ancient and primitive discontents. Spiritual unrest became discharged in racial, religious and economic

fields" (*Inside Africa*, p. 366). Long before 1952 when the Mau Maus struck openly, conditions for a major upheaval had been maturing in Kenya. The Kikuyus felt that they had been defrauded of their land. The squatter system and the over-crowding on the Kikuyu reserves—a paltry 2,000 square miles and the number of the Kikuyus has already exceeded the one million mark with the result that four Kikuyus out of every ten are landless labourers—embittered tribal feelings. Sir Philip Mitchell, whom we have quoted once before, had pointed out, ". . . many Kikuyus long ago did find the constraints of British rule irksome, if not intolerable, and some were deprived of land which they genuinely believed to be theirs by right. That may have been a small number, claiming with justice little pieces of land, but it soon grew to be a general accusation and grievance." The Western impact had detribalised the Kikuyus, among others. The misery and degradation of the new urban proletariat in the slums of Nairobi close to the Kikuyu reserves had intensified anti-white sentiments. The Kikuyu converts to Christianity had rejected the tribal gods; but many could not absorb the Christian god fully. The resultant vacuum has contributed not a little to Kikuyu instability. The Kikuyu Christians had long discovered that many of the European Christians paid only a lip-service to Christian ideals and that they did not practise what they preached. Resentful disillusionment was the result. Kikuyu separatist Churches had sprung into existence and various pseudo-Christian sects had come into being and they helped lead the way to the Mau Mau. An African educated class had grown. It gave the much-needed leadership to the disgruntled masses. Last but not least, an iniquitous colour bar seeks to deprive the African of his right to live freely and honourably in his own home. Nowhere in Kenya can an African buy a drink of hard liquor. He cannot carry arms nor can he go out at night without a pass. He cannot buy lands in the White Highlands, grow coffee or sisal except under certain restrictions, go to "white" restaurants, night clubs, movies and the like; use a European public toilet, vote except in a most vestigial way. The list, let us add, is not exhaustive.

None of these grievances, however, is so serious as the thwarted feeling of most Africans—the feeling that “they are outcasts in their own country, inferiors who do not belong fully to society.” It is this frustration, which, more than any other single factor, is responsible for the Mau Mau terrorism. The Kikuyus, as noted above are the spearhead of this onslaught on the authority of Her Britannic Majesty—the first of its kind in East Africa. The reasons are not far to seek. Bengal and Maharashtra were for similar reasons—economic exploitation, political consciousness, racial discrimination and a high intellectual calibre of their peoples—the pioneers of anti-British agitation in India.

The “Mau Mau,” says R. H. S. Crossman, “is only the first of . . . compulsive African protests. The fact that its obscenities have so far been met only by brutal and completely uncomprehending repression has intensified the racial hatred which is tearing Kenya apart. . . . In Kenya and indeed in all East Africa, it (the white herrenvolk) can only save itself from extinction by abdicating its privileges while there is still time. . . . But that means giving up the dream of white ascendancy; and, . . . no one . . . seriously contemplated doing that” (Article in *The New Statesman*, January 23, 1954).

Obscurity shrouds the meaning of the term Mau Mau. It may be a distortion of ‘Uma’, the Kikuyu equivalent of ‘quit’ or ‘get out’ or the Swahili of Oath (*muma*). According to some, it is derived from the *miaow*, of the cat; because cats are sometimes disembowelled in Mau Mau initiation ceremonies. Others again contend that the Mau Mau is derived by reversing the initials of the ‘Union of Africa Movement’ (*UAMMAU*). Yet others trace it to an early Kikuyu Princess the daughter of *Maumbi*, the legendary forbear whose offspring the Kikuyus claim to be.

In the fall of 1952 it was already quite clear that all was not well in Kenya. Ample evidence of tension was discernible. The white settlers heard rumours that some colonial officials had become convinced that the Kikuyu land-hunger had to be faced. The immigrant press raised a hue and cry and levelled the charge of “appeasement of Africans,” of

Africans who were alleged to want the end of European settlement. The Kenya African Union had been expanding in the countryside. Its primarily Kikuyu membership was on the increase. Other tribes were being drawn in. The top leadership already included a number of non-Kikuyus. Businessmen, teachers, traditional chiefs, politicians in large numbers and the only practising African lawyer, Mr. C. M. G. *Argwings-Kodhek*, had joined the Union. It received considerable, if not always overt support from the African civil servants. Just before the declaration of the emergency in October, 1952, the K.A.U. had sent a two men delegation to London to petition the Colonial Office on land-matters.

The Government was cautioned again and again. For several years before 1952, District Commissioners had been sending from time to time warnings about organised unrest in the countryside, about sporadic cases of a “new queer and ominous kind of terrorism.” These were ignored. Responsible Africans too gave warnings of “sinister trouble to come.” Mr. Havelock and a number of white settlers had warned the authorities again and again for more than two years before the storm burst that a severe crisis was impending. The authorities took no note. Governor Sir Philip Mitchell went so far as to say that reports that East Africa was “seething with unrest” were “inexplicable nonsense.”

Sir Philip Mitchell retired in June, 1952 and his successor Sir Evelyn Baring took over in September. Kenya had no Governor for three months and the Mau Mau struck during this interregnum. The murder of Mr. Waruhiu an aged and respected pro-European Kikuyu chief, brought the Mau Mau activities in the open. Waruhiu had an unbounded courage of conviction and he told the Mau Maus that the oath taken by their recruits under duress was not binding and was in any case contrary to the Kikuyu tradition. Outrage followed outrage and a state of emergency was declared in October, 1952. The Kikuyu schools and the Teachers’ College at Githunguri were closed down as Mau Mau training grounds. Seven office-bearers of the Kenya African Union were brought to trial as Mau Mau propagandists. Jomo Kenyatta, the most prominent

among them, was, according to not a few Europeans, the only man in the world who could "stop this outbreak . . . could stop it in ten minutes." But he was sentenced to seven years in jail on April 8, 1953. An appeal to the Privy Council was dismissed (July, 1954). His property was confiscated by the Colonial Government later on. The Kenya African Union itself was dissolved in the summer of 1953. The Kikuyu language newspapers—at least twenty in all—were all suppressed.

Reinforcements were rushed to Kenya. R.A.F. units from the Middle East joined hands with land forces later on. The situation in Kenya seems to have been brought under control today. Normalcy, however, is still a distant ideal. A formidable task confronts the administration. As Gunther puts it, ". . . man by man, clump of bush by clump of bush, the whole Kikuyu area has to be painfully and labouriously combed out." (*Inside Africa*, p. 368). Terrible atrocities have been perpetrated in the meanwhile by the terrorists, the military and the European population. 50,000 loyal Kikuyus joined the British-led Home Guard. The Mau Mau retaliated by the hideous massacre at Lari (March, 1953). Several hundred innocent Africans were driven from their homes and butchered in a mass slaughter. The Lari massacre was the worst single outrage in the whole revolt. A kind of head-hunting contest started among the Britons and prizes were given for most of the Mau Maus killed in action. Public opinion in London however forced a stop to the practice. Suspects were brutally tortured. One British officer was sentenced to five years in jail for having tortured suspects in his custody. Some 50,000 Kikuyus were arrested and screened in the notorious "Operation Anvil," "one of the most spectacular man-hunts in all history." It aimed at breaking up the connection between the Kikuyu leadership in the city on the one hand and the terrorists out in the countryside on the other. Those found innocent of any 'taint' were released. The over-all figures are staggering. According to one report (*African Affairs*, July, 1954, p. 198) a total of 165,462 Africans were arrested, 136,117 screened, 68,984 tried and 12,924 convicted. Contact between the African leaders still at liberty and the villagers

was effectively stopped. Offers of meditation between the rebels and the Government were scornfully rejected. The Mau Mau exploited the situation and took over the leadership of a large fraction of the angry, bewildered and terrorized peasantry. Responsible African leaders in the meanwhile were either isolated from the rank and file or languished in exile or in internment camps.

Of the 505 Kikuyus executed between October, 1952, and July, 1954, 223 were hanged for actual murder, 172 for unlawful possession of fire-arms, 88 for 'consorting' with terrorists, 14 for administering unlawful (Mau Mau) oaths, 6 for 'acting with intent to further terrorism' and 2 for procuring supplies for terrorists. Hundreds of Kikuyus have been shot down on suspicion. Many thousands of Africans are rotting in concentration camps. Many more have been evicted from European-owned farms or the zones of guerilla operations and concentrated in some three hundred fortified villages. Accordingly to ex-Governor Sir Philip Mitchell of Kenya, now a settler in the colony, 7,000 Africans were in jails or internment camps a year ago. Seven hundred had been hanged, 8,000 killed in battle and half as many taken wounded. The security forces had by that time lost 540 men. The Mau Maus had killed 1,400 Africans, 33 Europeans and 30 Asians. By 1954, Britain had spent £26,500,000 to crush the rebels.

The backbone of the Mau Mau revolt has been broken, no doubt. The problem of Kenya however remains. The Mau Mau, it must be remembered, is the symptom of a discontent deep down in the psyche of Africa. It is, as Gunther puts it, "A new impulse towards nationalism and political freedom gave focus to the most ancient and primitive discontents." (*Inside Africa*, p. 366). The African sense of frustration, and discontent and the consequent unrest manifested itself in racial, religious and economic fields.

Bullets alone cannot resolve the Kenyan tangle. We have it on the authority of no less a man than General Sir George Erskine, an ex-British Comman-

der-in-Chief in Kenya, "There is no military answer to Mau Mau; it is purely a political problem how Europeans, Africans and Asians can live in harmony." The Mau Mau is, in essence, a war between black and white. John Bull should know it for certain that Kenya's problem cannot be solved without African participation. Kenya cannot be a white-supremacy State for all time to come. It is true that the beginnings of multi-racial Government have been already made in Kenya. But the African partnership is more nominal than real. John Bull is still the dominant partner.

Africa must be approached as Africa

"and not simply as a projection of Britain, France, Belgium and Portugal. . . . Africa requires a hard, fresh and imaginative new look." A change of outlook is long overdue. The colour-bar must be broken. Drastic land reforms must be immediately introduced. The school-master must be sent to every hamlet and education must be made available to every African child. An all-out effort must be made to build up villages and a middle class, which will supply the much-needed leadership to the African community. Africans must have an effective voice in the management of their affairs. It is their Africa after all, not any one else's.

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## GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT OF NURSERY SCHOOLS IN GREAT BRITAIN

BY SREEMATI CHARU SHEELA BOLER

THE motives for opening nursery schools in Great Britain differ somewhat from America, as in England nursery schools were started as a remedy for bad social and economic condition whereas in the United States they developed at first mainly as laboratory is for Psychological research with children of middle class parents. In America, of recent years, however, many emergency nursery schools have been set up for the underprivileged sections of the community while nursery schools in England are now being opened for children of more privileged parents.

In the 18th and 19th Century Dame Schools were set up in the stuffy living rooms of uneducated women who in the absence of other means adopted this method of earning a living. These were very temporary sort of schools. A few of them had somewhat higher aims but most children were forced to learn skills much too early.

In 1816, Robert Owen, the famous Social Reformer, opened a school at New Lanmark in Scotland for children under six whose mothers

worked in the Mills. Under his influence other infant schools were opened in various parts of England and Scotland but the majority of these had formal instructions and rigid discipline which were quite unsuited to the needs and capacities of young children. The real motive of establishing these schools was to accustom the children themselves to habit of industry so that afterwards they could work in the factories.

Educational thought was influenced by the ideas of Froebel in 1854 and his kindergarten methods and play materials were used in England. Importance was given to a suitable environment in which "happy activities, free play and contact with nature could be experienced. Froebel's tendencies to apply the doctrine were counteracted by the introduction of grants and the accompanying system of payment by results. After much protest children under six were exempted from individual examination; the knowledge that this hurdle loomed ahead however affected the treatment even of the youngest. The ultimate aim of the infants' school was to give the

children a thorough grounding in the elements of reading, writing and number.

Towards the end of the 19th century a few free kindergarten schools sprang up in the larger cities. The first school was founded by Sir William Mather at Salford near Manchester in 1873 for children of 2 to 7 years of age. These schools were provided with baths, meals, training, rest and play. Some other free schools were established by charitable effort in the over-crowded districts of large cities.

An important step was taken in 1893. H.M. Inspectors were asked to direct their attention to two principles. The first concerned "the recognition of the child's spontaneous activity" and the second "the harmonious and complete development of the whole of the child's faculties." The circular again emphasized that "the teachers should pay special regard to the child's love of movement."

In 1900 a free kindergarten was opened by Miss Adelaide Wragge, Principal of the Blackheath Kindergarten Training College. This school was conducted in the upper part of the premises which had previously been used as a mission room. Four years later it was closed when the premises reverted to their former use.

In 1904 a people's kindergarten was later called a nursery school. More kindergartens were opened and some of these are still in existence and have become recognised nursery schools. The well-developed Free Kindergarten Movement in the U.S.A. inspired these first kindergartens.

Five women inspectors were appointed by the Board of Education to make an inquiry into the kind of education young children were receiving in the elementary schools. It was found from their report in 1905 that the education given in the Public Elementary Schools was unsuitable for young children. Therefore, it was realised that children between the ages of three and five gained no profit intellectually from school instruction and the mechanical teaching which they often received. It was said to dull their imagination and to weaken their power of independent observation. From this realisation it appeared essential that young children should be protected from unwhole-

some influences of an artificial civilisation and be allowed freedom to develop in an environment which should encourage normal healthy growth.

Rachael and Margaret Mcmillan by their hard work in demonstrating the need for medical inspection and treatment, and the earnestness of Margaret Mcmillan in preaching the new gospel of nurture made the cause of the young child a living issue. The result was that the movement towards the provision of nursery schools became truly national and within the range of practical politics. For some years Margaret Mcmillan worked as a private governess and companion in London and during this time she studied for the stage with emphasis upon voice production and music. While doing this training she learnt the importance of correct breathing and the proper use of the organs of speech, hearing and respiration. This extensive training was not wasted for it stood her in good stead in later years when she was dealing with the children in the nursery school in Deptford.

In 1894 while she was in Bradford she was elected to a seat on the School Board. Here she became interested in the newly-formed Independent Labour Party. Living a year there she discovered that many children were attending school in an unclean state and afflicted with ailments. She saw the children were sick, underfed, and dirty, which she believed that it could be remedied. Whenever she discovered a need she would set about putting it right whether legislative sanctions existed or not, and in these cases she induced Bradford School Board to provide school baths, school medical inspection, and a scheme for feeding children.

Rachael Mcmillan too was distressed by social conditions. While her sister had been pioneering health schemes for the schools in the North, she had qualified as a Sanitary Inspector and had become a travelling teacher of hygiene under the Kent County Council. Later the two sisters began the most strenuous period of their lives when they explored the dark places of the city of London. Together they saw—"the stained and tumbling walls, the dark, noisy courts, the crowded rooms, the sodden alleys all hidden behind the roaring street . . . . Women who care no

more. Girls whose youth is a kind of defiance. Children creeping on the filthy pavement, half naked, unwashed and covered with sores."\*

They drew up their schemes and tried to insist that education authorities provide school meals and health centres. However, in 1906 the Education (Provision of Meals) Act was passed and in 1907 the Education (Provision of Medical Inspection) Act was passed.

In 1908 with financial help from a friend, the Mcmillans opened a treatment clinic at Bow. In the same year from the report of the Consultative Committee of the Board of Education it was concluded that children under five need more care and training and the value of the nursery school was established. Rachael Mcmillan knew that for many years Sir George Newman had been reporting "that under five years is the crucial age physically and psychologically, and that much of the physical and mental impairment which appears in later years can be prevented if 'the tap is turned off at the source.'†

After 2 years when the clinic at Bow was closed the Mcmillan sisters opened a school clinic at Deptford in June 1910. In this same place in 1911 Rachael Mcmillan opened her first open-air nursery school in a garden with six children under five, one trained teacher and one girl helper. It was a slum area but children at the school received good food, fresh air, regular undisturbed sleep, training in healthy habits, playmates, freedom to move and suitable activities for their minds and bodies.

In 1914, the nursery school which had grown during this short time was removed to the new open-air nursery school which Rachael Mcmillan had planned at Deptford, granted by the London County Council at a nominal rent, and served as a model for other nursery schools. It consisted of low, well-warmed open-air shelters grouped round a garden. This plan has had a great influence on the type of nursery school buildings provided in Great Britain today. The school hours were from 7 A.M.

\*Margaret Mcmillan—*Prophet and Pioneer*: by Dr. Albert Mansbridge (Dent).

† P. E. Cusden: *The English Nursery School*.

to 5-30 P.M., because the mothers were at work for the whole day. Children used to spend a large part of the day in the open air. They were provided with three meals, beside this there were baths, physical care and medical inspection and they slept in the afternoon.

Rachael Mcmillan worked unceasingly during the 1914-18 war in spite of tremendous difficulties. At the nursery school she made it obvious that the children attending were thriving from 'nurture'. It was now her aim, intention and mission to make sure that other children besides the ones at Deptford should benefit from a nursery school.

In 1917 a full two years of training for nursery and infant school teachers was started at the Mather Training College in Manchester and recognised by the Board of Education for the Teachers' Certificate. The Gipsy Hill Training College, London, was also training teachers for nursery school.

In 1918 the Fisher Bill was passed, and powers to provide or aid the building of nursery schools for children over two and under five years of age were given to Local Education Authorities. Progress was slow and uncertain, because Local Authorities were not obliged to make provisions in nursery schools for young children. Thirteen Schools which had been started by voluntary effort before 1918 had been recognised for grant in 1919.

Laying down the conditions to be observed in order to qualify for grant, regulations for nursery schools were issued by the Board of Education in March 1919, and hopes ran high. Less than two years later due to financial restriction on the part of a government swept those hopes aside. The proposals for the establishment of nursery schools were banned by the Circular issued by the Board in January 1921.

In 1923 the Nursery School Association was formed with Margaret Mcmillan as its first president. The association set itself the task of making more widely known the work of nursery schools and the creation of a strong public opinion.

There was a thorough sifting of the available evidence and the Consultative Committee registered its decision that the State should be responsible for the provision of adequate conditions for the care of children of pre-compulsory school age. It also decided that the best form of provision would be the opening of nursery schools to be carried on by trained teachers competent to attend to the physical care of young children as well as to their mental and emotional development. All requirements as to hygiene, buildings, gardens, and equipment were to be met and close co-operation with the homes of the children was to be maintained. Attendance however was not to be compulsory.

These authoritative recommendations indicated a step forward in the fulfilment of a pressing need to look to the foundation of the National System of Education, and thus to the foundation of national life as a whole.

Ten years passed before the adoption of these recommendations was made possible: (1) the medical inspection of school children showed that one-third of the children entering at five years of age were suffering from preventable physical defects. (2) It was found necessary to make grants from public funds to be allocated to day nurseries and young children of mothers going out to work. (3) The examinations of army recruits witnessed the far-reaching effects of the absence of proper conditions in early childhood. (4) The growing experience of the pioneer nursery schools and free kindergartens, notably the influence of the first open-air nursery school established and carried out in Deptford by Rachael and Margaret McMillan a great demonstration showing the miracle that can be wrought by an open air life, contact with nature, good nutrition, hygienic surroundings, suitable mental occupation and understanding care.\*

Demands in the House of Commons for more nursery schools met with small encouragement until 1929.

Due to the financial crisis of 1931 this slow progress practically stopped for the next four or five years. This was unfortunate for now was the time when industrial depression and wide-spread unemployment made it more than ever necessary that adequate measures for safeguarding the bodies and minds of young children should be available.

The overcrowding and slum conditions in which thousands of people were obliged to live had worried the public conscience, and various attempts were made to deal with this problem through a number of Housing Acts. Slum Clearance Schemes were projected and talked about.

Vast new housing estates sprang up. Bright new houses were built, each with its own garden, but no provision was made for a school, Church, or shop.

Some local education authorities who had continued taking children under five converted these 'baby classes' into nursery classes. In the years preceding the War the progress of nursery schools was very slow whereas the nursery classes developed rapidly. Some authorities built 'nursery wings' to their infant schools and the nursery classes were provided with many of the amenities of a nursery school.

In 1933 the needs of the children of pre-school age were stressed and a strong appeal was made for the reservation of sites for nursery schools in connection with all new housing schemes.

The socio-economic aspects of the matter were not overlooked as will be seen from the following extract:

"It is now widely recognised that the open-air nursery school supplies what is wanted in the best way yet devised. It provides the needed space for the little children's active growth, it supplies medical supervision and healthy conditions, it gives each child opportunity for sound and happy mental and social training in close co-operation with the home. Thus physi-

\*1, 2, 3 & 4—Historical Records of the Nursery School Association of Great Britain from 1923-44.

cal and mental health for the future is assured, and a measure that may look like a luxury to some is seen to be no less than a national economy.”\*

A number of education committees responded to the appeal. They reserved sites for nursery schools when drawing up their re-housing schemes.

By the end of 1933 there were 59 recognized nursery schools in England, 32 of which were maintained by local authorities and 27 by voluntary committees.

In 1938 there were 114 separate nursery schools with accommodation for approximately 10,000 children. 58 of these only were provided by local education authorities and the rest by voluntary bodies with state aid. A large number of nursery schools were under consideration, but war in 1939 stopped the progress and plans were altogether forgotten.

Experiences during the War affected Nursery schools. These Nursery schools which were situated in cities and other vulnerable areas were either closed or evacuated for rural areas, where they became residential nurseries. Hundreds of special wartime nurseries, opened by the Ministry of Health to care for children from 0-5 years, came into existence in places where there was need to care for children whose mothers were occupied in wartime industries. The nursery schools exercised considerable influence on these nurseries, although it was impossible to staff them all with nursery school teachers. They were put in charge of a Hospital-trained nurse so that children under 2 years could be accepted and the children from 2-5 years were cared for by a woman who had been trained specially as a nursery nurse, assistant or a Child-care Reservist. The demand for teachers greatly exceeded the supply.

People became more nursery-minded as a result of the war as they had come to realize how much young children benefit-

ed from the special consideration they had been given during those years. The idea had been common for many years that nursery schools were needed only for slum and congested areas, but it was realized that all children would benefit from the experience. In some localities nursery classes were attached to the Infant Departments or in the case of rural schools, to the whole Primary Department. Those needed to be specially equipped to meet the needs of children under five, with facilities for washing, indoor toileting and rest, in addition to provision for play in open-air conditions. Unfortunately this did not always happen. The nursery classes are the responsibility of the headmistress of the Infant school. The class teacher is generally nursery-trained and the number and type of additional staffing such as trained nursery nurse, assistants, and Child-care Reservists, vary from district to district.

Some authorities, feeling that all children below the age of seven will benefit by the environment and methods of the nursery school, have developed nursery infant schools.

In a school of this type the children should be assured of an education which took them through 2 to 7.

The Education Act of 1944 provided a clause which made it the duty of every local authority to provide nursery school accommodation where it was needed. This was a decisive step incorporating the nursery schools in the standard system of education.

In the Ministry of Education Circular 155 dated 1st December 1947, the Minister expressed his regret that ‘for the time being he cannot sanction the provision of new nursery schools and classes or major extensions to existing nursery schools except where he is satisfied after consultation with the Minister of Labour that such work is required to assist the employment of married women in industry.’

\*Letter in *The Times*, 17 October, 1953.

In January 1952 the Minister of Edu-



tion asked Local Educational Authorities to review their estimate of expenditure for the forthcoming year and try if possible to reduce them by 5%. Some unenlightened Local Educational Authorities decided to close their nursery schools but were met by a great deal of opposition from parents and citizens. The people would not allow the economy cuts to begin at this end of the education system. They were determined to keep their nursery schools in face of opposition. The demand now comes not only from areas where housing conditions and general poverty call for special provision, but from better homes, smaller houses and smaller families. The concentration of town life, dwelling in flats, the increased employment of mothers in industry and commerce, are all influential factors.

*No. of Nursery schools in England and Wales in January 1953:*

|       |                                      |     |        |          |
|-------|--------------------------------------|-----|--------|----------|
| 457   | Maintained                           | for | 22,464 | Children |
| 20    | Direct Grant                         | "   | 818    | "        |
| 3     | Recognized, efficient, independent   | "   | 267    | "        |
| 1,965 | nursery classes for 55,627 children. |     |        |          |

*Nursery schools in 1953:*

Total No. of children between 0 and 5 on 31 December 1953 in the United Kingdom—3,917 (over 2,000,000 between 2 and 5).

1,724 nursery classes with 48,837 children in them.

*Nursery schools in 1954:*

There were 477 Nursery schools providing accommodation for 23,469 children. There were 1,553 nursery classes for 43,943 children.—From the *News Letter of March 1956—Nursery School Association of Great Britain and N. Ireland.*

Present Position—1956 has opened with some encouraging pointers.

The figures for 1955 show a small increase in Nursery schools which have now risen to 484 as against 477 in 1954 and the 1955 figures for Nursery classes also show an increase on the 1954 figures.

The N. U. T. Sectional Meeting of Infant and Nursery School teachers passed unanimously a resolution proposed by Miss K. Rowe and seconded by Mrs. Britton, which urged the N.U.T. to re-affirm its belief in nursery education and to press for the provision of such education as envisaged in the 1944 Education Act. The London Head Teachers' Association accepted the following resolution from the Education Committee of the L.H.T.A. for discussion at the Annual Conference of the Head Teachers' Association this year: "This conference urges that a Nursery class be opened in each Infant School, as accommodation becomes available."



## DR. L. P. TESSITORI AND HIS LINGUISTIC ACHIEVEMENTS

By MANOHAR PRABHAKAR

AMONGST the Italian scholars who fostered and strengthened the cultural ties between India and Italy through their Indological studies and linguistic achievements during the nineteenth century, the name of Dr. L. P. Tessitori stands at the top. This does in no way mean that cultural relations between the two countries were not in existence prior to this period. From the 13th century down to the 18th, a good number of Italian tourists including Marco Polo, Nicolo Conti, Ludovico, De Varthema and Nicolas Manucci visited India and high-lighted her chivalry, romance, glamour and gaiety in the western world. They were so deeply impressed and influenced by Indian culture that one missionary, Courtantino Beschi, who came to India in the 18th century, adopted the Indian name of 'Virana Munivar' and wrote in Tamil the *Tembavem*, a bulky work in verse based on mythological and legendary tales. Extremely interesting is the fact that Gasparo Govesid, a prominent Italian Sanskritist, was the person who brought out the first unabridged edition of the *Balmiki Ramayan* with an Italian translation from Turin under the patronage of Carlo Alberto, one of the mighty monarches of Italy at the time.

Similarly, Italian literature also impressed the Indian scholars. M. Madhusudan Dutt, a noted Bengali poet, of the mid-nineteenth century was a profound scholar of Italian. He composed several sonnets in honour of Dante in his mother-language, translated one of them in Italian and sent it to Rome as a glowing tribute from India to the memory of Dante on the occasion of his seventh centenary. Only a few years ago, the Italian translation of a number of selected pieces from Sanskrit *Mahabharat* was brought out by the talented Italian poet, Kerbaker. But the great work that Dr. Tessitori accomplished deserves high praise and appreciation.

Born in 1887 at Udine, a small town in Italy, Dr. Tessitori had a keen curiosity and thirst for knowledge from his very childhood. In the year 1906, when he was a student of the University of Florence, he developed an irresistible craving for learning Sanskrit. He

began to learn it under the guidance of a Professor of Sanskrit. After graduating in the year 1910, he undertook research work on *Ram Charit Manas* and produced a thesis presenting a comparative study of the *Ramayana* of Balmiki and that of Tulsidas. This won for him the degree of doctorate.

While working in the national library of Florence, Dr. Tessitori went through over 300 books of Hindi, Gujarati, Rajasthani, Marathi and Bengali which inspired him to visit India and study her culture and literature. For this purpose, he applied himself to acquire adequate knowledge of almost all the Indo-Aryan languages. It was in the year 1914 that Dr. Grierson, who was greatly impressed by the scholastic achievements of this young Italian, proposed to the Government of India to appoint him to the post of the Superintendent of bardic and historical survey of Rajputana under the Asiatic Society of Calcutta. On April 8, 1914, he landed on the soil of his dreams. He came into contact with all the Indian and British officials in Calcutta and planned for his literary pursuits about three months after his arrival in India. He reached Jodhpur which he described as 'a city of high edifices made of fine redstones echoing the sweet songs of fascinating damsels'. He made this place his headquarters for research work. Here he came to be acquainted with Shri R. K. Asopa, a Rajasthani historian of repute who had been a Professor of History in the Calcutta University for a considerable period and was greatly impressed by his knowledge. Shri Asopa helped him a lot in collecting materials and in the understanding of the manuscripts of old Rajasthani. After a brief stay in Jodhpur, he came over to Bikaner where he lived till November 22, 1919, the day of his departure from this world.

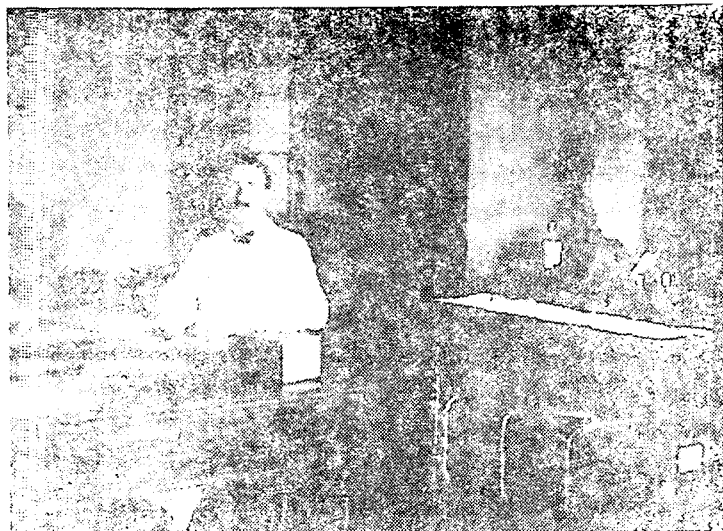
The work that Dr. Tessitori did during this short span of five years, is of remarkable importance. Years before his arrival in India he had rendered into Italian *Bhava Vairagya Shatak*. The translation is an evidence of his profound learning and knowledge of Sanskrit and Prakrit. His critical thesis on the *Ram Charit Manas* of Tulsidas, the Indian Dante,

is an achievement which can be well envied even by the greatest linguists of India. He was hardly 24 years of age when he startled the world of scholars with this research work of great magnitude. *Indiya Parajaya* and *Nariket ki Eartha* were the other two books that he

scholars. As Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterjee has remarked this essay is the 'most outstanding contribution to the study of the modern Indo-Aryan languages.'

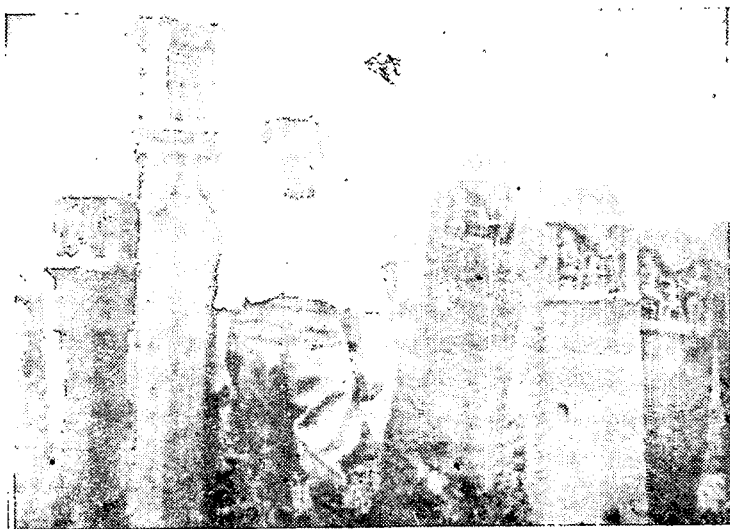
In the first report submitted to the Asiatic Society of Calcutta, he has mentioned that

"Vachnika Rathor Ratnasingh ji Ri, Mahesadasota Khiriya jaja Ri Kahi" was the first book in Rajasthani which he critically edited after going through the text of over a dozen available manuscripts. Besides this, he edited the famous Rajasthani epic, the "Veh Krishna Rukamani Ri Rathore Raja Prithi Raja Ri Kahi" which he had described as the 'richest gem in the mine of Rajasthani literature,' and the "Chhanda Rau Jetasi Ro Vithu Sujl Ro Kahyo." He also brought out the Descriptive Catalogue of Bardic and Historical MSS which he himself discovered in Jodhpur and Bikaner. In Jodh-



Dr. Tessitori in his study

translated from Rajasthani in to Italian. In order to avoid the monotony of serious research work, he also translated two more works, mainly recreational, "Gatha Saitshati," a book of love poems by Hal and "Kutton ki Pooja Karanewala Vyapari" or the 'Trader that Worshipped Dogs' written by Mir Amman in Rajasthani. This was what he had done before he left his own country for India. But a major part of Tessitori's works mostly written in English was produced in India. His philological essay entitled "Historical Grammar of the Old Western Rajasthani Speech" wherein he had



Dr. Tessitori amidst the relics of Rajasthan's past glory

advocated through comparative study of grammar on the historic and linguistic grounds that the denomination of 'Old Gujarati' should be replaced by that of 'Old Western Rajasthani' aroused great controversy among the

pur he had to confront tremendous difficulties which seriously hampered the speedy pace of his work. That is why after a short stay, he had to shift to Bikaner where he received the heartiest co-operation

both from the local scholars and from the State. His Highness Sir Ganga Singh offered him a specific assignment of making a survey of the historical and bardic literature of the State. The detailed description of his research work is elaborately embodied in his five reports that he submitted to the Asiatic Society.

Dr. Tessitori was deeply impressed by Jainism. He had very intimate relations with Guru Vijay Dharm Suri, a revered Jain Acharya, who, it is said, made him (Tessitori) his disciple after observing formal *Deeksha* ceremony. Shri Agar Chand Nahata, a renowned research scholar of Bikaner, has a considerable collection of the letters written by Dr. Tessitori to Guru Vijay Dharm Suri and his successor Indra Vijaya. The author of this article had an opportunity to go through those letters which indicate a very great influence of Jainism on Tessitori's life.

Dr. Tessitori, though an Italian by birth, came to develop all the characteristics of a perfect Rajasthani. He had a keen liking for Rajasthani costumes and conveyance by camel. So long as he lived, he worked untiringly with an everlasting enthusiasm and missionary zeal. Neither the luxuries of the court accorded by various rulers made him lethargic, nor the inconveniences that he had to suffer in the villages during his tours compelled him to withdraw from the field. But the unsuitable hot climate of the sandy desert combined with over-exertion cut the strings of his life short at an age of 32.

The life and work of Dr. Tessitori is a perennial stream of inspiration to the Indologists abroad and to those who hold high the banner of Rajasthan's revival.

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## ELLORA—THE MAGNIFICENT

By PROF. R. N. DEB, M.A.

Ajanta is mostly memories. There is an atmosphere about those caves. It is largely due to their location. A sharp turn in the hill, a "U"-shaped fold, and, in between the two arms of the fold, a thick snout sharpening into an edge and falling down in broken steps to the bed of the stream. That stream the source of which is at the foot of one of the caves, a cascade of water leaping down the hill-side, is normally a thin line of wandering water on its pebbly bed. But when the rains come the little fall roars and the foamy water of the stream lashes against the boulders of its bed. "But," said the tea shop-keeper, "after the rains the water is clear like glass and one sees the glittering coloured stones of the river bed." I am sure it is so—the murmur of the crystal water, the coloured pebbles, the drowsy call of the noon-sleepy bird, all that fits in with this retreat of the hermits. The hills are around us and, even now, though the forest is not as thick

as it was, yet the clumps of trees are thick. We may not meet with the tiger nor hear its kingly roar but we may, if we are lucky, spot a small herd of deer watching us from a distance. However, the denizens of the forest have disappeared with the march of civilization. What remains is the black road, the honk of cars and buses and the tourist keen on "doing Ajanta." Fortunately the cars and the buses and the tourists keen "on doing" are there only for a few hours. And when the last car has left and the sun casts longer shadows, there comes the silence and the calm of the caves and it seems as if something of the old Bhikshus' contemplative withdrawal is still lingering in the atmosphere.

But Ellora overwhelms one. Suddenly it bursts upon us. A low sprawling hill to our right, its entire side honeycombed with caves. The landscape though undulating lacks Ajanta's quiet-nestled charm, that faint-twilight-whispering quality

where any moment you expect to hear the hushed footfall of an old Bhikshu. But in Ellora there is a sense of display. The caves seem to call us in a spirit of challenge. The quiet contemplation of Buddhist art gives place to a vigorous and virile form of carving. The gods are full of power and the goddesses full of beauty. What sensuous grace there is in the flow of the lines or in the smooth curves of the solids! Yet all the other caves and their carvings, and there are hundreds of pieces which are superb masterpieces all of them with their diverse beauty, almost pale into insignificance before the temple of Kailash.



Hill-tops: Strange rock-shapes on the way to Ellora

I am sure it is one of the wonders of the world. For here the spirit of those masters perhaps tired of burrowing into hill-sides, challenges the hillside itself, cuts and slices and carves it to its entire satisfaction. These builders must have been giants of imagination. They not only saw a shape hidden in a block of stone but saw an entire temple hidden in a hillside. And they attacked the hillside with their pick-axes and their chisels, undaunted by the magnitude of their task. The thousand-year old marks of the chisels are still to be seen. They cut the rock seam vertically and horizontally for hundreds of feet, working for years and years. The first batch of stone cutters must have died leaving their task to their children and they in their turn left it to theirs.

It is this stupendousness of the conception, this desire to rival the gods which overwhelms us. Who was that immortal visionary who had conceived the design of the temple? For even now when much has been damaged by time what remains shows the tremendousness of the task and the magnificence of the execution. Where else do we have such a carved-stone elephant as the remaining one near the gate of the temple? It is not only its proportions, for it is life-sized, but it is here that we have that rare quality in art the balance between the ideal and the real. It is an elephant all right but it is also an artist's dream. The slight sway of the trunk, the carving to tons of stone of the torso of the great beast and balancing it on feet which in spite of their massiveness have an indescribable grace—this certainly is a work of one of greatest sculptor's of all times.

Indian sculptors have a glorious tradition. Be it the artists of Orissa or Khajurao or Mahamallapuram, or the great sculptors of the Pala times there is the same sculptural conception where the master succeeds in creating out of the plastic masses a sinuous flow of movement but giving to it a three-dimensional quality which is perhaps hardly ever paralleled in the field of sculpture. This beauty of movement, like the flowing of water, is the keynote of Indian art. It is to be met with in our rich lyrical literature, it is to be found in all our great pieces of sculptures, it is there in our painting. For the Indian artist has ideally blended the plastic imagination with what Ribot in his *L'Imagination Creatrice* has described as the "diffuent or emotional imagination." It is the sheer melody of Indian art, not so much patternisation which makes it so unique and slightly incomprehensible to the Western mind. But in the South and the West of our country, the figures carved are more monumental for the bringing of the mate-

rial was no problem. The hills were at hand: they just carved them. And it is this monumental quality to which the artists of the times succeed in giving a melodic grace which is their true triumph. As one enters the main body of the temple one finds two images facing each other, one of Shiva in a Dhayani mood and the other of Durga in a warlike mood. Perhaps even in the long tradition of Indian art the two moods have been never expressed with greater force and dignity. Shiva sits deep in meditation but a joy seems to flow out of

ception which makes his art so unique and so baffling.

We were feeling tired for we were trying to do the impossible. We were trying to do the caves in a single day. It is not only perhaps impossible but it is not also desirable, for, the impressions one receives are too many, and one's power of perception is dulled.

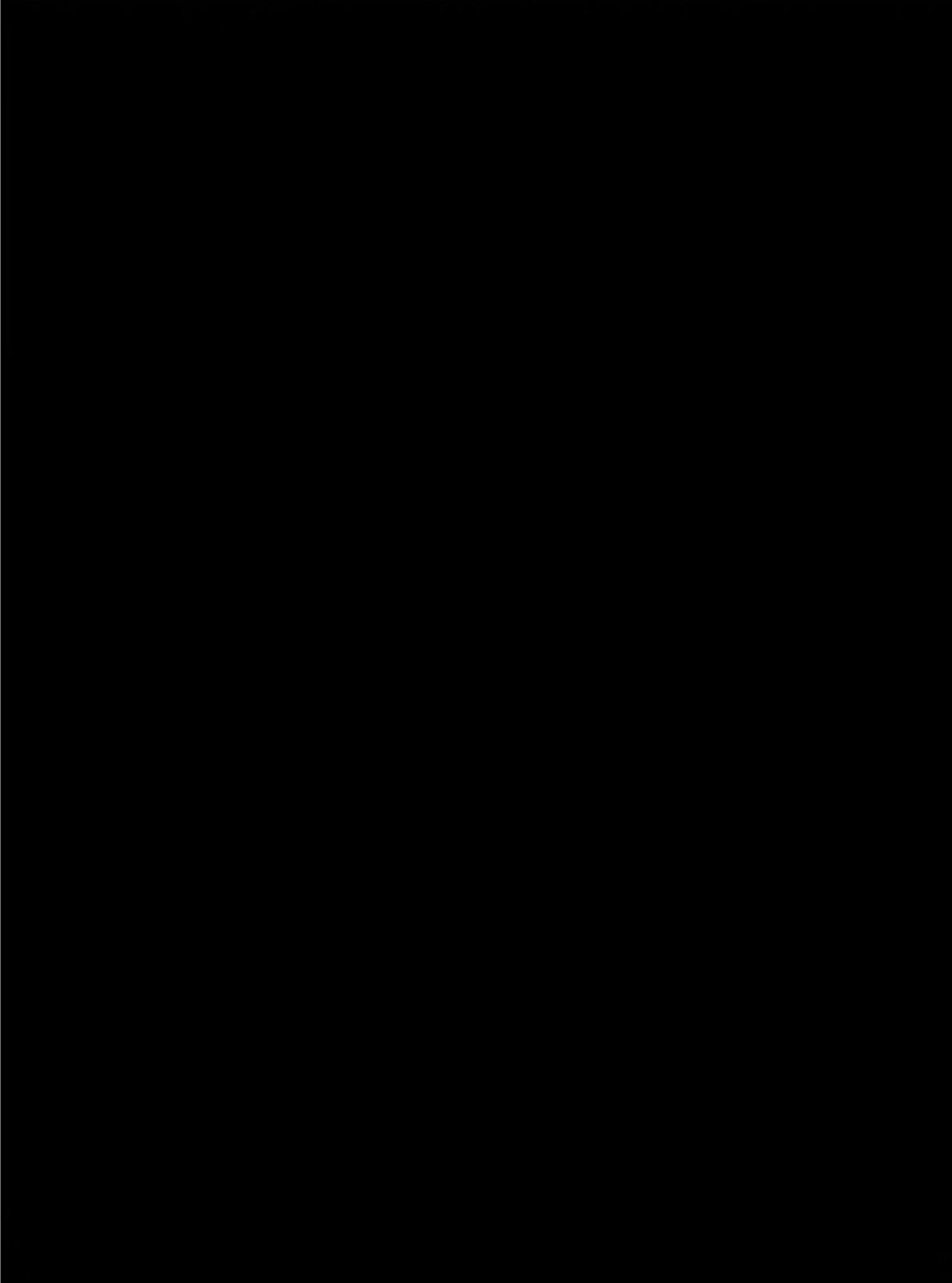
So we came out of the temple and sat on the restaurant outside. Our taxi-driver was really helpful. "Take your time. I don't mind reaching Aurangabad late." So after a little rest and a cup of tea we went back to the

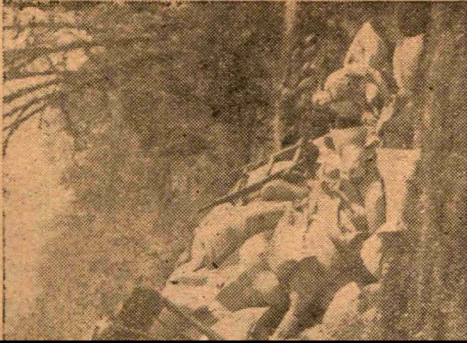


time of low grade, high ash, non-caking, low volatile bituminous high moisture oil



formation relating to the various research of Mysore, Kerala and Madras. This con-

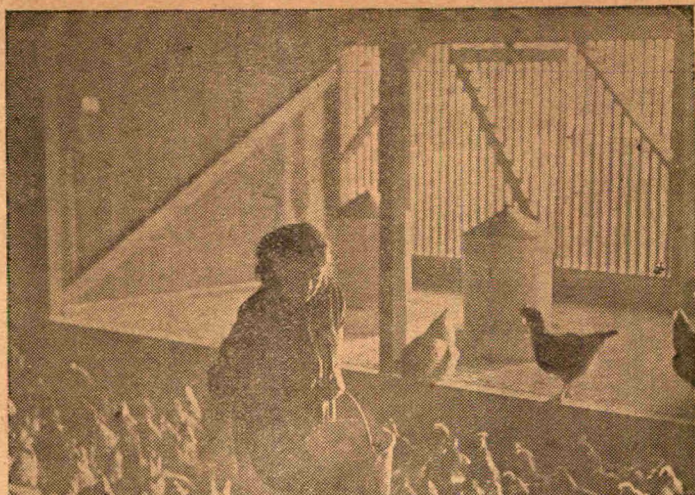


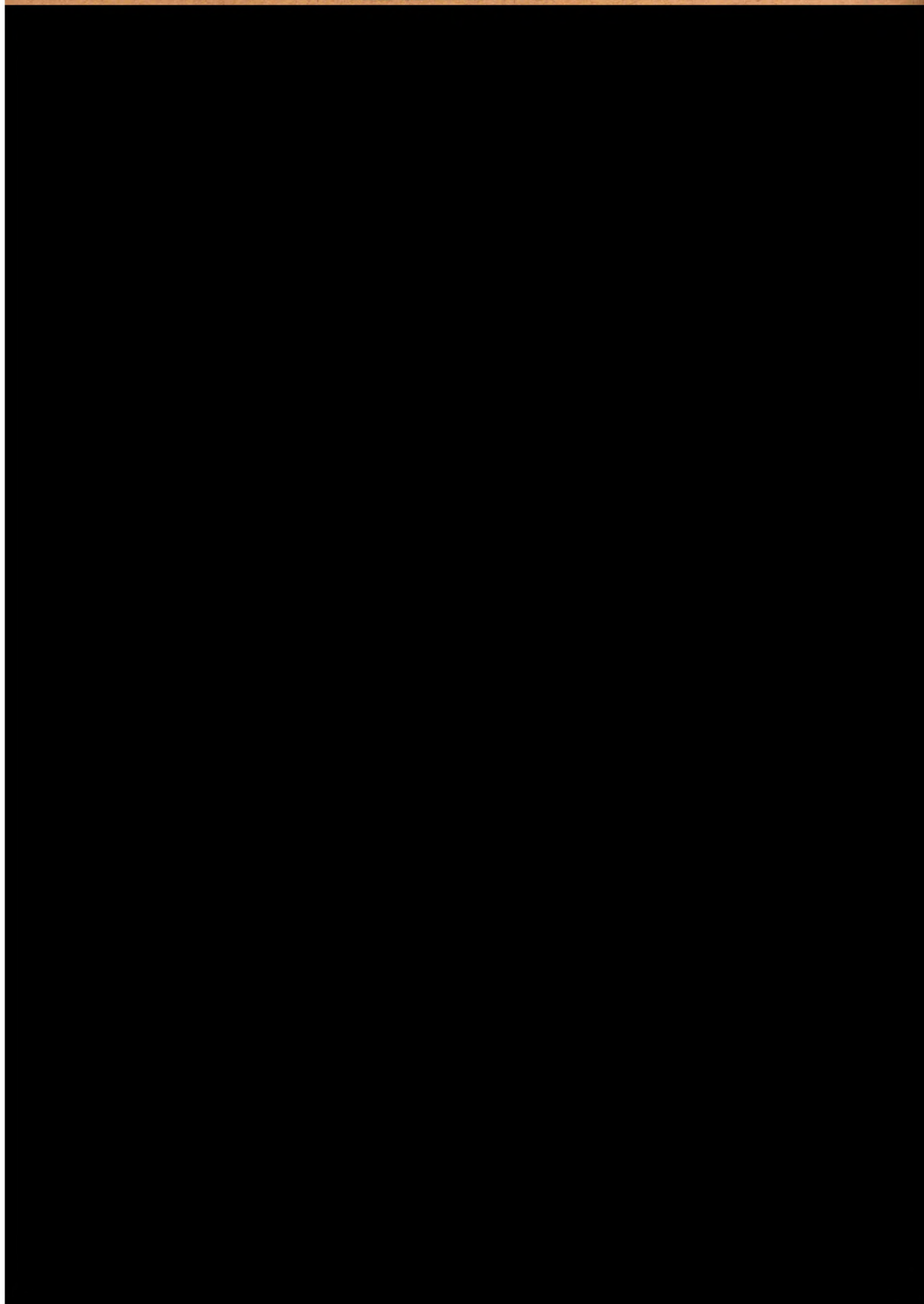


the farm is obstructed  
accident



farm is so short





hind. These were the rewards of their deep and unquestioning faith; a faith fortified however, by their own perseverance and unremitting labor.

That such rewards are still worth the struggle is evidenced in a modern allegory of Thanksgiving which relates the experience of two photo-journalists, Otto and Hansel Hagel, who decided 15 years ago to forsake the turbulent life of the city for the simple joys of farm life. Products of a

But these images of an effortless Eden were quickly dispelled by the realities of making 468 hilly acres productive. They found that building the house and barns with their own hands, planting fields and tending live-stock required 365 days a year of unceasing labor. This was an unexpected challenge but not a defeat for the Hagels, since they, like the Pilgrims, had perseverance and believed in a compassionate God. They were willing to accept the toil, the sacrifice and the disappointments



clusions have been drawn on the general trends of urbanization in India and suggestions have been offered to encourage sound thinking in this field. Efforts have, however, also been made to compare, wherever necessary, the Indian conditions with those of the foreign countries.

### Increase in Urban Population

Although, the number of people living in towns and cities in India is larger than the entire population of Great Britain and France, the absolute number in relation to the total is not very alarming. During the 30 years ending in 1951, it has, however, significantly changed. According to the 1951 Census, out of 3,569 lakhs of the total population 2,950 lakhs lived in the villages and 619 lakhs in towns whereas in 1921 the respective figures were 2,199 lakhs and 282 lakhs only.

### Aggregate Variations

The urban development trend in India has been slow but steady. Its pace has further been well-marked during the later decades, when the economy began to feature a relatively greater industrialization. The following table gives an idea of the aggregate variations of urban population during the three decades following 1921 :

TABLE I

#### Decennial Variations

| Year | Persons<br>(in Lakhs) | Variation<br>(in Lakhs) |
|------|-----------------------|-------------------------|
| 1921 | 282                   | ...                     |
| 1931 | 334                   | 51                      |
| 1941 | 438                   | 104                     |
| 1951 | 618                   | 181                     |

(Source: *Times of India Year Book and Directory*, 1955-56, p. 7).

Evidently, urban population during the decades between 1921-51 became more than doubled. In the year 1921, the total number of persons dwelling in towns were 282 lakhs, which rose in 1951 to 619 lakhs. Thus the urban population, during the period under review, registered an increase of 337 lakhs of people, which is more than the total urban population of 1931 by 3 lakhs. The percentage variations

### Percentage Variations

The trends of urban population mentioned above are also supported by the percentage increase in urbanization. The percentage of urban population to the total population which was 10.2 in 1921, increased to 11 in 1931, to 12.8 in 1941 and 17.3 in 1951. Thus, the percentage increase has been sharp in the last two decades.

In spite of the marked rise in the percentage of urban population to the total population during the last decade ending in 1951, it is still substantially low when compared with that of the other highly industrialised countries. Hence, the oft-quoted proverb 'India lies in villages' still holds good. It will take at least a century for the country to come to the level of highly industrialised countries provided the pace of industrialization remains the same. The following table adequately supports this phenomenon:

TABLE II

#### Percentage variations compared with other countries

| Country            | Urban<br>population<br>per square<br>miles | Urban<br>population<br>(per cent<br>of total) | Population<br>of towns<br>with 50,000<br>and over |
|--------------------|--|---|---|
| England and Wales  | 712  | 80  | 50.9  |
| Belgium            | 690  | 60  | 17.3  |
| U. S. A. ,         | 46   | 56  | 34.4  |
| Canada             | 3(8)                                       | 53  | 27.4  |
| France             | 187  | 53  | 21.7  |
| Egypt              | 50(1375)                                   | 25  | 16.6  |
| India and Pakistan | 125  | 13  | 5.7   |
| India (1951)       | 285  | 17  | 11.8  |

Source: *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, Vol. 18, page 231.

In the U.K., 80 per cent of total population live in urban areas and the percentage of the U.S.A. and Canada is 56 and 54 respectively. It is, thus, clear that urbanization in India is not yet a much pressing

problem and there is a wider scope for its growth. But what is more alarming is that the towns and cities do fail to accommodate properly the rising tide of migrants. We shall discuss this point at a later stage.

### Periodical Variations

The trends of aggregate and percentage variations have a close bearing on the periodical variation of urban growth. It will be evident that the progress of industrialization and the implementation of national plans have given a further impetus. The rate of rural depopulation as compared with urbanization has another fascinating story to tell. It would be instructive, therefore, to study the rate of growth under these subdivisions, viz., (i) the rate of growth prior to the plan era, (ii) the rate of growth during the plan period.

The urban population growth in India was slow and gradual before the Second World War. The war quickened its pace and it was during the war period that enormous urbanization took place. A vast multitude of people began to migrate to the cities for employment and business activities grew rapidly in the towns. In some of the cities, such as, Calcutta, the British Government stationed a large number of foreign troops which temporarily increased the urban population. In other cases, the war-inflated urban population became more or less a permanent feature. Those who established themselves in urban circumstances, got very little attraction to return to the villages, when the war terminated. The rate of urbanization during the war was more than usual.

The war initiated relatively high rate of urbanization and it received a further stimulus with the introduction of planning. The First Five-Year Plan, though a plan mainly of rural rehabilitation, could not prove to be a positive check on the rural de-population. As regards the Second Five-Year Plan it can very well be said that this is an instrument of active urbanization. Of course, the necessary data are not available so as to demonstrate the rate of urban population growth during the plan-period, but the speedier crowding of towns and cities and the breeding of new towns are being generally felt.

For instance, the springing-up, growth and development of steel-towns (Bhilai, Rourkela and Durgapur), fertilizer-town (Sindhri) State capitals (Bhuvaneshwar, Bhopal, Jaipur and Chandigarh) and industrial estate towns (Okla and Naini) have substantially added to the pool of urban population. Community development and refugee rehabilitation activities have also converted barren lands into lofty towns, such as Nilokheri. Many other centres of industrialization are now buzzing with activities.

### Comparison with the Trends in Rural Population

When we compare the urban population growth with that of the rural population, we find that the rate of the former has been much higher than that of the latter. In 1951, the urban population registered an increase by 22 per cent whereas the rural population increased by 13 per cent. As a matter of fact, the total number of persons living in villages has come down whereas the total number of persons living in towns has grown up.

The decennial percentage will prove the fact that the tendency towards urbanization is greater. The rate of growth in respect of town population is much higher than the rate of growth in respect of village population. The table given below illustrates this trend :

TABLE III

*Urban and Rural distribution of population and their rates of growth*

| Year | Population in lakhs |       | Rate of growth |       |
|------|---------------------|-------|----------------|-------|
|      | Villages            | Towns | Villages       | Towns |
| 1921 | 2,190               | 282   | —              | —     |
| 1931 | 2,420               | 334   | +10.1          | +18.4 |
| 1941 | 2,710               | 438   | +12.0          | +31.1 |
| 1951 | 2,950               | 619   | + 8.9          | +41.3 |

The above table shows that the rate of urban population growth in 1931 was double the rate of the rural population growth. It was more than 2½ times in 1941 and about five times in the last Census.

**Impact on Small Villages and Big Cities**  
The classification of villages and towns

according to population further supports the trends towards a higher rate of urbanization. A comparison of figures of towns and villages of the last two censuses reveals that the number of villages has decreased whereas that of the towns and cities has increased, the greatest impact respectively being on small villages and big towns. The following table supports this observation:

TABLE IV  
*Categories and villages on the basis of population*

| Towns and villages with a population of— |          | Number in 1951 |          |
|--|----------|----------------|----------|
| 1. Less than                             | 500      | .....          | 3,80,020 |
| 2. Between                               | 500 and  | 1,000          | 1,04,268 |
| 3. "                                     | 1,000 "  | 2,000          | 51,769   |
| 4. "                                     | 2,000 "  | 5,000          | 20,508   |
| 5. "                                     | 5,000 "  | 10,000         | 3,101    |
| 6. "                                     | 10,000 " | 20,000         | 856      |
| 7. "                                     | 20,000 " | 50,000         | 401      |
| 8. "                                     | 50,000 " | 1,00,000       | 111      |
| 9. Over                                  | 1,00,000 |                | 73       |

Source: *Census of India*, 1951, Part I, Vol. I, p. 73.

According to population villages and towns have been classified into 9 categories and by a comparative study of 1941 and 1951 figures it is found that in the first four categories the number in 1951 has decreased from 450,092 to 380,000, 123,911 to 104,268, 56,408 to 51,769 and 22,151 to 20,508, respectively. The decrease in terms of percentage comes to 19.5 per cent, 16.11 per cent, 8.16 per cent and 7.66 per cent. The fifth category with a nominal increase of 2.6 per cent remains more or less stationary. However, it is interesting to note that in the last four categories the total number in 1951 has increased from 733 to 856, 321 to 401, 95 to 111 and 51 to 73, respectively. The increase in terms of percentage over the last census comes to 16.78 per cent, 24.92 per cent, 26.81 per cent and 28.07 per cent. Thus, it is clear that the greatest fall 19.51 per cent has been registered in the case of villages with a population of less than 500 people and the cities with a population of one lakh or over, have shared the largest (28.07 per cent) increase. Hence, there have been

two distinct trends; on the one hand, small villages are being swallowed by big villages, and on the other, small towns attracted big cities.

### Townwise Distribution

There can, be hardly any dispute on the fact that urban development in India has shown a centripetal tendency. The big cities have largely outgrown the small towns and townships. This is again evident from the following table:

TABLE V  
*Townwise Distribution\**

| Category       | Number of towns | Number of town-dwellers (in lakhs) | Urban population (percentage) |
|----------------|-----------------|------------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| 1. Cities      | 73              | 235                                | 38.0                          |
| 2. Minor towns | 485             | 186                                | 30.1                          |
| 3. Major towns | 1,848           | 178                                | 28.6                          |
| 4. Townships   | 612             | 20                                 | 3.3                           |
| Total          | 3,018           | 619                                | 100.0                         |

The total number of urban bases is 3,018 out of which there are only 73 cities each having a population of one lakh or more and it is astonishing that 38 per cent or more than one third of the urban population live in these (2.5 per cent) bases of urbanization. The second major share of urban population goes to the major towns where more than 30 per cent of the total urban people dwell. Major and minor towns account for 58.7 per cent of the total urban population.

The urban population living in townships is very small only when we neglect the figures for townships; the number of minor towns, major towns and cities and the statistics of inhabitants of such towns (96.7 per cent) do present

\*The Census classification of towns is four-fold: all towns with a population of one lakh and over as *cities*, those with a population range of 20,000 to a lakh as '*major towns*', those with a population range of 5,000 to 20,000 as '*minor towns*' and those with a population of 5,000 as '*townships*' (*Census of India*, 1951).



a comfortable picture of the pattern of urban life in different parts of the country. Thus the pattern of India's urban population is an indicator of the intensive growth of cities.

In Great Britain and other countries, where urban population is far more numerous than the rural population, towns have expanded so greatly that they have joined up into continuous built-up areas with inhabitants numbering crores, technically known as 'conurbations.' We have no such places in India. But we do have some towns which join one another so closely that it becomes somewhat artificial to refer to them as separate towns. Calcutta\* and Delhi† are outstanding instances.

### The Cities of India

The above-mentioned centripetal urbanization is well marked when we study the city-wise distribution of the urban population. It should, however, be marked that the centralization is not only in a few cities but in almost all the cities in general. The average growth rate of towns have been lower in comparison with that of the cities. During the decade 1941-51 there was a substantial rise in the population of the big cities of the country. The following table shows how the eight largest cities are arranged in order of population:

TABLE VI

*Eight largest cities arranged in order of population*

| Town group       | Population in lakhs (1951 Census) | Percentage over 1941 Population |
|------------------|-----------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| Greater Calcutta | 45.78                             | 18.9                            |
| Greater Bombay   | 28.39                             | 50.6                            |
| Madras           | 14.16                             | 50.2                            |
| Delhi            | 13.84                             | 54.7                            |
| Hyderabad        | 10.86                             | 38.0                            |
| Ahmedabad        | 7.94                              | 28.6                            |
| Bangalore        | 7.79                              | 62.8                            |
| Kanpur           | 7.05                              | 36.6                            |

\* Calcutta consists of six cities—Calcutta, Howrah, Tollygaunj, Garden Reach, Bhatpara, and Southern Suburbs, twenty-one major towns and eight minor towns.

† Delhi includes two cities, three major towns and one minor town.

The largest percentage of urban population has concentrated in these eight cities. More than one fifth of the total urban population reside in these eight cities alone. When we examine the relative figures of these cities we find that the centralizing tendency is still greater. Out of the total city population nearly one-fifth live only in greater Calcutta. This also represents 33 per cent of the total population of the above-mentioned eight big cities. Finally, the metropolis of Calcutta alone accounts for 2.5 million (about 60 per cent) of the total city population of 3.61 million of West Bengal. Calcutta and Bombay put together (74.17 lakhs) account for more than one-half of the total population of the eight big cities and it is noteworthy that the big five have attracted 83.1 per cent of this total.

The rate of population growth as stated above is much higher in big cities than in the smaller ones. The average decennial increase of the cities works out as much as 43.54 per cent whereas the average towns\* have registered the lowest average growth during the decade 1941-51. The highest percentage increase (41.1 per cent) was in the case of Coimbatore and the lowest (8.3 per cent) in the case of Bikaner (Rajasthan) while Gaya and Aligarh (U.P.), Kozhikoda (Madras), Jullunder (Punjab), Ajmer, Trivandrum (Travancore-Cochin) was nearing the average, which works out at 24.94 per cent. It is, however, interesting to note that the average percentage increase of 27 new cities works out at 45.23 which is higher than that of the big cities by 2.31 per cent.

Another interesting phenomenon is to find that modern towns and cities have been fast outgrowing the older ones. This is well marked in the case of Calcutta, Bombay, Kanpur, Madras. The old towns

\*An average town is one whose population varies between 1 lakh and 2 lakhs but excludes those towns which have been classified as cities the first time in 1951. Such average towns are 16 in number at present.

are decaying or are stationary. This is demonstrated by the following table:

TABLE VII

*Growth of Old and New Towns*

| MODERN TOWNS |                       |                       |                       |
|--------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
|              | Population<br>in 1891 | Population<br>in 1951 | Increase<br>over 1891 |
| Calcutta     | 7.44                  | 25.49                 | 18.5                  |
| Bombay       | 8.00                  | 28.17                 | 20.17                 |
| Madras       | 4.53                  | 14.16                 | 9.63                  |
| Ahmedabad    | 1.44                  | 7.94                  | 6.50                  |
| Kanpur       | 1094                  | 7.05                  | 5.11                  |
| Bangalore    | 1.00                  | 7.79                  | 6.79                  |
| Kolar        | 0.24                  | 1.59                  | 1.35                  |
| Total        | 24.81                 | 92.41                 | 67.60                 |
| OLD TOWNS    |                       |                       |                       |
|              | Population<br>in 1891 | Population<br>in 1951 | Increase<br>over 1891 |
| Bengras      | 2.23                  | 3.56                  | 1.33                  |
| Mathura      | 0.70                  | 1.06                  | 0.36                  |
| Jaipur       | 1.65                  | 2.91                  | 1.26                  |
| Patna        | 1.65                  | 2.83                  | 1.18                  |
| Gaya         | 0.80                  | 1.34                  | 0.54                  |
| Baroda       | 1.16                  | 2.11                  | 0.95                  |
| Bikaner      | 0.51                  | 1.17                  | 0.66                  |
| Total        | 8.70                  | 14.98                 | 6.28                  |

Through a close study of the above table it is clear that during the last six decades the population of seven modern towns increased from 24.81 lakhs to 92.41 lakhs, *e.g.*, it has approximately quadrupled; while the population of seven old towns has increased from 8.71 lakhs to 14.98 lakhs, that is, it has not even doubled itself. During this period the percentage increase of modern and old towns has been 363.67 per cent and 172.18 per cent respectively.

**Causes of Urbanization**

It is now desirable to discuss the causes of urbanization in India. There is, as a matter of fact, no single factor leading to the growth of each and every town in the country. The factors of urbanization are many and varied. We have attempted here to summarise some of the important causes as under:

We have said earlier that during recent years industrial needs and certain other requirements, such as the location of capital towns, steel towns, industrial estate

etc., have been the common factors of urban development in India. Apart from them, however, there have also been many other reasons leading the people to migrate from countryside to the urban areas.

In the first place, a much more potent reason is the fact that city life has begun to appeal to the ordinary middle class and the lower middle class people. The landless people from the village find employment and a certain amount of social equality in the towns which are generally lacking in villages. Secondly, the availability of better facilities exerts a powerful influence on the trends of migration. This can be seen in the case of better education, medical and cultural facilities in the cities. Thirdly, the anti-money-lending legislations in the States (*e.g.*, Punjab and Uttar Pradesh), the Usurious Loans Act passed by the Centre have made the village money-lenders move into the city to practise it there or to become merchants. Fourthly, the partition also left more urban population in the Indian Union. After partition urban population in India was 14 per cent of the total whereas in Pakistan it was only 8 per cent of the total. Fifthly, the safety of the life and property is considerably increasing in the towns and cities. Armed dacoities are more frequent in villages than in towns and cities. Sixthly, the progress in housing in the cities, specially during the plan-era, has encouraged urbanization. Last but not the least, urbanization has generally depended on the growth of transport facilities. It deserves mention that transport facilities played a dominant role in the urban development of the U.K. and many other countries of the world. The major cause of this redistribution of population in the U.K. has been the building of railways and the consequent revolution in transportation.

Railway construction provides employment, and stimulates employment; it puts the towns in need of more metal workers, engineers and so on. Railway construction also increases mobility, both by taking men to long distances to assist in the work of construction, and by making journeys to

towns easier and cheaper. Finally, the railways by improving communications immensely reinforce the competitive power, large-scale urban enterprise and bring about displacement of rural crafts and small country industries to the towns.

In fine, the rapid pace of industrialisation, commercialization of agriculture, the attraction of the city life, the world wars, the plan-period needs and the introduction of cheap and quick means of transport and communication have been the main factors of urbanization.

### Social Costs of Urbanization

It is generally accepted that industrialization, urbanization and replacement of subsistence economy by an exchange economy all combine to produce changes even in those parts of social living that have least to do with money and many of these changes are decidedly unpleasant. The new process involves the breakdown of age-old customs and connections. The unfamiliar work, strange surroundings and new sources of income vastly affect a man's attitude to his family, his religion and his neighbour.

All these social disturbances are already being felt in certain parts of India, such as Calcutta, Bombay, Ahmedabad, Kanpur and few other industrial towns. Such trends are not only peculiar to the case of India, but can also be seen in other developing countries in almost identical form. They suggest that they are destined to become more acute and much widespread as industrialization continues under the ever-more ambitious Five-Year Plans.

The symptoms of socio-economic disequilibrium in a developing economy are abnormal sex-ratios, the break-up of the family, marital instability, the commercialization of sexual and family relationships, increased prostitution, alcoholism, increase in mental illness, violence in industrial relations, exasperated communal, linguistic and provincialised struggle, juvenile delinquency especially in the form of children's gangs, increased adult crime, the decay of craftsmanship and professional

morality and the increase of political extremism. All of these symptoms of social disruption are to be seen in the industrial slums of Calcutta, Bombay, Kanpur, Ahmedabad and other towns. Among these symptoms, the growing sex-disparity in the industrial cities and the lack of proper accommodation are perhaps the roots of many of the social vices. In the ensuing paragraphs these two factors have specially been dealt with.

### Sex Disparity

Sex disparity is an important fact of urbanization. It is highest in big cities. In average towns it is less. In other words, sex disparity moves up or comes down with the growth or decline in the city. In statistical terminology, the correlation is positive.

TABLE VIII

#### *Sex disparity in big and average towns*

##### Sex Disparity in Cities

|              |    |    |         |
|--------------|----|----|---------|
| 1. Bombay    | .. | .. | 596 (=) |
| 2. Calcutta  | .. | .. | 570     |
| 3. Madras    | .. | .. | 921     |
| 4. Delhi     | .. | .. | 770     |
| 5. Hyderabad | .. | .. | 989     |
| 6. Ahmedabad | .. | .. | 765     |
| 7. Bangalore | .. | .. | 883     |
| 8. Kanpur    | .. | .. | 699     |

##### Sex Disparity in average Towns

|                 |    |    |        |
|-----------------|----|----|--------|
| 1. Gaya         | .. | .. | 854    |
| 2. Coimbatore   | .. | .. | 890    |
| 3. Kathiawar    | .. | .. | 982    |
| 4. Vellore      | .. | .. | 1002—@ |
| 5. Jullunder    | .. | .. | 853    |
| 6. Ludhiana     | .. | .. | 835    |
| 7. Sahajehampur | .. | .. | 805    |
| 8. Aligarh      | .. | .. | 812    |
| 9. Jhansi       | .. | .. | 858    |
| 10. Bhatpara    | .. | .. | 533    |
| 11. Kolar       | .. | .. | 1004   |
| 12. Jodhpur     | .. | .. | 875    |
| 13. Bikaner     | .. | .. | 935    |
| 14. Bhavnagar   | .. | .. | 924    |
| 15. Trivendrum  | .. | .. | 955    |
| 16. Ajmer       | .. | .. | 900    |

(=) In Western European countries, the tendency is opposite.

(@) There are two more such towns, Rajamundri 1,024, Tanjore 1,012.

From the above it is clear that the highest and lowest limits in the case of big towns are 570 and 989, whereas those in the case of average towns are 1,004 and 858. Hyderabad is not an industrial town hence the ratio of females per 1,000 males is very high. Bhatpara is an industrial suburb of Calcutta, hence its ratio, as opposed to Hyderabad, is very low. In the case of Kolar, the story is different due to female labour.

The average for cities (excluding Hyderabad) and average towns (excluding Kolar and Bhatpara) comes to 743.34 and 981.43 respectively. The average for all Indian cities comes to about 860 women per thousand men. Thus in cities and towns disparity is 257, and 109 only. In average towns, therefore, there are 148 more women per thousand than in cities.

This sex disparity is primarily due to the fact that workers leave their families in villages and come to the towns alone and secondly, women have meagre opportunities of employment in industries.

### Housing

The progressive urbanization has given rise to shortage of houses in urban areas. The situation was aggravated by the war, when there was decline in building activities, and assumed serious proportions with the influx of displaced persons following the partition. In more recent years the rise in land values and shortages and high prices of building materials have led to a further deterioration in the situation. The industrial cities, particularly in relation to labour force, deserve special mention.

In Bombay, majority of the workers live in *Chawls* (blocks of flats erected for the accommodation of a large number of families), the largest percentage of which are impossible of improvement and fit only for demolition.\* The degree of over-crowding and congestion that can be seen in *Bustees* around Calcutta are probably unequalled in any other industrial centre of the country. The housing conditions of labourers in *Ahtas* of Kanpur are akin to *Chawls* of Bombay, *Bustees* of Calcutta. *Charies* of Southern India, Travancore and Cochin are more dirty, filthy and clumsy than the *bustees* and *Ahtas*. In *Dhowrahs* or mine

quarters, 85 per cent miner's families live in one-room houses and only 2 per cent in four-room houses. There were 664 lakhs of occupied houses—541 lakhs in villages and 103 lakhs in towns. Finally, the housing problems is more acute in big towns than in average ones.

A total provision of Rs. 48.7 crores was made for housing in the First Five-Year Plan. In addition to the allocation of Rs. 38.5 crores by the Central Government, housing schemes for workers in the coal industry are financed from the Coal Mine Welfare Funds. The housing scheme for the mica and coal mines is the responsibility of the Ministry of Labour. Besides the various schemes of the Ministries of the Central Government, State Governments and a certain number of local bodies also have their own housing programmes. During the First Five-Year Plan the Ministry of Rehabilitation provided 323,000 houses or tenements in urban areas and about three lakh units were constructed by State Governments and by Central Ministries other than those constructed by the Ministry of Works, Housing and Supply. The various public housing schemes, it is estimated, added about 742,000 houses or tenements and in the private sector about 600,000 units approximately at a cost of Rs. 125 crores were provided. Thus, in all, during the First Plan Period about 1.3 million urban houses were constructed.† In the rural housing scheme about 29,000 houses were constructed and almost the same number were re-conditioned. It would, however, be true to say that over the First Plan Period rural housing problem was scarcely touched.

It is gratifying to note that the Second Five-Year Plan makes a provision of Rs. 120 crores for housing, which is about three times of the first plan provision, and of which only Rs. 10 crores are allocated for rural housing and the rest, that is about 92 per cent, is to be spent in urban housing. It is commendable that a sum of Rs. 20 crores has been reserved for slum clearance and sweepers' housing. The social cost of slum-dwellers and sweepers will be considerably reduced and the housing accommodation

\*Royal Commission on Labour, p. 273.

†Second Five-Year Plan, p. 556.

for low income persons will improve. It is expected that, during the Second Five-Year Period about 753,000 units will be added to the public and 8 lakh units to the private sector.\*

The shortage in 1951 was roughly reckoned at 2.5 million. By 1961, it is expected that urban population will triple itself (seems to be an underestimate, and it is ours) over the 1951 figure. And in the absence of measures for constructing more houses the shortage in 1961 may be twice as much as it was in 1951.

### Conclusion

The urban development trends in India as analysed in the preceding pages lead us to some important conclusions. They may help in framing the future policies in relation to urbanization on the one hand, and rural de-population on the other. They may also provide the basis of necessary developments in the amenities of life in both the urban and rural areas so that the rising social costs and inhuman conditions of life might be minimised.

In the first place, our discussion of the rate of growth of urbanization has revealed that in the past it has been comparatively slow but in the last two decades it has been moderate and in the plan era it is bound to be high. The slow growth of urbanization was due to the slow pace of industrialization and lack of adequate amenities of life in industrial towns. Further, it is evident that the rate of growth of town population has been greater than the rate of growth of village population. It is neither possible nor desirable to check the growth of urbanization. But life in the big cities, on the whole, is not still very much pleasant and secure. The poor peasants, landless labourers and craftsmen who migrate to the cities have to face enormous difficulties in settling there. It is, however, true that with the growth of transportation and communication facilities, creation of opportunities of employment, security and amenities of life in the urban areas the rate of rural

de-population will increase if there is no counter trend in the picture. Rural housing scheme and 'Adarsha Gram' should therefore have due share in the ensuing Five Year Plans.

Secondly, the lion's share of urbanization has mainly gone to the big modern cities like Calcutta, Delhi, Kanpur, Ahmedabad, Bombay and Madras. These towns have shown a remarkable tendency of conurbation. Several major and minor towns have combined to form the great cities of Calcutta, Bombay and Delhi. The tendency toward conurbation has received a further stimulus by the establishment of industrial estates. On the other hand, there has also been a marked tendency towards the amalgamation of smaller villages into superior townships. The progress of Community Development activities has been assisting this movement in order that it may take a clear shape. The further growth of these big cities should be curbed to reduce the social costs to minimise the town problems and to save humanity from the atomic and hydrogen warfare.

Thirdly, the social costs of urbanization have generally appeared to be on an increasing scale. With the increasing congestion and the growing sex disparity in the big cities new and numerous social vices have crept in. India should take a lesson from other industrialised countries where urbanization has meant greater social costs. Attempts should, therefore be made to minimise this through decentralisation of industries and the introduction of greater welfare measures in the towns and cities by Industrialists, Association and Mission philanthropists and social reformers, local bodies, State and Central Governments. The problem of congestion in the cities would have been much worse had the Central and State Governments not shown interest in encouraging the housing construction. The introduction of the social insurance scheme, provision of medical aid, construction of parks, implementation of prohibition, etc., are reducing the drudgery of city life.

The housing schemes should be given

\*Ibid.

greater fillip because the situation of housing shortage is not likely to improve much due to progressive urbanization and increased cost of construction. During the First Five-Year Plan period with about a triple of the usual expenditure the tenements are likely to be doubled. Good results are bound to come out of increased housing accommodation and to reduce sex disparity, introduction of prohibition and multiplication of co-operatives, implementation of electricity and water supply, provision of city transport facilities and, above all, the ban on prostitution provided of course its objectives are fulfilled.

Fourthly, We have to say that there is a positive correlation between industrialization and urbanization. This correlation will grow stronger with the working of the present industrial policy of the government. There is, however, a necessity of the balanced development of cities in India to reduce the social costs. It can be attained by laying greater emphasis on the development of smaller scale (small-scale) industries in average towns and Community Development centres so that they may attract and focus the attention of the villagers towards them. These towns will then grow to balanced ones by attracting village folks towards them on the one hand, and silently asking much-depressed sections of the people of the big cities to

come and settle there on the other. The policy of our government towards the reduction of the social costs of the urbanization is commendable. But unless exodus of city-minded population towards big cities is checked, the measures so far taken will act only as a palliative medicine to the worst malady.

Finally, India is a land of villages and hence the saying 'salvation of India lies in villages' is quite true. Our country will progress and develop when villages progress and develop. In the subsequent plans therefore more emphasis should be laid on 'rural planning' than on 'city planning'. Master Plans for cities, undoubtedly, will bring about better conditions for the minority which deserves protection. 'Adarsha Grams' will touch and tone up the heart, and through it, the whole body, i.e., the whole nation.

'Master Plan' and 'Adarsha Gram' should be our slogans for urban and rural uplift but the former should be less ambitious but more practical whereas the latter need be more simple and extensive. Our Government should regularly keep a vigilant eye on urban development trends on the one hand, and rural de-population on the other, in future so that cities and villages may become better places economically, socially and culturally.

## K. M. JHAVERI COMMEMORATION VOLUME

BY PRINCIPAL A. K. TRIVEDI

This little, but very valuable instructive book\* is a collection of reminiscences by 33 distinguished men from different walks of life—being personal reminiscences connec-

ted with the personality and life-work of the late Diwan Bahadur K. M. Jhaveri.

The Diwan Bahadur was referred to by all who knew him as "Kaka." Whether it was in a literary gathering or in private circles, he had so endeared himself to all and was so highly respected by all, that everybody simply mentioned "Kaka" (Uncle) when he wanted to speak about him. One naturally inquires the secret of the

\**Diwan Bahadur Krishn Lal Mohan Lal Jhaveri Commemoration Volume* (In Gujarati): Compiler Natvarlal Malvi. Published by Gandiva Sahitya Mandir, Havadio Chaklo, Surat. 1959. Pages 94.

high esteem in which he was held by all, and the reply in short is, the secret lay in his *suave temper*. In his own words we may envisage it well. The Diwan Bahadur's words are as under:

"After so many years of experience, I have learnt a lesson, and it is—Follow the Path of Truth, speak with a smile on your face, show Humility. Do not put on airs and don't insist on your Ego; if you wish to have smooth sailing in the world, avoid this extreme or that extreme, but keep to the middle path. 50 per cent I give up on my side and 50 per cent I persuade the other side to give up from his side, and everything proves to be alright."

Amongst the great persons of India who pay tributes to the Diwan Bahadur are Purushottamdas Thakordas, Dhanvanthi Rama Rao, S. Radhakrishnan, Morarji Desai, Motilal Setalvad, C. P. Ramaswamy Aiyar and others.

Some very interesting reminiscences are those of Chandravadan Mehta, who describes how he stole "Kaka's Parsi black cap", played the part of a Parsi, and played it so well that he earned compliments from the Kaka, who saw the farce enacted but hardly realised that the cap was his cap stolen by that mischievous Chandravadan. In his reminiscences, Chandravadan narrates this mischief which he played so early as in 1924 in the Elphinstone College.

Smt. Barjor Faramji Bharucha giving hundreds of bowings describes the scholarship of Krishnalal Jhaveri in English, his authorship of various types, his greatness as a Pleader, Judge, and Chief Judge. Krishnalalbai is further described as Punctuality Personified. Some of the Headings of reminiscences speak volumes of praise. Smt. Premila V. Thackersey's

heading is "Ajata-Shatru" (Enemyless Personality), Shree Vaikunth Lallubhai Mehta's Heading is "Vyavaharadaksha" (Clever in Practical Matters), Mr. Motilal Vin's Heading is "Révano Balak" (Child of the River Reva), Mr. Jyotindra Dave's Heading is "Sada Pravritta" (Ever Active), Dr. Chamanlal Mehta's Heading is "Gaya, Chhatan Samaksha Chhe" (Gone, but is present before our eyes), Mr. Yashodhar Mehta's Heading is "Niragrahi" (Non-Fighting), Mr. A. K. Trivedi's Heading is "Adag Nyayagrahi" (Firm in Justice), and Mr. G. H. Bhatt's Heading is "Saojanya Moorti" (The very Idol of Gentlemanliness). All these headings suggest various aspects of goodness and greatness of this venerable old scholar of Gujarat.

Mr. Ramlal Navnitlal's reminiscences under the Heading "Nana Mama" (Maternal Uncle Nana) is bristling with vivid personal touches and gives a most impressive picture of Krishnalal Jhaveri. It shows how wide was the circle of Jhaveri's friends, how voluminous his correspondence was, how highly trusted he was in the whole of Bombay, how useful he was as Vice-chancellor of the S.N.D.T. University and as Syndic of the Bombay University and how exceptionally humble he was in manners with all with whom he had even to face conflicts.

Diwan Bahadur's Reviews of Gujarati Books in *The Modern Review* were read by Gujarati and other scholars for numbers of years. His *Milestones of Gujarati Literature* and *Further Milestones* rendered valuable services to Gujarati language and literature.

He died at the very green old age of 89 years, loved and respected by all. The *Smaraka Grantha* should be read by all who wish to learn something from the life of an illustrious son of Gujarat.





# Book Reviews



Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But Reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

EDITOR, *The Modern Review*

## ENGLISH

**SELECT DOCUMENTS OF THE BRITISH PERIOD OF INDIAN HISTORY (IN THE COLLECTION OF THE VICTORIA MEMORIAL, CALCUTTA):** By D. C. Ganguly. Published by the Trustees of the Victoria Memorial, Calcutta, 1958. Pp. 251. Price Rs. 15.00.

The noble mausoleum of the Victoria Memorial, Calcutta, is not only a repository of some valuable relics (paintings, sculptures and other works of art) of the period of British rule in our country, but also of a collection of historical documents bearing on the early history of that period. Dr. D. C. Ganguly, Secretary and Curator of the Memorial, has deserved well of the students of modern Indian history by making available in the original a select list of eighty-four documents from this collection which range over the century from 1758 to 1859. In an ably written introduction he has set the documents in their proper historical setting. We have noticed in the course of our perusal of this portion one important slip. On p. 7 three lines from the bottom "the Governor in Council secured from the Nawab the Subahdari of the provinces of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa . . . ." for should be read in place of *from*, Of the value of this collection it is not possible to say much. Not only are the documents unevenly distributed (nearly half the collection being confined to the period ending Warren Hastings's administration), but the collection, small as it is in size, is wanting in documents referring to such important developments as the Permanent Settlement of Lord Cornwallis and the social and educational reforms of Lord William Bentinck. The paper, print and get-up are excellent.

U. N. GHOSHAL

## INDIAN MINIATURES: THE RAJPUT

**PAINTERS:** Edited with Introduction and Notes: By Robert Reiff in the Series: *Art Treasures of Asia, under the General Editorship of Jane Gaston Mahler*. Published by Messrs. Charles E. Tuttle Co, Tokyo. 1959. Letter-press 32 pp, 10 colour plates and 2 Monochrome Illustrations Price 720 yens, or Two Dollars.

All lovers of Indian Painting should welcome this new publishing enterprise—to propagate the knowledge of Indran Arts—through cheap publications of very high standard—of reproduction and critical appreciation. As Mr. Reiff explains in his introduction, for the most part the Rajput painter preferred native themes. Four such themes predominate—the musical modes, the epics and romances, religious themes and love themes. The miniatures offer more than a travel tour through the country: they reveal the dreams and aspirations of the people. . . . The earth and all its creatures are united with man in a panorama that is both intimate and timeless, for in the villages and temples and on the broad highways one still may see the colourful processions of stately men and women who inspired the Rajput miniatures. The remarkably well-written introduction, the graphic commentaries and the selection of the plates are the work of Robert Reiff, staff member of the Art Department, Middlebury College, Vermont, and graduate student at Columbia University. Mr. Reiff deserves high praise from admirers of Oriental Art for having illuminated an aspect of Indian paintings that has until now received comparatively little public attention. It is of interest to note that the originals of all miniatures reproduced in this volume are to be found in American collections. The loss to India of her finest art-treasure has been a gain to America incidentally providing an intellectual link between the two countries through an understanding and appreciation of the masterpieces of Art.

O. C. GANGOLY



**BIBLIOGRAPHY OF INDOLOGICAL STUDIES in 1953.** (*A survey of periodical publications*): By S. Chaudhuri, Librarian, The Asiatic Society. The Asiatic Society, Calcutta, 16. Price, Rs. 4.

Dearth of bibliographical aids is a great handicap to workers in the field of Indology. Attempts have been made from time to time by different institutions and individuals to remove this want. But regular and systematic work has not been possible. The Kern Institute of Leyden was doing very laudable work though within a limited compass through its *Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology* but as a result of the disturbances brought about by the war it is now very badly in arrears, its last two volumes covering 1940-47 and 1948-53 were published in 1950 and 1958. The *Annual Bibliography* issued for some time by the Bombay Historical Society is not coming out since 1949. Under these circumstances the undertaking of Sri Chaudhuri will be greeted heartily by the world of scholars. It covers a much wider ground than its predecessors and will be helpful to workers in different branches. It makes a new venture in including contributions made in Indian languages also and in this connection for the present refers to publications appearing in a number of journals in Sanskrit, Hindi and Bengali. Its appearance under the auspices of the Asiatic Society, the oldest Indological Institute of Asia, if not of the world, is a happy coincidence. It is hoped the position and resources of the Society, if properly utilised, will go a great way in ensuring the success of the valuable endeavour.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

**THE ISLE OF LANKA: CEYLON:** By J. Vijaytunga. Published by Orient Longmans Ltd., Bombay, Calcutta and Madras. Price Rs. 12/-.

Ceylon, our little island-neighbour to the south, with whom we have a thousand ties and one, has a history similar to ours in many respects. Ceylon, like India in the past, was the happy hunting ground of foreign adventurers one after another—the Portuguese, the Dutch and the English. Like India, she passed under the British rule in the end. Foreign rule harassed, humiliated and degraded the people. Attempts were made to foist an alien culture on the indigenous. Buddhism, the national religion of Ceylon, a gift from India, languished. Like India, Ceylon recovered her independence in the late forties, and has been making rapid

strides in different directions. In recent years, Ceylon has been India's faithful ally in her peace-mission. Ideologically, however, she seems to be closer to the West than India has ever been. The recent general elections, which upset the apple cart of Prime Minister Sir John Kotelawala, and brought Mr. Bandarnaike to power at the head of the *Mahajana Eksath Peramitra* (M. E. P.) may be symptomatic of Ceylon's ideological re-orientation.

Indo-Ceylonese relations are not as cordial as they should and might have been. The policy of the Government of Ceylon to the Indian settlers, who constitute about 14 per cent of Ceylonese population, and who have contributed not a little to the island's prosperity, has caused considerable resentment in the mainland. Agreements on Indians between the two Governments have been violated in spirit. The language policy of the Bandarnaike Government is the latest proof of Ceylon's anti-Indian bias.

Mr. J. Vijaytunga's book gives a very readable account of things and places in Ceylon with occasional glimpses of his country's past and of the glories that are no more. The shortcomings of the Government, the snobbery of the sophisticated Ceylonese and the blind imitation of the West by the latter come in for some adverse comments that they rightly deserve. The author has also shown with a fair measure of success how traditional Ceylon still survives under a thin veneer of Westernism. The get-up and printing of the volume are excellent.

SUDHANSU BIMAL MOOKHERJI

**SERMONS AND SAYINGS OF THE BUDDHA:** By Sudhakar Dikshit. Published by the Chetan Ltd., 34, Rampart Row, Bombay-1. Pp. 114. Price Rs. 3.50nP.

It is one of the publications of the Buddha Jayanti Charities Society of Bombay in commemoration of the 2500th anniversary of the enlightened Shakyamuni. Though it is based on the Digha Nikaya, Majjhima Nikaya, Anguttara Nikaya, Udana and other important Pali works, complicated terms and archaic phraseology have been purposely eschewed in order to make it readable for the common people. Interesting and instructive portions have been selected from the Buddhist scriptures mentioned above to place before the general public the kernel of what the Buddha taught twenty-five centuries ago and what have made one-third of the whole humanity to follow his sacred footsteps! Though it is like a drop from

the vast ocean, it has the genuine flavour of the latter. The book is divided into forty-two short chapters containing the sayings of Bhagavan Buddha from the first sermon delivered at Sarnath to the last sermon said at Kushinagar. The thirty-fourth chapter describes the Buddhist conception of Nirvana as given in the Udana. It is an agreeable surprise to note that this is exactly the same as that of the Vedic conception of Samadhi found in the Upanishads. According to both the conceptions, Nirvana is an abode of everlasting peace and passionlessness. The book is written in a lucid style, printed in good paper and bold type as well as attractively got up. The frontispiece contains a beautiful line-drawing of the Blessed One. The cover design and other drawings are done by Chhaya Dikshit.

SWAMI JAGADISWARANANDA

**ECONOMICS AND ECONOMY:** *By Dr. Kenneth Rivett, M.A., Ph.D., of the University of Melbourne, Australia. Pages 61. Price Rs. 2.00.*

The book contains three lectures on the scope and methods of Economics and its relation to social philosophy delivered at the institute during July 1957. Dr. Rivett is Nuffield Dominion Travelling Fellow in Social Philosophy.

The first deals with the scope and definition of economics and the meaning of the word economic as used in economics and criticised by Ruskin and others. The second discusses the logical methods of economics. The third attempts to show the relation between economics and ethics and includes a brief description of the problem of distribution. He has tried to relate the issues to Indian problems with considerable success.

The publication will be a helpful study for the students of Economics.

**INDIAN PLANNING AND THE PLANNING COMMISSION:** *By Dr. D. R. Gadgil, Director, Gokhale Institute of Politics and Economics, Poona. Pages 31. Price Re. 1.00.*

In this lecture delivered in March 1958, Prof. Gadgil after making a preliminary observation on the nature of planning examines the Second Five-Year Plan which India has taken up for the economic developments. The learned lecturer has analysed very carefully the methods of working of the Planning Commission and has shown the various defects which hamper the progress and thwarts the success of the Plan. He has also suggested methods of im-

provement which the authorities will do well to consider carefully and adopt those which they consider suitable in the interest of better working.

Students of Economics, who have to study the Plan, will do well to go through this learned lecture, which not only throws new light on the defects of the present working but provoke thinking as to the future planning.

**BUSINESS EDUCATION:** *Edited by Prof. L. R. Dasgupta. Published by Research Board, City College, Commerce Department, 13, Surya Sen Street, Calcutta-12. Pages 232. Price not mentioned.*

This is a timely publication. A 'high-powered' committee has undertaken an enquiry into the present position of commerce education in India 'in all its aspects' and to suggest measures for its reorganisation and improvement.

The book has been divided into eighteen sections and eight Appendices have been added including a short Bibliography. The items were written on different occasions by different writers and some cover the same grounds and repetitions have unavoidably been made. But in spite of these shortcoming trends of discussion throw considerable light on the various aspects of the commerce education. It must be admitted that the advocates of commerce education do not hold one and the same opinion as to methods, objects and ideals of this branch of education. There are fundamental differences among the authorities. But in spite of this there are no two opinions as to the utility of commerce education in present-day industrial society. Systems of education in U.K., U.S.A., Switzerland and Germany differ and as such India shall have to build up her own system of commerce education most suitable to a developing economy under Five-Year Plans aiming at a socialistic pattern of society. The Editor Prof. Dasgupta must be congratulated for his efforts in collecting the valuable materials so very useful to the teachers and educators and particularly the authorities of the country who are reshaping the technical education of new India.

A. B. DUTTA

**HINDI: THE NATIONAL LANGUAGE:** *By Kanhaiyalal Bherulal Malviya, M.P. Malviya Prakashan, 64, North Avenue, New Delhi. Price not mentioned.*

There has been a good deal of controversy over the propriety of the early official adoption of Hindi as the sole national language of India. Protagonists, more than antagonists, have

often created confusion. Nobody, we believe, has objected to its steady circulation all over India or its acceptance as one of the national languages for the time being. What has evoked criticism is the importunate attempt by some overzealous persons to impose Hindi on the non-Hindi-speaking people, to establish its immediate sovereignty in the administrative and the educational spheres, to debar other languages from entering the precincts of educational institutions in the Hindi-speaking areas, to enforce its introduction for all-India competitive examinations and if possible, even to thrust it as the medium of instruction in all the states. Unity is desirable, but that must come through mutual trust and goodwill. The responsibility devolves not merely on the people who do not speak Hindi. Perhaps, for every student in India the knowledge of another state language is advisable, mutually beneficial and likely to foster unity and better understanding. The book under review is an instance of clever advocacy for Hindi. In the preface, the author says: "I could have answered every argument in my own words, but that might be termed as the logic of 'Hindi imperialist'." So he prefers to quote others. Nevertheless his attitude is clear. Dr. Chatterjee's note of dissent to the Language Commission Report is, according to him, a 'political blunder'. He has charged him for inconsistency, or in his own word 'omersault'. He advises calm thinking; we expected him to follow his own precept and rise above vanity and provincial prejudice. Of course, he gives evidence of argumentative capacity but he is not thoroughly convincing.

D. N. MOOKERJEE

#### BENGALI

**ALOR AKAS:** *Susil Kumar Gupta*, Messrs. M. C. Sarkar & Sons Private Ltd., 14, Barkim Chatterjee Street, Calcutta-12. Price Rs. 2/-.

**SWAPNA-SADHANA:** *Santosh Sen Gupta*, Grantha-Balaka, 15, Bhupendra Basu Avenue, Calcutta-4. Price Rs. 2-50 nP.

**MAUNA-MUKHAR:** *Jitu Gupta*, Published by M. L. Das, 163-A, Diamond Harbour Road, Calcutta-34. Price 00.50 nP.

**CHHAI-BHASMA (2nd Series):** *Keshab Das*, Basumatī Sahitya Mandir, 166, Bowbazar Street, Calcutta-12. Price Rs. 3-50. nP.

**MALIKA:** *Satyakinkar Sahana*. Distributors: Srat Book House, 18B, Shyamacharan De Street, Calcutta-12. Price Re. 1-4 as.

**BANA-BITHI:** *Sahil Mitra & Others*. Chandpur, P.O. Chanchua, Dasghara (Hooghly). Price Re. 1.00.

**EK JE CHHILA RAJA:** *Sukamal Das Gupta*. Published by Devi Prasad Mukherjee on behalf of Eastern Trading Co. 64-A, Dharmatala Street, Calcutta-13. Price Rs. 2/-.

Seven books of poems different in content and quality.

'Alor Akas' consists of nearly fifty lyrics, all tender and sweet. The poet does not escape from reality, but after all, he finds life worth living. Clouds appear, but the sky has its eternal light.

In spite of the tall claims of our ultra-moderns, the Tagore tradition still continues in Bengali Poetry and finds new adherents of considerable ability and Sri Sen Gupta is one of them. His 'Swapna-Sadhana' will surely find response in hearts susceptible to the beauty and mystery of life.

'Mauna-Mukhar' is a very thin book of verse. Perhaps threatened by a deadly disease the poet casts his longing look at the world which he may soon have to forsake. His expression is often weak and his metre faulty but there is a note of sincerity in his broken music.

To compose a few rhyming lines on themes precious or insignificant more as a pastime than under inspiration was a common hobby with mid-nineteenth century Bengali poets. Temperamentally Sri Das belongs to that past generation. Occasionally the reader might come across a few happy expressions or agreeable sentiments in 'Chhai-Bhasma.' The pieces of translation tagged at the end are not totally disappointing.

The author of 'Malika' who passed his student-life in the nineteenth century has nicely assimilated the style and diction of Tagore and the delicate poetic touch that can transform any idea into a 'thing of beauty' works behind each of the poems presented here. At one time he was fairly well-known to the readers of Bengali Poetry and he deserves to be remembered even today.

'Bana-bithi' is a joint venture of some very young poets—Salil Mitra, Sailen Kumar Datta, Dinabandhu Hajra, Devanranjan Mazumdar, and Anil Kumar Modak. On the technique they have fair command; with culture and experience they are expected to reveal their true selves.

Sri Das Gupta has given an agreeable biographical account of Raja Rammohan Roy in simple, easy-flowing verse.

D. N. Mookerjee

## HINDI

MAGADHA: By Baijnatha Sinha "Vinode". *Jaina Sanskriti Sanshodhana Mandala, Banaras-5. Pp. 62. Price Re. 1.*

VISVASHANTI KA AGRADUTA SHRI VARDHAMAN MAHAVIRA: By Digambaradasa Jaina. *Available from the author at Saharanpur, U.P. Pp. 528. Price Rs. 6-8.*

The first is a history from the cultural standpoint of Magadha, that ancient nursery of the religions of the *Shramanas*. It is an objective study of the conflicting ideologies of the *Shramanas* and the *Brahmins* and their ultimate synthesis.

The second is, on the whole, a miscellaneous compilation of the biography of the illustrious founder of Jainism, the pioneer apostle of *ahimsa*, Mahavira, his teachings and tributes to him in Hindi, English and Urdu. It lacks, however, adequate editing as well as abridgment.

G. M.

## GUJARATI

1. VISHWAJYOTI: By Mangaldas J. Gordhandas, *Presidency Magistrate, Bombay. Pp. 100. Price four annas.*

2. PRAUDHA VACHAN PURTI: By Sanabhai Bhansar. *Pp. 47. Price four annas.*

3. DESHA PURHO: By Sanabhai Bhansar. *Pp. 43. Price four annas.*

4. JNAN LAHARI: By Swami Ramatirtha. *Pp. 96. Price eight annas.*

*All published by the Society for the Encouragement of Cheap Literature, printed at its own press, Ahmedabad. Paper cover. 1957.*

*Light of the World* is a political composition of Shri Mangaldas, in its second edition consisting of 101 *shlokas* all eulogising the patriotic services of Gandhiji of which the last three *shlokas* are composed by Mrs. Mangaldas. It is a very good epitome in verse on a high level, of Gandhiji's valuable work. Nos. 2 and 3 are intended for love of children and serve their purpose well. *Jnan Lahari*, in the form of Question and Answer, explains the philosophical aspects of our religion.

K. M. J.

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# Indian Periodicals

## Indo-Vietnam Links Through the Ages

In an article in *The Aryan Path* H. I. S. Kanwar dwells on the happy history of India's cultural and religious influence on Indochina, which has been assimilated and made fruitful in a characteristic and charming culture by the original genius of that land:

"To know my country," said the sage Rabindranath Tagore in his writings, "one has to travel to that age, when she realized her soul and thus transcended her physical boundaries, when she revealed her being in a radiant magnanimity which illuminated the eastern horizon, making her recognized as their own by those in alien shores who were awakened into a surprise of life." This could be appropriately applied to Vietnam, one of the lands in South-east Asia with whom India's cultural links date back to over 2,500 years.

Although ancient Hindu customs forbade emigration, they could not hold back the adventurers of Hindustan from going abroad to acquire first-hand knowledge of new lands and to preach the tenets of their creed. It may be said with some certainty that the desire to realize this was expedited by the rapid rise of the ship-building industry in ancient India.

An engraving on the stupa of Sanchi depicts a small boat sailing down a river, as also a royal ship having on it an empty throne. This may well be taken as one of the earliest references to shipping activity in India. That ship-building became a highly specialized art and a prosperous industry, thus providing adequate facilities for Indian seafarers to sail away from the shores of India, may be observed from the evidence available in the *Yuktikalpataru*, an ancient Sanskrit document whose origin dates back to time immemorial, which sets down in some detail the art and science of ship-building and allied subjects.

Tales of the pre-Buddhist period reveal instances of Indian ships sailing from the Ganges to Ceylon. In his treatise *Arthashastra*, Chandragupta's minister Chanakya refers to Indian vessels proceeding abroad,

a contention supported in the writings of Megasthenes, the Greek envoy to Chandragupta Maurya's court over 2,000 years ago, who states that he found shipping activity not only on the Ganges and the Indus and their tributaries but also their river mouths. Ancient Sanskrit accounts make mention of Indians experiencing dangerous voyages and shipwrecks in which many hundreds perished.

During the period of Ashoka the Great in the latter half of the third century B.C., groups of Indian traders and missionaries ventured across the Bay of Bengal to ply their trades in gold, ivory, rhinoceros horn, cloves and camphor, and to spread the Gospel of Gautama Buddha. After crossing the Bay, the seafarers sailed down the west coast of Malaya, steered through the Malacca Straits, and reached the scattered islands of the Malay Archipelago, whence they veered northwards soon to find themselves on the shores of a new land, which they referred to as Champa. As a matter of fact, the inhabitants they visited began to appreciate the doctrines of the Indian missionaries and Sanskrit scholars so much that they invited them to settle down in their countries, and by stages the inhabitants found themselves converted to Hinduism and Buddhism.

In the third century B.C., we hear of Indians visiting Indochina, including Funan, the Chinese name for a state then flourishing in Kamboja. Ptolemy, that ancient geographer and astronomer of Alexandria in the second century A.D., states that Indian colonists existed not only in Burma and Malaya but also in Indonesia and Indochina, a fact supported by contemporary Arab and Greek manuscripts which reveal that a regular maritime intercourse existed between India and South-east Asian lands.

According to various authorities on Oriental history, during the first thousand years of the Christian era there were four or five waves of colonization by Indian adventurers all over the East. Scattered as these colonies were, they were mainly situated at strategic points and trade

routes. These settlements were given old Indian names. Thus Cambodia, as it is known now, was called Kamboja, which was a well-known town in ancient India, while Annam was called Champa (founded in the late second century), after its old namesake (modern Bhagalpur) in Bihar, whence the original people of Annam may have come. However, it may be stated that the earliest Indians to venture over the seas came from Bengal and Kalinga, and, since Andhra coins dating back to 200-300 A.D., bear the effigy of a double-masted vessel, it is reasonable to assume that latterly Indians went abroad from south-eastern India.

Ample evidence is available to show the high esteem in which Indians were held in Indochina. Contemporary documents state that one Kaundinya, described as an Indian Brahmin of great talent, settled down in Funan, where he accepted the hand in marriage of a beautiful Cambodian princess named Naginisoma. Further, for qualities of head and heart, he was requested by the retiring monarch to succeed to the throne of Funan, which he did!

Incidentally, Kaundinya's was not the only case of its kind, for an old Chinese manuscript records that "more than a thousand Brahmins reside there [in Funan]. The people follow their doctrines and give them their daughters in marriage. They read their sacred books day and night." These events may well be taken as the consummation of cultural and blood ties between the Indians and the Indochinese. What is more, it cannot be doubted that it was from India that Hinduism, Buddhism and Indian culture spread over Indochina, which in later days became an essentially Buddhist empire, and, as the people of Bali have stuck to Hinduism, the Indochinese once for all decided on Buddhism as their faith.

The early Indian Buddhist scholars established several institutions of Sanskrit learning, the most outstanding being at Angkor. Sanskrit was absorbed to such an extent into the life of the Indochinese that everything, even their musical instruments, came to be known by a Sanskrit name, and public recitation of the great Sanskrit epics was the order of the day, even as late as the seventh century A.D. The Khmer rulers also adopted the old Indian title of "Varman" after their names.

In Kamboja, the alphabet was derived from a South Indian script.

A third-century document states that the ruler of Funan, during the course of an audience given to an Indian visitor, was much impressed by the latter's wonderful description of the existing conditions of life in India, as a consequence of which the Funan King despatched a close relative as his personal envoy to India, where on arrival the latter and his retinue were accorded a warm reception by the Indian ruler. During his stay as a royal guest, the Funanese was presented with half a dozen horses of Indo-Scythian breed as a personal gift from the Indian ruler to the King of Funan. This gesture of friendship further cemented the ties between the two countries.

In the fourth and fifth centuries, several famous Indian scholars visited South-east Asia, namely Shrijnan Dipankar, who met there Acharya Chandra Kirti, the eminent Buddhist scholar, and declared Shrivijaya to be the headquarters of Buddhist faith in the region; Prince Gunavarman, another Buddhist missionary, ventured from his native Kashmir in 420 A.D., to spread his gospel in Indonesia and Indochina, which he visited in 423 A.D., on his way to China; and there were others who followed them to continue their good work.

For over 1,000 years, Buddhism and Hinduism flourished side by side. Both acted as unifying forces, whence emerged the mighty Sailendra empire of Shrivijaya which flourished in glory for seven hundred years. A great naval power based on trade and commerce, it reached its peak of power and influence in the eleventh century, when it held sway over Ceylon, Malaya, Indonesia, Indochina, Formosa, the Philippines and even a part of south-eastern India.

Since Kamboja was already a powerful state long before the Sailendras had consolidated their domains, to what extent Indochina came under their hold is debatable. It is clear, however, that Kamboja was fully independent in the ninth century, its empire existing until the close of the thirteenth century. It was King Jayavarman who established the Kamboja empire with his capital at Kamboja after uniting the smaller states with his own in the

ninth century. The state religion was Mahayana Buddhism.

The ancient glory of Indochina, whose cultural parents were India and China, reads like a fairy tale. Subject to foreign incursions and mandarin exactions in the days of yore, Indochina emerged over a thousand years ago as the hub of a vast empire extending from the Bay of Bengal to the China Sea, prosperous and thickly populated. Under the rule of such great builders as Jayavarman, Suryavarman, Yashovarman and Indravarman, Indochina was covered with a wonderful network of roads, which have since vanished through the ravages of time, and much of the area through which they wound is now a wilderness.

By nature lovers of music, arts and crafts, this people erected colossal palaces and temples, whose architectural beauty is a match to those built during the same period in Indonesia and elsewhere. The Indochinese were ahead of others in South-east Asia in one important sphere. Alongside their temples, they put up buildings which they filled with choice Sanskrit manuscripts; but though the remnants of the former may be seen today, the latter are no more, perhaps having rotted during the disintegration of the empire.

Angkor, the capital of this vast empire, was called "the Magnificent City," in which flourished a million inhabitants. Behind the massive towers of mysterious Angkor, thrusting its ruins above the forests near the Tonle Sap, looms ancient Brahmin culture, which also influenced the Chams whose brick towers and a mere lakh of people are the only remnants of a once powerful kingdom. The enlightened kings and bonzes were influential in making the Khmer tribes civilized, and their culture spread even to the tropical jungles of Kamboja. The Indian Brahmins who sparked the native genius of the Khmers and the mandarin intruders from neighbouring China who lent their culture to the Annamese were not the only immigrants in Indochina. Indochinese ancestry can also be traced to the mountains of Tibet, north-western India, the wind-swept plains of Mongolia and down south to the Malay Archipelago. A Chinese traveller visiting Angkor towards the end of the thirteenth century mentions its immense

wealth, splendour and high standard of luxury.

All of a sudden, disintegration set in soon afterwards, and chunks of the empire were torn away by the Mongol emperors of China and northern intruders of Tibetan stock. The fall of the Khmers was expedited by their internal petty squabbles, as also partly by the silting up of the Mekong River, which converted the approaches to the city into marshlands and led to its abandonment. Even the jungle folk, whom the Cambodians looked after so well, especially by establishing ashramas or forest schools similar to those in old India, once more returned to their previous wild life, their numbers rapidly reduced by the prevalence of tropical disease.

Consequently little remains of the great and glorious Hindu civilization, except the charming and romantic court of Cambodia. But there are several historic monuments of Hindu architecture and sculpture, and a royal school of ballet dancing, whose sacred performances are a challenge to those of immortal Bali. The ancient Hindu temples were dedicated to Shiva and Krishna, whose complete life is depicted in stone sculptures in the Misong Temple; but the biggest Buddhist Temple is located in Dong-duong, famous for its exquisite standing bronze Buddha, an exact replica of that existing in Amraoti in India. The sculpture of all temples is Gupta in style, and from its detailed nature it is evident that Indian Brahmins supervised its construction.

Angkor Vat is to Indochina what the Taj Mahal and the Sanchi Stupa are to India, a living memory of the Khmer genius which produced it in the twelfth century in the reign of the "Varman" kings. About a furlong in length and 270 yards wide, the main temple is formed in terraces one above the other, and has five towers of which the centre one takes the form of a lotus-bud and rises over 200 feet in height. As elsewhere, the sculpture of Angkor Vat predominantly depicts stories from the Mahabharata and the Ramayana and of the incarnations of Vishnu and other Hindu deities. Every inch of stonework is finished to the smallest detail.

The environments of this great edifice, the largest of its kind in the world, comprise a vast area of mighty ruins and artificial tanks and pools. Life-size elephants



sculptured in stone figure along the whole length of one terrace. The five gates are also in the form of elephants picking lotus flowers with their trunks; another favourite subject of sculpture here is that of female dancers and goddesses, whose marvellous dress and postures are to this day adopted in all dances and rituals in Indochina.

The greatness of Angkor has been praised to the skies by authorities on Oriental sculpture, most of all by Osbert Sitwell, who expresses himself thus:

"Let it be said immediately that Angkor, as it stands, ranks as the Chief wonder of the world today, one of the summits to which human genius has aspired in stone, infinitely more impressive, lovely, as well as romantic, than anything that can be seen in China."

Since Khmer culture existed when the Hindu adventurers and Buddhist missionaries from India arrived in Indochina to introduce Indian culture, Indians had no alternative but to merge into the local population. Thus, it would be incorrect to

say that they came to fill a vacuum. There was a fusion of cultures, from which arose a new one comprising the best of both, with the Indian influence predominating. The art of Indochina is actually a mixture of Hindu-Buddhist and Indo-Khmer arts which have been used to express the ideas deeply rooted in the native ancestor cult. It was but inevitable that, initially, art in Indochina should have been predominantly Indian in character, but later it gradually adapted itself to native ideals.

And thus, since the earliest times, Indochina has been influenced by Indian culture, which pervades the life of the people in every sphere. One of the most befitting tributes to the influence of Indian culture in Indochina has been paid by Doctor Quaritch Wales, the noted archaeologist, who says:

"When the guiding hand of India was removed, her inspiration was not forgotten but the Khmer genius was released to mould from it vast new conceptions of amazing vitality different from, and hence not properly to be compared with anything

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matured in a purely Indian environment. . . . It is true that Khmer culture is essentially based on the inspiration of India, without which the Khmers at best might have produced nothing greater than the barbaric splendour of the Central American Mayas; but it must be admitted that here, more than anywhere else in Greater India, this inspiration fell on fertile soil."

### Restoration through Religion

*Prebuddha Bharata* writes editorially:

Speaking of the present condition of our own society, we may trace the source of many a social evil to the absence or neglect of the religious spirit. It is our belief that the absence of the purifying influence of religion and the loss of faith in the moral and spiritual principles of life are responsible for the many ills that afflict our national, social, and individual lives. In the tempo of fast industrialization and the consequent growth of urban temper and mood among large sections of people, traditional values and beliefs have suffered a severe set-back. As a result, there has been a thorough upsetting of established conventions, religious and social, at all levels and in every sphere of life and activity. There is indiscipline among students in schools and colleges; there is insecurity writ large in the faces of people; constant political agitations caused by dissatisfaction are the order of the day; disruptions in family life are increasing; corruption is rampant among persons entrusted with responsibility to look after public funds; mal-practices are widespread in trade and commerce; and a hundred and one evils of various types are showing up their ugly faces in our social life. To further accentuate the process of our spiritual downfall come new ideologies that have no need for God in the affairs of men. The cause of all this moral degradation, in our opinion, is that man and society are gradually losing sight of those virtues which hold society together. If they are restored, then society will have a healthy growth, and there will be all-round progress. And this restoration of virtues can come only through an ardent and faithful practice of religion.

Hence it is that in any plan for national regeneration and social reconstruction, the spiritual traditions of the country must be given due consideration, with proper emphasis on individual and social virtues and by providing for religious education at all levels. If we keep religion, practising it in our daily lives, religion, too, will protect us. That is the meaning of the significant statement of Manu, when he says, 'Dharmo rakshati rakshitah.' And to Indians, who claim their descent from him, Manu has laid down once for all that protection of the treasure of dharma is their foremost duty (Dharma kosasya guptaye).

As Swami Vivekananda in his prophetic vision said: 'Every improvement in India requires first of all an upheaval in religion. Before flooding India with socialistic or political ideas, first deluge the land with spiritual ideas. . . . After preaching spiritual knowledge, along with it will come that secular knowledge and every other knowledge that you want; but if you attempt to get the secular knowledge without religion, I tell you plainly, vain is your attempt in India, it will never have a hold on the people.'

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# FOREIGN PERIODICALS

## The Science of Tomato Juice

Walter Theimer writes in *Deutsche korrespondenz* of May 21, 1959:

A layman would fancy that making tomato juice is a very simple affair. Just take tomatoes and squeeze them, he would advise. This may indeed be a domestic method for producing a sort of tomato juice at the breakfast table, but it is not valid for industrial processing designed for large-scale production of high-grade tomato juice to be sold in bottles. Quality and durability requirements are very particular in the trade. Professor Julius Koch of the Hessian State Research Institute for Fruit-Growing, Viticulture, and Commercial Gardening at Geisenheim on the Rhine has made a thorough-going scientific study of processes necessary for making juice for sale from German-grown tomatoes. German consumers increasingly ask for tomato juice, as they do for other vegetable juices. Production is still on a small-scale, but those interested see chances for development. One prerequisite is finding a suitable manufacturing process. Above all it was necessary to find out if German tomatoes are at all suitable for the preparation of a good juice. The qualities of tomato juice may differ a great deal.

The health value of tomatoes rests particularly on their vitamin content. It is mainly a matter of vitamin C, also known as ascorbic acid, and to a lesser degree of beta carotin, a dark-red pigment acting as a precursor of vitamin A. The tomato owes its characteristic hue less to this pigment than to a kindred substance, lycopin. This compound seems capable of changing into carotin and later into vitamin A.

Tomatoes also contain acids, mainly citric acid, and some sugar. The sugar content of a plant is, not merely a matter of variety, but rather a result of solar irradiation. The leaves are "the plant's sugar factory," and they produce sugar in proportion to the sunshine they receive. Everywhere some salt is added to tomato juice for general taste improvement, and this eclipses the small difference, if any, in sugar content.

Extracting juice from tomatoes requires a very special process, according to

Professor Koch. It is impossible to make tomato juice simply on the pattern of fruit juice. Tomato juice is expected to contain fruit-flesh also, but there should be no shreds of skin, no seeds, and no sizeable bits of tissue. A mill makes the fruits into a pulp, and this pulp is pressed against a sieve in a helical centrifuge. Now the size of the pores in this sieve is all-important. It must be determined by scientific investigation. The fruits must be fully ripe, and pore size is chosen within the range of 0.1 and 0.16 millimetres according to circumstances. These tiny differences determine the quantity of suspended matter, and this again determines the homogeneity of the juice. There should be no sedimentation in the juice even after prolonged standing, and it should stay homogeneous all the time. This is achieved by a stage of homogenization equalizing the size of the suspended particles. But Professor Koch emphasizes that no homogenization will be of long avail unless the total quantity of suspended particles is carefully adjusted.

If the juice were left in its primary stage, the enzymes contained in it would decompose it. So the enzymes must be inactivated by heating. The pulp is heated to 85 deg. centigrade by passing it through tubing surrounded by hot water, which inactivates pectin-destroying enzymes. The crude juice is de-aerated and homogenized, whereupon it is heated to 117 deg. centigrade by means of plate heaters. This destroys oxydases, meaning oxydation-promoting enzymes. Now the temperature is raised to 135 deg. centigrade to sterilize the juice, for bacteria would soon decompose it. Yet this temperature must act on the juice no longer than a second. A certain loss of vitamin C, most sensitive to heat, is inevitable, while the other stages of the process change nothing in vitamin content. It is essential to cool the juice, filled at 95 to 97 degrees within ten seconds. If this prescription is observed, a vitamin C content of the amount mentioned earlier is preserved.

Light too decomposes vitamin C, and this is why Professor Koch advocates storing the juice in brown bottles. During the whole process the tomatoes and the juice are not touched by anything except high

grade steel parts. This direction too must be carefully followed if aroma and vitamins are to be protected.

### British Education in India

The following are some of the extracts from the lecture-article of Professor M. S. Sundaram, Education Counsellor, office of the High Commissioner for India, published in the *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts*, June, 1959:

Great Britain and India have a historic association of three centuries and a half. The first British explorers arrived in the Moghul courts at the beginning of the seventeenth century, and Britain officially withdrew from India in the mid-twentieth century. Indo-British contacts have played a prominent role in the shaping of the new India. When Great Britain quit India in August, 1947, as a ruling power, she left behind a rich legacy in many fields. A sound administrative system, a well-trained army, an incorruptible judiciary, and faith in the Parliamentary form of Government were among these; but all these legacies of Indian public life have an intimate connection with the educational policies that were developed largely under British auspices.

The purpose of this paper is not to give a historical or a chronological account of the role of British education in India. These could be obtained from any well-documented chronicle or history of Indian education. I am concerned primarily with the basic values in British educational thought and educational policies which influenced not only the past history of India but also, have continued to present certain problems vital to the future of the new India.

Indian educational policies were shaped by innumerable British leaders, administrators, educators, people in high authority as well as humble missionaries, religious reformers, publicists, propagandists and politicians throughout the three centuries of Indo-British relations. The early policy statements came in the form of Despatches and Charter Acts of the Court of Directors of the British East India Company. Many eminent persons who were deeply exercised about education in India have left their mark on the subject. Sir Thomas Munro, Mount-Stuart Elphinstone, William Adam, Lord William Bentinck, Charles

Grant, Lord Moira, Lord Macaulay, Mr. Prendergast, Wilberforce, Warren Hastings, Lord Auckland, Sir Charles Wood, David Hare were among the pioneers of the first half of the nineteenth century. The great many missionary societies contributed their own special points of view to Indian education. Duff, Wilson, Miller, Hislop, Bishop French, Robert Noble, and many distinguished Roman Catholic priests and proselytizers shaped Indian education in the same period independently of the Government of the day.

India has had the longest tradition in Asia (along with China) of respect for learning and pursuit of knowledge. Many indigenous schools worked on the monitorial system, the more advanced pupils tutoring the lower grades in each school. Dr. Bell, the Presidency Chaplain in Madras, commended this system for adoption in England. He called in 'the Madras system by which a school or family may teach itself under the supervision of a master or parent.' The system was used successfully in several parts of England. The fact is established that India was by no means an uneducated country at the beginning of the nineteenth century. There was a network of autonomous, self-supporting decentralized school systems all over the land. The village priest and the village craftsman played the role of teachers in addition to their religious and occupational pursuits.

British educational effort in India started off with one of the greatest controversies of all times. This controversy eventually turned out to be a setback to the whole process of Indian education. Under the first Educational Charter Act of 1813, the Board of Directors of the East India Company resolved that a sum of not less than 100,000 rupees in each year 'shall be set apart and applied to the revival and importance of literature and the encouragement of the learned natives of India and for the introduction and promotion of a knowledge of the sciences among the inhabitants of the British territories in India.' Two schools of thought known as the 'Orientalists' and the 'Anglicists' debated endlessly as to what type of schools should receive support from the company funds. There is still current a mistaken notion that education in the English language and through the medium of English was forced

down on unwilling Indian subjects. Nothing is farther from the facts. There were many 'Orientalists' among the British, and many 'Anglicists' among the Indians.

The Great Charter of Indian Education was to come in 1854 in the famous Wood's Educational Despatch. Missionary activity in education during the two decades preceding Wood's Despatch grew at a very rapid pace. Although in 1813 the Missions from Great Britain had the first preference, in 1833 Missions from other western nations were accepted without any restrictions. German and American Mission Societies entered the country in quick succession in the fervent hope that English education would lead to the spread of Christianity. The well-meaning and hard-working missionaries came to realize very slowly but surely that their expectations to win the masses of India for Christ were not to be realized in any spectacular way.

British educational policy in India was outlined elaborately in the Education Despatch of the Court of Directors, dated 19th July, 1854, known popularly as Wood's. It was the longest Governmental document known, consisting of a hundred paragraphs. It enunciated the aim of education as 'the diffusion of the improved arts, science, philosophy and literature of Europe; in short of European knowledge.'

The Indian languages gradually ceased to be used in the higher spheres of administration, the judiciary, legislation and public life, with the consequence that they failed to develop the expressions and idioms pertaining to all these aspects of day-to-day life. Indian languages today suffer from a century of stagnation when phrases and words were not coined quickly to meet the demands of modern life and thought. Wherever the learned "pundits" had coined them, they were seldom used by the ordinary people because the English-trained classes held themselves aloof and apart from the rest of the community.

A century of British education in India has now resulted in the old controversy being resumed in its new guise. We have today the new 'Anglicists,' this time composed of Indians who are putting up a brave fight for the retention of English as the official language of the Indian Union. The framers of the Constitution of India adopted under Article 343 of the Indian

Constitution 'that the official language of the Union shall be Hindi in Devanagari script.' They took particular care not to use the words 'national language' in describing the place of Hindi. It was also stated in the Constitution that 'notwithstanding anything in Clause 1, for a period of 15 years from the commencement of this Constitution the English language shall continue to be used for all the official purposes of the Union for which it was being used immediately before such commencement.'

During the entire period of British educational effort in India, it had never occurred to any Secretary of State for India, or Viceroy, or Governor of an Indian State, to have a general survey made of India's needs on a national or even a provincial level. It is the last British Educational Adviser to the Government of India, Sir John Sargent, to whom belongs the honour of having presented the first draft of a report on the educational needs of India on an all-India basis. In his foreword to this Report, entitled 'Post-war Educational Development in India,' dated September 1943, Sir John wrote:

"In a country where apathy and inertia have reigned so long in the educational field and where poverty has been the accepted excuse for leaving undone what ought to be done, a prodigious effort will be needed on the part of those responsible both to set things going and to face the financial implications which such action will involve. Other countries, however, are already on the march towards the goal of social security, and if India continues to evade her responsibilities in this respect, she must be content to relegate herself to a position of permanent inferiority in the society of civilized nations."

What Mr. Gokhale failed to put through in 1910 and 1913, and Sir John Sargent produced as a comprehensive paper plan, the framers of the Indian Constitution of 1950 have accepted both as a challenge and an adventure in educational experiment and expansion. If the progressive countries of the world—the United Kingdom, the United States, Western Europe, Russia, Japan and the new China, could accomplish the task of universal compulsory education, nothing should stop India from setting her goal in that direction. Among the directive principles of

the Indian Constitution, the founding fathers of Modern India set out that "The State shall endeavour to provide within a period of ten years from the commencement of the Constitution free and compulsory education for all children until they complete the age of fourteen years'.

At a time when all the resources of the country and its manpower are being mobilized for economic reconstruction at home, India cannot afford to maintain such large numbers of her young people in foreign countries. Their educational needs have got to be met by the institutions at home. In course of time, only those at the very advanced levels of learning, in the post-graduate and post-doctoral fields, should find it necessary to go overseas. This does not mean, however, that travel in itself has no educational value. While we should continue to encourage young university graduates to undertake study tours abroad, it would, in course of time, be economical for the country to stop the vast flood of undergraduates from going to technical and technological institutions in search of basic knowledge. India is well on her way to developing technology at home. Three new All-India technological institutes are being developed with the co-operation of the three advanced countries in Europe—Russia, West Germany and the United Kingdom. Under the Indo-American technical co-operation schemes, substantial numbers of technicians are being exchanged between India and the United States. The Indo-German technical assistance programme is also in operation on similar lines. India is thus determined to catch up with the technological age.

India's educational goals cannot be reached by mere adherence to British methods, to which we have been accustomed for a long period. We have to experiment boldly in new ways and techniques, not forgetting of course the rich legacy of Indo-British collaboration of the last three centuries.

History has no parallel to the introduction and imposition for so long a period of the educational system of one country, with a totally different civilization, upon another country of a much older civilization. The whole pattern of Indian life and thought has undergone a change as a result of this experiment. It is entirely a matter of speculation at this date to say

how Indian education would have developed had it not been influenced by British administration or British ways of life. We have two major developments as a consequence of our having been under the influence of the British—the problems of illiteracy, which had been left unchecked, and the problem of an enforced foreign language which we can neither abandon altogether nor continue to retain and develop indefinitely.

### Uprising in Tibet

Richard Lowenthal writes in course of an article in *New Leader*, April, 1959:

It is here that the object-lesson of Tibet will be important, provided it is understood in its true context. That context is not the gradual extension of a tribal uprising to Lhasa, the capital. The tribal trouble had actually become less dangerous since 1957, when the Chinese promised a five-year standstill in "reforms."

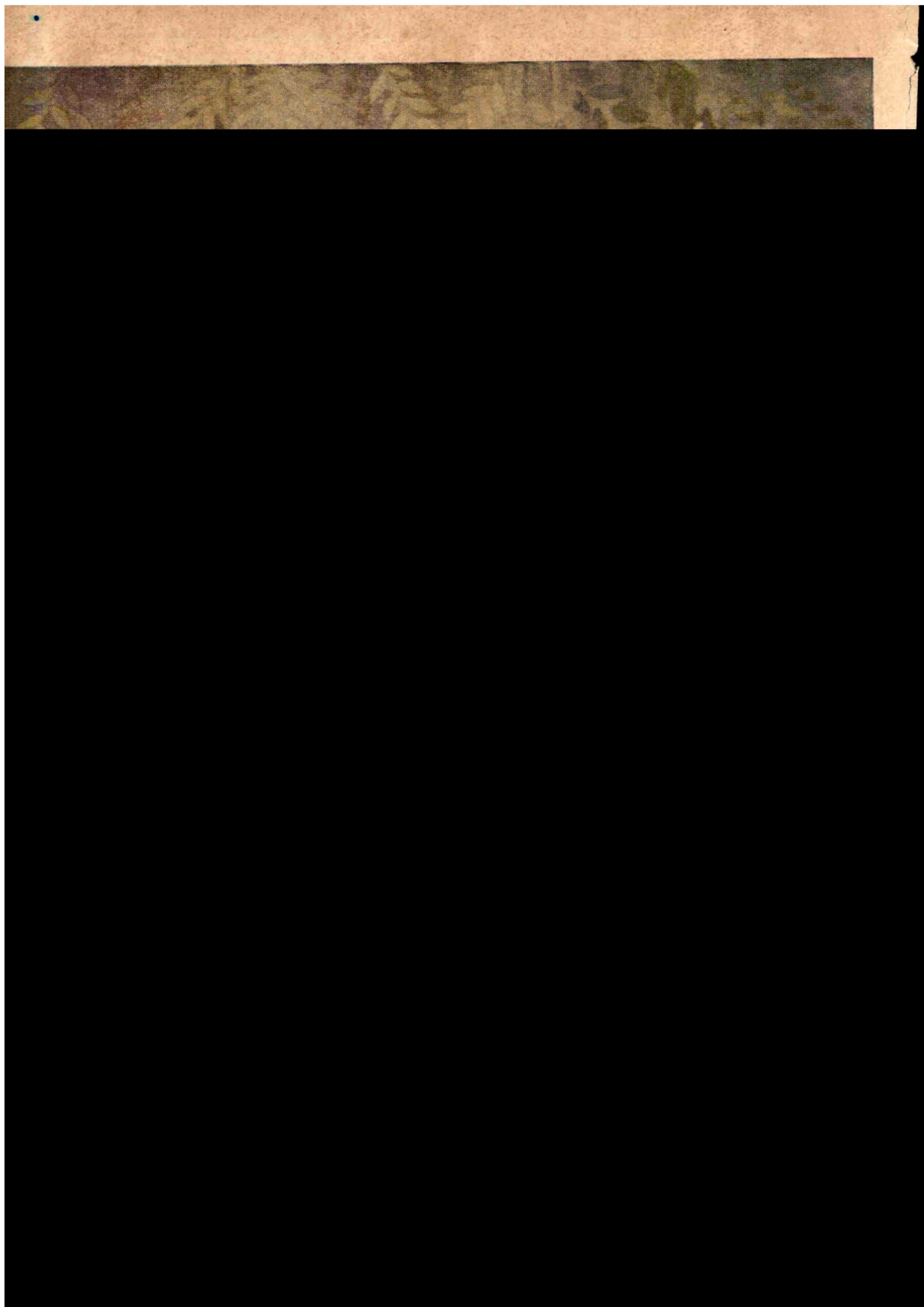
The roots of the new crisis are to be found in the internal development of China and, in particular, in the forcible extension of the new rural "communes" to the Chinese Province of Tsinghai, which borders Tibet and has a population largely consisting of national and religious minorities, notably Moslem Dungan and Tibetan Buddhists.

Last autumn, this attempt resulted in considerable local uprisings admitted in the local Communist press. But the Tibetan minority in Tsinghai acknowledges the spiritual authority of the Dalai Lama. Hence their resistance convinced the Chinese Communists that the standstill of proposed reforms in Tibet was incompatible with their disciplined execution in China proper.

Accordingly, Party cadres from Tibet were called to China to study the practice of the new communes early this year, and the Dalai Lama himself was invited to Peking for April to clinch the matter. It was a realization of these Chinese plans to end the truce, to impose the full rigors of Chinese Communism in Tibet and to hold the Dalai Lama in Peking if he refused to co-operate, that led to the Lhasa uprising.

In other words, the promise to maintain Tibetan autonomy was broken because it proved an obstacle to the fulfilment of the Communist program in Tibet, and even in part of China itself. But this is part of the nature of the Communist system. In exactly the same way, the Communists describe the existence of an independent West Berlin as a "cancerous growth."







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## NOTES

### The Aftermath

The smallest State in the Indian Union has written in bold letters a new chapter in the history of democracy in Asia. Kerala, with its 14,837 sq. miles of land surface and a population of about 1 crore and forty odd lakhs, has unseated a government established along the accepted democratic practice by means of a mass movement on a scale that has made Pandit Nehru say that "he had seen many movements but he had seen nothing like the 'tremendous sweep' of the movement in Kerala."

The movement had many characteristics that seemed curious against the background of the Kerala political scene. Amongst all the States of India, Kerala perhaps has the most party-faction troubled record, since independence, in the political field, which is further complicated by the communal schisms as between the Hindu, the Christian and the Muslim. This party-consciousness is, perhaps, the inevitable result of a high degree of literacy added on to the tremendous pressure of population on the land, which is only partially capable of being brought under the plough. In this movement, which ended with the Proclamation, under Article 356 of the Constitution on July 31st, of the taking over of all the functions of the Government of Kerala by the President, these party-factions and communal rifts were all totally merged into one massive upsurge against the Communist Government. This was perhaps the most extraordinary feature of this sustained and

strenuous movement, which penetrated, into all parts of the State.

It is too early as yet to analyse in detail the genesis and the progress of this movement, because the clamour and the dust of the struggle has not subsided as yet. But despite all that Pandit Nehru has said, in his Press Conference at New Delhi on August 7, there must be a thorough sifting of all charges and counter-charges, against and by the Communist Government of Kerala, that has been just displaced.

The factors that by their synthesis let loose this tremendous upsurge have to be clearly identified and all their characteristics sharply defined, for the benefit of the poor humble common citizen, who is the prime sufferer, first and last.

This leads us to the second curious characteristic of this struggle and its consequence. No one, not even Pandit Nehru, seemed to have really considered the question of the rights of the Common Citizen, in this affair. The Communist Government, of course, cared nothing for the poor humble man in the street or in the fields. The whole history of the World Communism has but little to show about the sanctity of the Rights of the individual man. On the contrary. So why should this particular Communist Government, which was running along a rigid pattern, which its administrators were either incapable or unwilling to adapt to an Indian perspective, be any different?

But what about the Government at the Centre, with its high-falutin claims about 'Government for the People', etc.? All along



these last few months it seemed to be far more solicitous about the tender feelings of the Communist Party, or the most delicate reputation of the Congress Party than about Common Citizen of Kerala, who must have passed through hell during the struggle, when all semblance of law and order was abrogated, making the hard path of daily life cruelly full of pitfalls and thorns.

Of course, there is the Constitution! That particularly futile and anti-diluvian Instrument, has become like the Laws of the Persians and the Medes, by which the Rights of Man can be not only circumscribed and rigidly limited on all sides, but the law-breaker, provided he has either political or financial strength, can victimise the weak at every step, with nobody caring for his sufferings.

There is no means, say the administrators, to punish the profiteer or the black-marketeer nor can the adulteration of prime necessities of life be stopped. The poor sufferer may chew a few pages of the Constitution, and perhaps, like Coca leaves or Poppy extract, it might alleviate pain. The corrupt "Public Servant" may extract bribes at every step, or otherwise invoke the unjustifiable use of Laws, which have been kept vague—much to the profit of the corrupt, the idle and the inefficient amongst officials—and the poor honest citizen is in the toils. He may, of course, plod his weary way through the tortuous channels of the Law, oozing the life-blood of himself and his helpless family, and then, if he can get together the hard cash, he may get justice—or what passes for it in India. But the corrupt oppressor goes scot-free. He neither has to pay, nor has he to face any consequences for his action, for, we are told, the Laws and the Constitution, stand in the way of punishing the corrupt and the deliberately inefficient official. But why continue?

The Kerala Movement was just an indicator and its significance cannot be ignored just for the sake of quieting 'the passions in Kerala'. In other States the people are suffering, and the Congress might have to face "the awful majesty of the peoples' will" as the Moslem League did in Pakistan. The Kerala P.C.C., in its memorandum, before the President, Indian Republic, gave a list of the major causes that led to the mass upsurge of

a normally peaceful and hard-working people against a Government established by Law. The reasons given, according to the Kerala P.C.C., "are by no means exhaustive but only illustrative. There are many counts of this sample indictment, of which eleven are the major heads. We do not know what reply or rebuttal the erstwhile Government of Kerala gave, as that has not made public to our knowledge. But on some of the counts, like that of a murderer, *who had been sentenced to death by the Courts of Justice*, being let loose by a subterfuge; *permissible under our wonderful Constitution*, amongst the people, without any check, the increase in the incidence of major crimes and undermining the services, need a searching enquiry. This is necessary to see how to amend the Constitution in order to safeguard the law-abiding citizen. Otherwise the very basis of democracy becomes unstable.

There are many charges, in this memorandum, which some of the Congress Governments of many States may have to face. For the Congress is by no means free of the Party virus. Indeed today we have a Government by the Officials, for the benefit of the Party in Power and their myrmidons, to the complete denial of the Rights of the Common Citizen. Nemesis will follow, may be soon, may be late, unless there is rectification.

### Progress in Colombo Plan

It may be recalled that in January 1950, Commonwealth Foreign Ministers met at Colombo to exchange views on world problems and particularly on the needs of the countries of South and South-East Asia. At this meeting was born the idea of the Colombo Plan. A Consultative Committee was set up to survey the needs, to assess the resources available and required, to focus world attention on the development problems of the area to raise their living standards. The original members were Australia, Canada, Ceylon, India, New Zealand, Pakistan and the United Kingdom together with Malaya and British Borneo. The seventh report of the Consultative Committee has just been published. The report makes a review of economic progress in this region and also

points out the task ahead. Today the Colombo Plan consists of 18-member Governments.

The report states that significant progress continued to be made in furthering the development of the Colombo Plan region. The rate of progress was, however, somewhat less than in previous years. It appears that the rate of growth in per capita real income in the region mentioned in previous reports was not maintained. In some countries of the region, adverse weather and a decline in food production, inflationary pressures, and heavy imports accompanied by a decline in export earnings, and other factors, brought about setbacks. Progress, however, continued to be made at a substantial rate in such vital economic sectors as industrial capacity and improvement of basic facilities, including roads, irrigation and land reclamation.

Increased imports by the countries of this region partly reflected the need for foodgrains to offset bad harvests resulting from adverse weather conditions. Since export availabilities within the region were reduced for the same reason, the shortfall was made good chiefly through imports from outside the area. One of the more important factors responsible for the increase in imports was undoubtedly the direct and indirect effects of the development programmes undertaken by these countries. To reduce the future demand for imports, some of these programmes had to be curtailed. These difficulties were further aggravated by world economic trends during this period, particularly in 1957. In the latter part of 1957 some countries in Western Europe were obliged to tighten up their internal financial policies because the external position of their currencies came under pressure.

The slowing down of industrial activity in Europe and America resulted in some disadvantage to producers of industrial raw materials. And the general fall in world economic activity noticeable in the first half of 1958 tended further to reduce the export earnings of non-industrialised

countries. As a result the terms of trade movement against non-industrialised countries, and on account of the high level of imports, most of the non-industrialised countries suffered very heavy trade deficits with consequent losses in external reserves. In the Colombo Plan area, economic difficulties were particularly marked in countries where large development programmes were under way.

Export earnings did not keep pace with the increase in import expenditures. This in part, the Report states, reflects the fact that an increasing proportion of imports of these countries consists of capital goods or raw materials for the manufacture of capital goods. It is difficult to abandon projects once started and equipment ordered cannot always be cancelled. Most countries in the region have a similar pattern of development expenditures; and all development programmes contain an element, small or large, requiring public investment. This in turn has necessitated a greater resort to fiscal measures for mobilization of domestic resources. In some countries considerable additional taxation has been levied and also additional small savings have been mobilized. Internal resources mobilized have generally not been adequate to meet the requirements of the development plans. This, coupled with continuing development expenditures, tended to exert a pressure on prices and balance of payments position of the countries in this area.

The main objectives of development programmes of these countries have more or less been similar. The objectives include greater agricultural output, creation of the basic framework for development, a speedier development of industries, and creation of greater opportunities of productive employment. Public investment, particularly investment in industry and transport now plays a more important role than in the past in almost all the countries of the region. However, the predominant position of agriculture and of small-scale and cottage industries, in terms of employment and output, underlines the importance of private initiative and effort.

The Government expenditures in India for development purposes during 1958-59 stood at £1,015 million as against £963 million in 1957-58.

During the year under review, the objectives of economic policies of India were threefold, namely, to reduce the strain on the balance of payments; secondly, to keep a check on prices particularly prices of foodgrains; and thirdly, to augment to the extent possible resources available for development by mobilizing domestic resources and securing additional loans and credits from abroad. The measures in the fiscal, monetary and foreign exchange fields have been taken to further strengthen the position of resources in India. Special attention was paid to the promotion of exports and to obtaining foreign resources which would have an immediate effect on the foreign exchange position and also long-term credits.

Since the beginning of the Colombo Plan, technical assistance has been a major factor in securing a steadily increasing rate of economic growth in South and South-East Asia. The ability of the under-developed Colombo Plan countries to utilise their own capital resources and external capital assistance has been conditioned, to a marked extent, by a general shortage of skilled technicians at all levels and in all fields. The technical assistance made available under the Colombo Plan and through other agencies has, therefore, played an important part in securing a better utilization of capital resources and in increase in the rate of economic and social development.

#### **Banking Statistics**

"The Statistical Tables relating to Commercial Banks in India," 1958, recently published by the Reserve Bank of India, presents the statistics relating to individual banks and the banking system as a whole on the same lines as in previous issues except that data relating to co-operative banks have been excluded from this year's publication.

During the year 1958, there was a further rise in deposits, advances, investments and number of offices of scheduled banks. Non-scheduled banks, on the other hand,

witnessed all-round declines in deposits, investments and number of offices. A large part of this can, however, be ascribed to the inclusion of some of the non-scheduled banks in the Second Schedule to the Reserve Bank of India Act, 1934.

As regards scheduled banks, the most striking feature during the year under review was the further accretion to their deposits which recorded a rise of Rs. 226 crores, on top of a rise of Rs. 280 crores last year. Deposits of Indian scheduled banks registered a rise of Rs. 234 crores during the year, whereas deposits of foreign scheduled banks declined by Rs. 8 crores. Nearly half (Rs. 112 crores) of the increase in deposits of the Indian scheduled banks was accounted for by the State Bank of India alone, the bulk of which may be attributed to the accruals covered by P.L. 480 imports. Nearly nine-tenths of the deposits expansion took place under time deposits, the growth of these deposits being considerable even after adjustment for P.L. 480 deposits.

The total of advances and bills discounted of scheduled banks at Rs. 901 crores registered only a moderate increase of Rs. 7 crores in 1958 as compared with a rise of Rs. 74 crores in 1957 and of Rs. 155 crores in 1956. The slowing down in the rate of bank credit expansion may be ascribed to the slackening in the rate of growth of investment in the private sector occasioned by drastic curbs imposed on private imports. This moderate demand for credit coupled with the impressive growth in deposits left banks with large liquid funds which they invested in Government securities. As a result, investments of scheduled banks in Government securities rose sharply by Rs. 201 crores during 1958 as compared to Rs. 70 crores in 1957.

This change in the assets structure of banks had a restraining effect on their earnings and net profits of scheduled banks (Indian and foreign) declined by Rs. 3 crores during the year as against an increase of over Rs. 2 crores noticed last year. The total current operating earnings of the Indian scheduled banks rose by

Rs. 10 crores to Rs. 72 crores as compared to a rise of Rs. 12.7 crores in 1957 and Rs. 8 crores in 1956. The current operating expenses, on the other hand, rose more sharply by Rs. 12 crores to Rs. 61 crores as compared to Rs. 10 crores in 1957 and Rs. 5 crores in 1956. As a result, net profits showed a decline of Rs. 2 crores to Rs. 10.5 crores in 1958 as against a rise of Rs. 2.4 crores to Rs. 12.5 crores witnessed in 1957.

The number of offices in the Indian Union of joint stock banks showed a marked rise by 275 as compared to a rise of 155 in 1957 and 55 in 1956. The State Bank of India alone accounted for as many as 90 additional offices during the current year, as against 84 additional offices opened in 1957. Taking scheduled and non-scheduled banks together there was one office for every 11,398 of the population served by banks at the end of 1958. About half the number of the offices of scheduled banks were concentrated in the larger towns having population of over 50,000 each.

Although the liquidity of banks increased last year, particularly in cash in hand, on account of the slowing down in the rate of growth of investments, the velocity of circulation of deposit money rose appreciably in 1958. The velocity of circulation of deposit money is to be understood in this context as the rate of turnover of current deposits. This is the total of debits to current, cash credit and overdraft accounts for twelve months divided by the monthly average of current deposits. The rate of turnover of current deposits was the highest in 1958 since 1939. It was 49.7 in 1958 as against 44.4 in 1957, 45.7 in 1956 and 45.2 in 1955. The monthly average of current deposits was lower at Rs. 418 crores in 1958 as against Rs. 430 crores in 1957. But the total of debits to current deposits, cash credit and overdraft accounts marked a rise to Rs. 20,785 crores in 1958 as compared to Rs. 19,071 crores in 1957 and Rs. 17,952 crores in 1956. This rise in the velocity of circulation of deposit money indicates a large transactions among business houses and individuals, although borrow-

ings direct from banks have almost remained static, perhaps due to the tightening of credit control by the Reserve Bank. Much of these business transactions have their root in speculative deals in essential commodities. This is just an indication how credit control by the Reserve Bank can be dodged by mutual accommodations among business houses and individuals.

### Developments in Currency and Finance

The Reserve Bank's *Report on Currency and Finance* for the financial year, 1958-59, published recently, presents a review of the economic situation in India during the year against the background of a brief survey of economic and monetary developments abroad. According to the Report, the Indian economy revealed mixed trends during 1958-59, with a blend of elements of stagnation and forces of sustained progress and of recessionary tendencies with basic inflationary factors. With continuing drastic import curbs and larger external aid, the balance of payments position underwent a distinct change, with a marked easing of the drain on foreign exchange reserves. This improvement was, however, to a not inconsiderable extent, associated with a slowing down of the rate of new investment and of growth of industrial production. These developments, which were already apparent in the latter half of the last year, became more pronounced in the first half of 1958-59, with the general level of prices recording an almost continuous rise. However, in the latter half of the year, the situation showed improvement, with a seasonal decline in prices and a recovery in the rate of growth in industrial production. The resumption of economic expansion was accompanied by a substantial monetary expansion during the busy season of the year, though this would appear to have been somewhat excessive.

Outside India, the most outstanding development in the world economic scene in 1958 was the vigorous revival of the U.S. economy from out of the short-lived but sharp recession of 1957. The developments during the year dispelled the fears entertained earlier that the U.S. recession would lead to a general international liquidity crisis. In fact, indus-

trial countries, aided by a favourable turn in their terms of trade, were able to raise their gold and dollar reserves to record levels. This, in turn, made possible, towards the close of 1958, the move to convertibility in Western Europe which marked a significant step towards a freer system of multilateral trade and payments. In most European countries, the decline in economic activity, the degree and timing of which varied, proved to be much less than what was apprehended. In general, the recessionary phase in these countries was characterised by an abatement of inflationary pressure, reflecting the slowing down of the rate of economic expansion, due mainly to internal causes. In many of these countries these developments provided the conditions for resumption of a more sustainable rate of economic growth and permitted a widespread relaxation in the monetary and credit restraints imposed in 1957; in some cases like the United Kingdom and Canada, monetary and credit policies were also supplemented by appropriate changes in fiscal policies with a view to stimulating economic expansion. In a majority of European countries, monetary conditions were dominated by excess liquidity of the banking system arising partly from balance of payments surpluses. Consequently, simultaneously with action to reduce interest rates, measures of a restrictive nature like raising of commercial banks' reserve requirements, open market net sale, and funding were taken. On the other hand, in the primary producing countries, which were confronted with persistent payment difficulties arising from the continued weakness in world commodity prices, credit restrictions generally continued to be kept in force or even strengthened.

In India, the rate of increase in industrial production showed a further slowing down in 1958, the average general index being 139.4 (base: 1951=100), representing an increase of only 1.5 per cent as compared to 3.5 per cent in 1957 and 8.3 per cent in 1956. The decline in the rate of growth of industrial output was partly attributable, as in the previous year, to the shortage of industrial raw materials, arising from import restrictions. In some industries, notably cotton textiles, the decline in output was also due to the slack-

ness in domestic demand during the greater part of the year and the difficulties of maintaining exports. The employment situation continued to cause concern as a result of a more rapid rise in the number of people seeking employment as compared to job opportunities.

The over-all agricultural production suffered a sharp set-back in 1957-58, the index of agricultural production (base: year ended June, 1950=100) falling from 123.8 in 1956-57 to 113.4 in 1957-58. The fall was as much as 11 per cent in the case of foodgrains. For 1958-59, provisional estimates indicate an encouraging position. The production of foodgrains is expected to attain a record level of 73 million tons. The output of jute also reached a new record level during the year.

The price situation caused some concern during 1958-59. Reflecting mainly the impact of the sharp fall in foodgrains output in 1957-58, prices rose almost continuously up to October, 1958, but thereafter there was a slow decline. The general index of wholesale prices, which had showed no material change in 1957-58, recorded a net rise of 6.5 per cent in 1958-59, the food article group rising by as much as 11.2 per cent. Government's efforts continued to be directed towards holding the price line and to this end, a number of measures were adopted during the year to control the movement, consumption and prices of foodgrains as well as to build up stocks. Partly as a result of these measures but mainly because of the substantial rise in the 1958-59 foodgrains output, the weekly index for food articles, which had touched its peak of 122 in mid-October, 1958, declined to 112.7 at the end of March, 1959. But this level was still higher by 9 per cent than that a year before and since May, 1959, there has been again a rise, the index going up to 120.9 by mid-June.

Monetary and banking trends during 1958-59 differed in important respects from those in 1957-58. The seasonal swings in both money supply and bank credit were more marked than in the previous year and, in the busy season, monetary expansion assumed larger proportions than in any previous year; this was mainly due to the estimated record agricultural output and the rising tempo of industrial production but speculative in-

fluences were also at work. Over the financial year, the expansion of money supply at Rs. 109 crores was larger than in 1957-58 (Rs. 76 crores), but smaller than in 1956-57 (Rs. 129 crores) and in 1955-56 (Rs. 264 crores). The expansion in scheduled bank credit in 1958-59, on the other hand, was only Rs. 51 crores, as compared to Rs. 63 crores in 1957-58. The rise in scheduled bank deposits (Rs. 184 crores), though substantial, was only about two-thirds of the preceding year's expansion (Rs. 276 crores); however, the rate of turnover of current deposits of business and individuals recorded a further rise. Of the use of funds, the most conspicuous feature was the very sharp rise in investments in Government securities, the rise (Rs. 173 crores) being almost twice that in 1957-58 (Rs. 95 crores); counterpart funds arising from P.L. 480 imports continued to be an important factor in the growth of bank deposits and the gilt-edged portfolio of banks.

The credit policy of the Reserve Bank continued to be one of controlled expansion directed to meeting the genuine credit needs of the productive sectors of the economy. The state of excess liquidity in the banking system, which tended to exercise some pressure on prices of shares, commodities and bullion, reinforced the need for continued monetary restraint in general. Under these circumstances, the Reserve Bank not only maintained the selective control on credit against foodgrains and sugar, with suitable modifications, but also extended its scope to groundnuts. With a view to checking unhealthy speculation on the stock markets, the Reserve Bank impressed upon banks the need to exercise vigilance in the matter of advances against shares.

Conditions in the capital market continued to reflect the slackness in the rate of growth of the economy which set in during 1957-58. The overall investment in the economy would appear to have recorded only a modest rise during 1958-59, the rise occurring in the public sector. Investment activity in the private sector would appear to have been somewhat lower than in 1957-58, due mainly to foreign exchange difficulties. The trend of company profits appeared to be downward as in 1957. However, during the year under review,

Government adopted several measures to assist the private sector of industry.

As regards Government finances, due mainly to larger domestic borrowing and external assistance, the combined actual overall deficit of the Centre and the States was appreciably smaller in 1958-59 at Rs. 136 crores, as compared to Rs. 503 crores in 1957-58, and Rs. 253 crores in 1956-57. The Plan outlay of the Centre and the State Government maintained its uptrend; the outlay which had increased from Rs. 639 crores in 1956-57 to Rs. 846 crores in 1957-58, recorded a further rise to Rs. 981 crores in 1958-59. The contribution of external assistance to resources was material. During the year under review, net receipts from market borrowings amounted to Rs. 227 crores as compared to Rs. 71 crores only in 1957-58, the larger Government borrowing reflecting partly the ample liquidity of the banking system during the greater part of the year. The performance of small savings was also slightly better than in 1957-58, the net receipts amounting to Rs. 78 crores as compared to Rs. 69 crores in 1957-58.

The strain on India's balance of payments experienced in the previous two years was considerably relieved in 1958-59. Owing to the combination of a much larger inflow of external assistance and a severe curtailment of private imports, the draft on the country's foreign exchange reserves in the third year of the Second Plan was reduced to Rs. 47 crores; it had amounted to Rs. 260 crores in 1957-58 and Rs. 221 crores in 1956-57, even after taking credit for IMF assistance of Rs. 34 crores and Rs. 61 crores respectively. In fact, from November 1958 onwards, up to the end of the year, there was a rise of Rs. 44 crores in the reserves. Export earnings at Rs. 576 crores recorded a further decline of Rs. 19 crores in 1958-59, while aggregate import payments at Rs. 1047 crores represented a fall of Rs. 157 crores over 1957-58. The total external assistance available for the Second Plan as at the end of March 1959 amounted to about Rs. 1,216 crores, inclusive of a carry-over of Rs. 190 crores from the First Plan. Of this amount, Rs. 697 crores were estimated to have been utilised during the first three years of the Second Plan, so that Rs. 519 crores are avail-

able for utilisation during the rest of the Plan period.

### The Police State

There is as yet no exact definition of the attributes which mark the transformation of a State into a Police State. Despite this handicap, however, its identification in practice offers no insurmountable difficulty inasmuch as the general body of world public opinion has come to associate it virtually with the suppression of public criticism against the Government of the day in any country. Frequently, however, the emergence of the Police State leads to the curtailment of other rights of the individual such as the rights of the freedom of residence, association, movement, and speech. The contemporary world conditions of a Police State prevail in most of the colonial territories of Africa. Among the independent States the closest approximation to a Police State is to be found in the Union of South Africa where the Government has reduced to almost complete negation the dignity of the individual for the greater majority of the people of the Union, whereby people are debarred not only from criticizing the Government but also from setting up residences or getting into educational institutions of their own choice. Whatever variation may have been there in the definition of a Police State none, however, even remotely suggested the inclusion of the United Kingdom in its fold. By characterising Great Britain as a Police State, Professor Max Beloff of Oxford has thus provided a new dimension to the definition of a Police State. Professor Beloff has based his definition on the existing restrictions in Britain on the issue of passports and visas, and the export and import of cars. If this criterion is adopted no country in the world can perhaps escape from being labelled as a Police State. Prof. Beloff's standard being so broad thus falls short of fulfilling the essential requirements of a scientific definition which is that it must help in making distinctions and classifications. But obviously he was not so much after pro-

viding a correct definition of a Police State as to emphasize the general trend in the development of the State system in the world which involves the ever-increasing abridgement of the freedom of the individual matched only by an ever-widening scope for governmental interference.

### India and China

The disclosures about the extent of deterioration in India-China relations which were made in two authoritative statements of the Indian Prime Minister during the first week of August, must have come as a great surprise to a good many Indians. The Chinese have unilaterally adopted a number of measures which have a direct and adverse repercussion upon the interests and the prestige of the Government of India. The Chinese authorities have imposed restrictions on the movements of Indian traders putting them to loss and hardship and have not spared even the official Indian Trade Agent from such harassment. In Gyantse—one of the two Tibetan towns where the Indians were allowed to keep a Trade Agent under the terms of the 1954 Treaty between India and China—the Chinese authorities have refused permission for the reconstruction of the Indian Trade Agency Building which had been washed away by floods. As if these were not enough, the Chinese have now passed orders banning the Indian Currency in Tibet—an act which according to Shri Nehru, also impinges upon the terms of the aforementioned treaty. Add to these the unsettled border disputes and the matter is seen in its true though grave perspective the Chinese have an irritating way of keeping silent over communication and representations—even from friend Governments—(the India Government might be learning how the persistent refusal of its various departments to respond, with any degree of promptitude, to public complaints and representations felt to the suffering public) and there seems to have been no way of inducing them to come forward for a friendly discussion of the ways and means



of resolving these difficulties. This obstinacy cannot but have a very adverse impression among the people living in other countries bordering on China and increase their apprehension about the true Chinese designs. It is thus in everybody's interest that the Chinese Government should see the unwisdom of continuing to stick to its obstinacy.

### Threat in the Far-East

The renewal of the hostilities in Laos between the forces of the pro-West Government and the pro-Communist Pathet Lao presents a great danger to the maintenance of peace and tranquility in the Far-East. The situation in Laos which is covered by the Geneva Agreement of 1954 on Vietnam had been causing anxiety for sometime past. Sensing the imminent dangers the Government of India had a few weeks earlier sought the reconvening of the International Commission of Supervision, consisting of the representatives of India, Poland and Canada, which had been adjourned sine die last year. Of the two co-Chairmen of the Geneva Conference—the USSR and the UK—the latter disagreed as also the Government of Canada. The Laotian Government had all along expressed the view that the International Commission had fulfilled its task and should be disbanded. The picture within Laos is far from clear; but fighting was reported as late as on August 8.

### Cuba

The Cold War has created not only a clear-cut division between the major World Powers, but also two well-defined groups of satellites, attached to them and maintained by large-scale aid from the U.S., others again being sustained by the Soviets.

A group of nations, with India in the van, has taken a stand on neutrality and friendship with all. But as neutrality is neither understood nor regarded with any friendly attitude, by the Western Powers particularly, their lot has not been particularly happy in the Comity of Nations.

On the other hand any country or nation that makes a bid for alliance with either of the warring groups, or makes a gesture expressing an inclination either way, is immediately offered substantial consideration for leaning the other way. This has resulted in the emergence of another small group to whom the pundits of the West—and perhaps of the East as well—cannot assign any political colour.

Cuba is a case in point. For a long number of years it had a corrupt and thoroughly dictatorial Government under General Fulgencio Batista. Thanks to the Cold War and the most anomalous definition of democracy that prevails in the West, Batista looted the country and put down all opposition with a mailed fist, without anyone batting an eye-lid in any centre of World Politics. A revolt that was started on the 26th of July 1953, at the city of Santiago in the eastern region of Cuba, by an eccentric individual named Fidel Castro with a ragged band of poorly equipped followers, was dismissed after a cursory notice in most newspapers as being of no consequence.

But contrary to what the political Pundits of the West thought, Castro went on gaining ground where his fellow countrymen were concerned. And when he staged the final show-down on New Year's Day of this year, Fulgencio Batista the all-powerful dictator fled ignominiously, leaving his henchmen to face the wrath of the "Liberator."

Fidel Castro's actions followed no typical pattern, after he had all Cuba within his grip. Says *The New York Times* of July 26:

"One of Castro's first acts last January was to install Senor Urrutia as Provisional President, a more or less honorific post. Six weeks later, on February 17, Castro formally agreed to become Prime Minister. Since then he has revolutionized Cuba's way of life. He has established what his supporters claim is the first honest regime in Cuban history; instituted a major and drastic agrarian reform which may alter Cuba's entire economy; reduced rents drastically; suspended the right of habeas



corpus, decreed the death penalty for counter-revolutionary activities," dismissed thousands of public employees who worked for Batista; had thousands of persons associated with Batista arrested and more than 550 executed.

In foreign policy, Castro has adopted the role of revolutionary leader in the Caribbean. He has pledged to work for the downfall of the Trujillo regime in the Dominican Republic and the Somoza regime in Nicaragua—both of them right-wing dictatorships.

"Although there is no doubt of Castro's popularity, his moves have antagonized some of his former supporters. Recently there has been mounting criticism of him on two major scores. First, his economic policies have frightened and antagonized the business community with the result that business is contracting, money is scarce and unemployment is mounting. Second, Castro's critics maintain his government is influenced by communism and that Communists hold key posts."

Last week in Washington a former Castro aide, Maj. Pedro Luis Diaz Lanz, who resigned as Air Force Chief last month and fled to the United States, testified before the Senate Internal Security sub-committee. Major Diaz charged that Castro was an "out-and-out Communist" who is using Cuba as a base to attack other Latin-American nations,

"President Eisenhower dissociated himself from such views. At his news conference Wednesday he said that charges of communism and pro-communism such as those made against the Castro regime "are not always easy to prove." "The United States has made no such charges," he pointed out.

But in Havana, Castro charged the United States was "interfering" in Cuba's affairs. He said Major Diaz was a "traitor."

"President Urrutia supported Castro's statements. At the same time, however, the President made a strongly anti-Communist speech which seemed designed to show the U. S. that Major Diaz' charges were unjustified.

On Friday the explosion came. That morning Castro's newspaper, *Revolucion*, reported that Castro had resigned. President Urrutia announced: "Fidel Castro is the maximum leader of our revolution and its power is in the people. If the people ask him not to resign, he will listen to them."

"The response was prompt. Workers in Havana shops and factories began a walk-out to demonstrate support for Castro. University students swarmed through Havana's streets shouting for Castro. The unions organized demonstrations in the plaza of the Presidential palace. Buses and cars cruised the streets with signs reading: "Fidel, we're with you until death!" "Do Not Resign, Fidel!" and "Fidel, We Need You!"

"In the evening, Castro went on television and made an emotional, four-hour speech. He accused President Urrutia of joining Major Diaz in an "elaborate plan" to defame the revolutionary Government. He said the President had become increasingly hostile toward the revolution, had delayed land distribution, had failed to sign recent regulations providing the death penalty for counter-revolutionary activities. Finally, his voice quivering, Castro said:

"I am not a Communist and neither is the revolutionary movement, but we do not have to say we are anti-Communists just to fawn on foreign powers. . . . In the midst of the Diaz Lanz blackmail game, the President suspiciously pictures himself as the champion of anti-communism."

"President Urrutia listened to the broadcast for a short time, then submitted his resignation. Late that night the Council of Ministers met and elected as his successor Osvaldo Dorticos Torrado, 40, a lawyer, and until Friday Minister of Revolutionary Laws. Yesterday morning the new President announced from the balcony of the Presidential Palace that the ministers had refused to accept Castro's resignation. The news was greeted with wild cheering."

But Castro's triumph in this dramatic move has not solved any of the vital economic and political problems of Cuba. Her

relations with the United States have deteriorated, and its relations with its neighbours are about to be brought up before a meeting of the Foreign Ministers of the twenty-one American Republics this month. The United States of America is also in a dilemma. Says *The New York Times*:

"The issue of Cuba's relations with its neighbors will soon be brought up at a hemisphere meeting. Last week the Council of the Organization of American States voted unanimously to call together the foreign ministers of the twenty-one American republics next month. The meeting is to deal with unrest in the Caribbean and the problems of representative democracy and human rights throughout Latin America.

"On that score, the United States is in a dilemma. Washington is reluctant to support dictatorships such as that in the Dominican Republic. But, there is marked distrust of the Castro regime and concern about the wave of unrest."

#### **Ferment in the Congress Party**

The Congress Party in various States is passing through a period of convulsion the true magnitude of which can be clear only with the passage of time. The situation in Uttar Pradesh has, however, assumed a particularly critical character and there have been open charges and counter-charges against the Chief Minister and the State Congress President. serious allegations had earlier been made against the Home Minister, Shri Kamalapati Tripathi and the Chief Minister had to promise an enquiry into the matter to assuage the members' criticism. The proposed enquiry has now been dropped. Ninety-eight Congress members of the Legislative Assembly have drawn up a charge-sheet against the Sanpurnanand Ministry, and though in the division in the House they sided with the Government there is to be no mistaking the seriousness of their attitude. Meanwhile the Ministerial Group had sent a Deputy Minister to present a charge-sheet against the State Congress President, Shri Chaturbhuj

Sharma, for his alleged acts of factionalism in favour of Shri Chandra Bhan Gupta. In Bombay the Secretary of the Gujarat Provincial Congress has tendered his resignation as a protest against the action of the President in staging a demonstration to indicate the Party's support to the State Chief Minister, Shri Y. B. Chavan, who is also a Congress nominee. The High Command has so far taken no action of these matters. It is clear, however, that the situation is ripe with grave potentialities for the future of the Party not only in the States where the schism has come to the fore but also elsewhere, where it may for the present be sub-terranean.

#### **Posts and Telegraphs Department**

The report of the Posts and Telegraphs Department for the year 1957-58 has been published—nearly one and a half years after the close of the period to which it relates. The usefulness of even a very informative report may be largely vitiated by the delay in its presentation before the public, if only because of the fact that in the intervening period the factual basis might have undergone so much change as to render any comment on the published report unreal to a great extent and rather purely academic. In so far as reports of activities of Government Departments are designed to help public scrutiny of activities the cost of which is met from public funds, the delay in the publication of a report almost constitutes a breach of the proper discharge of the duties of a responsible Government. The delay again robs a report of much of public interest and reduces it into waste paper and amounts to a wastage of money, stationery and human efforts. If the only aim were to put in writing the activities of a department the aim could be achieved with less pains by simply putting the typed copies in the departmental docket.

Delay is, however, not the only defect of the report under discussion. It paints a picture of an all-round progress in the activities of the department but leaves many queries unanswered. There was a rise in revenue under all the principal

heads and except in the case of air-mails, money-orders, registered articles, insured articles and telegrams, the volume of traffic was larger in all other cases than in the previous year. Even in the items in which the volume of traffic marked a decline there was generally no fall in revenue. The number of post offices also increased from 58,871 at the end of March, 1957, to 61,886 at the end of March, 1958. The profit and loss account showed a surplus for the first time in twelve years. There was also marked advance in the field of welfare work for the staff. Some of the other remarkable decisions taken during the period involved the reduction of the licence fee for the possession of a wireless receiving set from rupees fifteen to rupees ten per annum in rural areas, the reduction of postage for the transmission of printed books by the inland-post, and the total exemption from paying postage for blind literature packets.

From a comparative study of the growth of mail traffic and postal revenue in relation to population it is seen that while the revenue per head of population increased by more than five times from Rs. 0.19 in 1921 to Rs. 0.98 in 1957-58 the number of articles per head increased by a little over two times from 4.54 to 9.41 during the same period. Of the 275,719 miles of surface mail routes in the country about 20.5 per cent (56,603 miles) was covered by railways, 25.0 per cent (68,842 miles) by motor services, 52.7 per cent (145,243 miles) by runners and the remaining 1.8 per cent (5,031 miles) by various other means such as steamers, boats, mail-carts, horses, camels and ekkas.

It is, however rather puzzling to find that despite the upward revision of rates for letters and parcels the postal branches should have shown a net loss of 200 lakhs of rupees against the net profit of 133 lakhs of rupees earned in the previous year. No explanation has been given in the report for this fact. Four thousand seven hundred and thirty-six employees were punished during the period for various offences but no details about the nature of offences

have been given. One thousand and eighty-six employees—the highest number in five years—were implicated in criminal offences involving a total loss of Rs. 5,61,896 out of which a sum of Rs. 1,29,159 was subsequently recovered and Rs. 3,261 written off leaving a balance of Rs. 4,29,476 remaining unadjusted. The volume of public complaints increased from 468,184 in 1956-57 to 491,470 in the year under report of which nearly thirty-eight thousand remained pending at the end of the year. There is however feeling among a wide section of the members of the public that their complaints are not dealt with as much seriousness as is due to them. The number of pending complaints against the telephone services was 2,526.

There was a marked rise in the accumulation of general store and workshop stores. What is of great significance is that net receipts during the year exceeded utilisation leaving a larger balance at the end of the year. In the absence of any break-up of the figure of utilisation it is not possible to comment upon how much of the utilisation represented the consumption of old stock. Stores are liable to become unserviceable if allowed to remain unutilised beyond a certain period of time, but no explanation has been given about the reasons for such huge stock-piling stores blocking so much capital (nearly eight crores of rupees) when they are not required.

#### A Matter of Principle

The refusal of Professor N. G. Ranga, who has resigned from the Congress Party on account of his disagreement over the Nagpur resolution on joint Co-operative farming, to resign from his seat in Parliament, to which he was elected with the support of the Congress Party, touches upon an important question of democratic principle, namely, whether a person should continue to occupy a seat to which he was elected by the support of a party from which he has since broken away. The practice in this country has generally been not to resign though there have been notable exceptions. While, therefore, Professor

Ranga's refusal to give up his seat is not extraordinary, the reasons which he has adduced in favour of that decision are hardly tenable. The change in the public opinion caused by the adoption of the Nagpur resolution could hardly be so marked among the electors in Andhra as has been suggested by him without finding its reflections among their representatives, none of whom has so far given vent to such a change of opinion with the exception of the professor himself.

### Calcutta's Water Supply

A deputation headed by the Mayor of Calcutta has arrived in the capital in the first week of August, to acquaint the Central Government with the problems faced by the Corporation of Calcutta in maintaining the water supply in the city. The immediate problem is to find suitable outer coating for the new 72-inch pipes which are proposed to be laid connecting Palta (the pumping station) with Tallah (where the reservoirs are located) replacing the worn-out 60-inch pipes which are running leaks in many places threatening the entire water supply system. The new pipes, the experts say, cannot be laid without treating these with an outer coat which is not available within the country and the import of which has been held up reportedly through the Central Government's inability to provide the necessary foreign exchange. Efforts made in the meanwhile to do the work by using locally manufactured outer coating having proved fruitless, the Corporation decided to send a three-man delegation consisting of the Mayor, the Chief Engineer, and the Chairman of the Standing Water Supply Committee to Delhi, to urge upon the Government the extreme urgency of the matter. It is stated that the total amount of foreign exchange required to import the outer coating—1,400 tons of enamel and 3,720 gallons of coal tar primer—will come to about Rs. 9,75,000. This is evidently too small a sum to be allowed to stand as an insuperable difficulty in the way of the execution of an urgent work touching

upon the lives of more than half a crore of people living in the premier city of India. As a result of persuasion from the Mayoral delegation the Central Government has agreed to allocate the necessary foreign exchange. The question, however, remains if the same thing could not have been done with less delay, less expenditure and less inconvenience to the public—the cost of the delegation would have to be borne by the tax-payers who are already experiencing great difficulties and will have to suffer more if anything goes wrong with the water supply system in the meanwhile.

### Opposition and Legislatures

A foretaste of what might overtake the nation unless all the major political elements chose to observe an agreed code of conduct was provided by the forced adjournment of the proceedings of the Bombay Legislative Assembly on August 3. When the House assembled for the monsoon session members belonging to the Opposition Samyukta Maharashtra Samiti began to shout slogans demanding the resignation of the Chief Minister, Shri Y. B. Chavan. Unable to proceed with the day's work, the Speaker, Shri S. L. Silam, adjourned the House for 15 minutes. However the trouble could not be averted in that way. As the House reassembled, the Opposition members again resorted to shouting slogans—this time regarding the unsolved border dispute between Bombay and Mysore. The Speaker thus found himself with no other alternative than to adjourn the House for the day. It is clear that if this tactics is emulated on a wide scale the functioning of the legislatures would be made exceedingly difficult the only result of which would be the eventual throttling of democracy itself. The Opposition parties cannot want themselves to be deprived of such a prominent forum for focussing their grievances as is provided by the legislatures. In their eagerness to pay the Congress "back in its own coins" they should not overlook the fact that by resorting to obstructionist tactics within the

legislatures they might be objectively working for precisely this very eventuality.

### **Rehabilitation of Women**

The re-integration of fallen women into society poses a number of complicated questions. Women who are now serving prison sentence on various charges may perhaps be rehabilitated economically being employed on some productive projects. But economic rehabilitation hardly solves the main problem of emotional integration which cannot be achieved unless they have also an opportunity to have their own families—husbands and children. The greatest difficulty is encountered at this point. The Uttar Pradesh Government's Jail Department is reportedly in search of eligible bachelors to marry young female prisoners and has entered into correspondence with a number of social service institutions to find willing grooms. The Government has taken the initiative in the matter only after the girls have themselves expressed their preference for this kind of rehabilitation. The Government's move is laudable beyond doubt but there are certain problems involved in the process and unless due caution is observed the whole thing may turn out to be a fiasco. Who will be eligible to marry these girls? How is the genuineness of willingness to be tested? How are the departmental authorities going to prevent further exploitation of these girls by scheming persons? Moreover how far their experiences in jail make these girls suitable for a domestic life? These are some of the problems to which adequate replies have to be found before the Government can hope to achieve success in its aims.

### **Regional Languages**

The measures adopted by the Government of Bombay to replace English as the language of administration in the State amply bear out the truth of the proposition that the difficulties in the way of this changeover from English can be expected to be got over only through the speediest implementation of the principle of

making regional languages the media of administration. The Government has ordered that all official business in offices at the district level and in those subordinate to them should be transacted in the regional languages.

All correspondence issuing from these offices is to be in the regional languages irrespective of the language of the letters received by them. The notings in the official files are also to be gradually changed over from English to the regional languages. The officers at the secretariate have been asked to prepare translations in the regional languages of the statutory orders and notifications that are meant for the rural areas. Regional language tests have also been prescribed for executive and judicial officers. Under existing conditions the changeover has necessarily to be done in stages and the initiative taken by the Government of Bombay deserves the most unstinted praise. The more important thing, however, is to sustain the effort until the object of replacing English is achieved. Past experience justifies this warning. Immediately after Independence the Government of West Bengal had initiated comparable measures for the adoption of Bengali as the language of administration within the State. With the change of the Chief Minister and the Chief Secretary, however, the project met an untimely death so that there has since been little progress in that direction despite the fact that in the meanwhile the State Assembly had unanimously passed a resolution calling the attention of the Government to the extreme urgency of effecting this change.

### **"Rastra Bhasa"**

The vexed question of choosing an official language, as a medium of an official transactions, came to a head with the Lok Sabha resolution moved by Mr. Frank Anthony demanding the inclusion of English in the Eighth Schedule of the Constitution. We append below the relevant portion of the Lok Sabha debate, as given by the *Statesman* of August 8:

New Delhi, Aug. 7.—Although Mr. Frank Anthony today withdrew his Lok Sabha resolution demanding the inclusion of English among the principal Indian languages enumerated in the Constitution's

Eighth Schedule, it occasioned a major and lucid speech on language policy by Mr. Nehru.

Hindi, the Prime Minister declared, must become the country's official language according to the constitutional provisions, but English should simultaneously be used as an "associate or additional" official language indefinitely.

He added, amidst loud cheers, that he would leave it to the non-Hindi-speaking people to decide the duration for which English may be used as an "alternative" official language.

Uncompromising opposition to the imposition of Hindi or of any other language was the keynote of the Prime Minister's speech and he pulled no punches in attacking the "Hindi enthusiasts."

He blamed them for arousing opposition to Hindi in the South, and for going to the "absurdest limit" in coining "monstrous" Hindi expressions.

Of equally great interest was the Prime Minister's elaborate reference to the status of English in India. It was, he said, the country's only window on the modern scientific world and it could be closed only "to the peril of our future."

But he had no doubt that in spite of its indispensability English would have but a secondary position in India for two reasons.

First because, as medium of instruction, it was being replaced by Indian languages and this desirable process was likely to be completed by the next generation. Secondly, the fate of India would be decided by the millions who knew no English rather than by the English-knowing elite.

This however was not his major argument for contending that the resolution of Mr. Anthony was "not a wise step."

Without affecting the position of English either way, he said any attempt to amend the Eighth Schedule would create unnecessary conflicts and controversies.

There were several Indian languages—in these he included French, the mother-tongue of the people in Pondicherry—

which found no mention in the schedule, and were not any the worse for it.

Departing from his usual practice, Mr. Nehru today spoke from prepared notes and created great impression by his remarks. The overriding importance of his speech and the welcome it received from the House almost deprived the rest of the debate of interest.

At any rate, the debate proceeded on an even tenor until Mr. Anthony evoked frequent and vociferous protests by his somewhat pungent reply. Seth Govind Das was among those who rose frequently and interrupted the Anglo-Indian leader.

Mr. Anthony said if English was contended to be a foreign language by some then everything that India had—parliamentary democracy and the legal system—was foreign. There were loud shouts of "no no" when the Anglo-Indian leader asserted that English was the lifeline of Indian unity.

Though freedom of voting had been given to Congress members and everyone was eagerly awaiting the fate of the resolution, there was an anti-climax. Mr. Anthony expressed his willingness to withdraw the resolution because, he said, pressing it at this stage might lead to "unnecessary friction."

Seth Govind Das, a strong protagonist of Hindi, opposed the withdrawal of the resolution and wanted it to be put to vote but a majority of the members granted leave for its withdrawal.

Dr. P. Subbaroyan (C) strongly supported the resolution and said much of the opposition to it stemmed on the misconception that the passage of the resolution settled the question of official language.

He said he did not share the fears of the opponents of the resolution that the inclusion of English in the Eighth Schedule would hamper the growth of Hindi. The inclusion of English, on the other hand, would be a great gesture towards the Anglo-Indian community which constituted the smallest minority.

Mr. Nath Pai (PSP) supporting the contents of the resolution suggested that instead of amending the schedule in piece-

meal, there should be a comprehensive amendment covering other equally deserving languages like Sirdki, Rajasthani, etc.

Mr. Nehru said that since the Government had accepted that the medium of instruction should be the mother-tongue, he did not think that the resolution was a wise one. Nor did he think that it would help the Anglo-Indian community whose mother-tongue was English. Rather it would hinder the process which Mr. Anthony wanted to encourage by bringing another bitter dispute, fears and apprehensions. Mr. Nehru said he wanted to avoid all that.

The Prime Minister said he was against the imposition of any language on any people. If Hindi was objected to "by many people in the South" it was not because those people were against it but because of a feeling of imposition. Vast numbers of people in the South were learning Hindi but the moment one talked of imposition quite rightly the people there got angry. "Therefore, the talk of imposition must go."

"Personally I am an enthusiast of Indian languages as well as English, provided they function in their proper domain and sphere. I do not see any real conflict—they may be overlapping—but they are not harmful to each other's development. It will have a good effect on each other."

He expressed his confidence that the country would get over the "separatism" in Indian languages provided right tendencies were encouraged, and no effort was made to impose one language over another. "I shall go further and say that if they (people in the South) do not want to learn Hindi let them not learn Hindi. But by following this approach you will gradually bring them and the Hindi-knowing people nearer to each other."

A major change had taken place in the country and that was the medium of instruction in the schools was in the language of the region. He defended this as a correct step, for it was of the utmost importance that people grew from their roots. Any uprooting of that would cause enormous injury.

Referring to the question of Anglo-Indian schools he said that full facility for their education should continue and further facilities must be extended, if necessary.

Mr. Nehru made it clear that despite his partiality for English, for technological knowledge and other reasons, it could not be forgotten that "we have to carry the 400 million with us and not only the elite, a few thousand or a million or two."

He added amidst cheers: "You cannot carry these vast masses of people with you psychologically and emotionally or in any other way except through their own languages."

Mr. Nehru warned against coining new words in Hindi or other regional languages for scientific and other terms. "This business of coining words seems to me to have been carried to rather absurd limits (laughter). This process of making a language noble has resulted in its progressively becoming more and more artificial and ununderstandable. I think that the chief persons guilty for this were some of the Hindi enthusiasts. They have made it (Hindi) very difficult. Leave out the question of literary graces—I too in my own small way am a lover of the language—but it hurts my aesthetic sense to see those artificial monstrosities thrown upon me at the crossroads or railway stations—huge long (Hindi) words which nobody understands, not the public at least. I do not know whether the man who invented them understands them either. It is a terrible thing."

Mr. Nehru said that the danger of Hindi would come from these very enthusiasts. They were trying to put Hindi in "steelbands" which would prevent it from growing. Its creativeness would go and it would stultify itself.

He said India could not progress industrially without the aid of a foreign language, even if all the Indian languages were put together. It was possible to have science books in Hindi for high schools or colleges but this would not bring India into contact with the jet and the atomic age.



A totally new language was developing in the world today—"the language of the elite, the language of the mysteries and the language of the 'high priests'"—which average people could not understand. The development of this language had to keep pace with the development of technology and science. That language was going to be a language of mathematical formulae. The world would be lost to them if they decided to have a separate language other than this.

Mr. Nehru said it was of the highest importance that India retained and continued to use the international numerals progressively. The international numerals were the symbol of modern age and formed the basis of scientific and mathematical formulae. "Let us not reduce them in the Davanagari numerals. At least let us have them, in common in India and in common with the world."

Replying to the debate, Mr. Anthony said that it was the hatred of the English and the desire to impose Hindi that had created a revulsion against Hindi in the country. He denied Prof. Hiren Mukherjee's contention that English had led to the cultural enslavement of India. He said that Hindusthani and not Hindi should be the national language.

### The Kerala Proclamation ✓

We append below the full report as given by *The Statesman* on August 1, for record:

New Delhi, July 31.—At 6 P.M. today the President, Dr. Rajendra Prasad, put his signature to a proclamation under Article 356 of the Constitution assuming to himself all functions of the Government of Kerala and dissolving the State Legislative Assembly.

One result of the proclamation was automatic dismissal of the first and only Communist Ministry in India, which had been in power since April 5, 1957, though with a majority of only two (once reduced to one), obtained through the support of five independents.

Simultaneously with this the President made an order that all functions of the State Government shall, subject to his

superintendence, direction and control, be exercisable also by the Governor.

The proclamation declares that general election in Kerala will be held as soon as possible.

The proclamation was signed in the President's study where the Prime Minister, accompanied by the Home Secretary, Mr. B. M. Jha, arrived five minutes earlier. Mr. A. V. Pai, the President's Secretary, was also present.

Subsequently, the proclamation and the order of the President, were published in an extraordinary issue of the Gazette of India.

Giving the reason for the action taken in Kerala, the President says: "I am satisfied that a situation has arisen in which the Government of the State cannot be carried on in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution of India."

Now that the State of Kerala has come under Presidential Rule, it shall be administered by the Governor, Dr. B. Ramakrishna Rao, with the assistance, apart from the existing Governmental machinery, of any special officer which he and the Government of India may consider necessary.

One high-ranking officer of the Government of India is already in Trivandrum. He is Mr. V. Shankar, Director-General of Posts and Telegraphs, who arrived there a few days ago. Mr. Shankar is to remain in Trivandrum and is functioning as a special officer in addition to his own duties.

For the time being, there is no proposal to appoint an adviser to the Governor. Perhaps in the present circumstances, or in view of the changes brought about by the States Reorganization Act, such an appointment is not considered necessary. The Constitution Act does not mention the post of an adviser to the Governor.

However, it seems clear that Dr. B. Ramakrishna Rao will need high-level assistance. He has not been keeping well and is now and then bed-ridden. It is conceivable that at some stage he may ask



to be relieved of the burdens of this exacting office.

The proclamation issued by the President tonight follows in all important details those which were issued on earlier occasions to meet constitutional breakdowns in the States.

Action under the emergency provisions of the Constitution was taken on five previous occasions, in Punjab and the former States of PEPSU, Andhra and Travancore-Cochin (twice).

With the Presidential proclamation the expectation here is that conditions in Kerala, which were almost that of a civil war will rapidly return to normal, and that all the Opposition parties will withdraw the agitation, as indeed has already been done by most of them.

After careful consideration it was decided that no explanatory statement should accompany the President's proclamation, partly for the reason that opportunity for such statements will occur soon in Parliament and partly because of the impression, widely shared, that the Government of India as such is itself out of the political controversies which raged over Kerala.

The process of thinking and rethinking which went on continuously among members of the Government and in consecutive meetings of the Cabinet showed that the decision was not lightly taken.

Consequently, there were tonight more signs of sorrow than jubilation in Government of India circles and also anxiety about future political trends in the country.

As the proclamation makes it clear the Government of India's intention is to hold fresh elections in Kerala as soon as possible.

It is realized that the atmosphere must first improve; the machinery of elections may also require closer examination by the Election Commission which already has on its hands a large number of complaints, about electoral rolls especially.

Naturally in such matters the Election Commission will act judiciously and in consonance with the laws made for the purpose.

The following is the text of the proclamation by the President taking over the administration of Kerala:

"Whereas I, Rajendra Prasad, President of India, have received a report from the Governor of the State of Kerala and after considering the report and other information received by me, I am satisfied that a situation has arisen in which the Government of that State cannot be carried on in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution of India (hereinafter referred to as 'the constitution').

Now, therefore, in exercise of the powers conferred by Article 356 of the Constitution and of all other powers enabling me in that behalf, I hereby proclaim that I (a) assume to myself as President of India all functions of the Government of the said State and all powers vested in or exercisable by the Governor of that State; (b) declare that the powers of the Legislature of the said State shall be exercisable by or under the authority of Parliament; and (c) make the following incidental and consequential provisions which appear to me to be necessary or desirable for giving effect to the objects of this proclamation, namely,

(i) In the exercise of the functions and powers assumed to myself by virtue of clause (a) of this proclamation as aforesaid, it shall be lawful for me as President of India to act to such extent as I think fit through the Governor of the State;

(ii) The operation of the following provisions of the Constitution in relation to the State I hereby suspend, namely:

"So much of the proviso to Article 3 as relates to the reference by the President to the Legislature of the State; so much of Clause (2) of Article 151 as relates to the laying of the reports before the Legislature of the State; Articles 163 and 164, Clause (3) of Article 166, Articles 167 and 169, Articles 174 to 186 (both inclusive), clause (3) of Article 187 so far as it requires consultation with the Speaker of the Legislative Assembly, Articles 188 and 189, Articles 193 to 198 (both inclusive), Article 200 as relates to salaries and allowances of the Speaker and the Deputy Speaker of

the Legislative Assembly, Articles 208 to 211 (both inclusive), the proviso to clause (1) and the proviso to clause (3) of Article 213: "and so much of clause (2) of Article 323 as relates to the laying off the report with a memorandum before the Legislature of the State."

(iii) The Legislative Assembly of the said State is hereby dissolved;

(iv) Notwithstanding anything contained in the Constitution or any law for the time being in force, the general election for constituting a new Legislative Assembly for the said State shall be held as soon as possible;

(v) Any reference in the constitution to the Governor shall in relation to the said State be construed as a reference to the President and any reference therein to the Legislature or Legislative Assembly of the State shall, in so far as it relates to the functions and powers thereof, be construed as a reference to Parliament, and, in particular, the references in Article 213 to the Governor and to the Legislature or Legislative Assembly of the State shall be construed as references to the President and to Parliament respectively;

Provided that nothing herein shall affect the provisions of Article 153, Articles 155 to 159 (both inclusive), Article 299 and Article 361 and paragraphs 1 to 4 (both inclusive) of the Second Schedule or prevent the President from acting under sub-clause (1) of this clause to such extent as he thinks fit through the Governor of the said State;

(vi) Any reference in the Constitution to acts or laws made in exercise of the powers of the Legislature of the State, by Parliament by virtue of this proclamation, or by the President or other authority referred to in sub-clause (a) of clause (1) of Article 357 of the Constitution, and the interpretation and general clause act (Act VII of 1935), as in force in the State of Kerala and so much of the general clauses Act, 1897 (10 of 1897) as applies to State laws, shall have effect in relation to any such Act or law as if it were an Act of the Legislature of the State.

In pursuance of sub-clause (1) of

clause (c) of the proclamation issued on this the 31st day of July, 1959, by the President under Article 356 of the Constitution of India, the President is pleased to direct that all the functions of the Government of the State of Kerala and all the powers vested in or exercisable by the Governor of that State under the Constitution or under any law in force in that State, which have been assumed by the President by virtue of clause (a) of the said proclamation shall subject to the superintendence, direction and control of the President be exercisable also by the Governor of the said State."

### Urbanisation in India ✓

Last month the Yojana gave some interesting details about the migration of the people to the cities of India. We append it below:

Some cities grow and develop; others just bulge and distend. The urban population of India has more than doubled in the last thirty years. In 1931, there were only 27 million townsmen in the country. In 1951, the urban population was 62 million. There were at least 17 townsmen out of every 100 people in our country. The 1961 census is bound to show that urbanisation is going on at an even greater pace, because the decade between 1951-61 will really represent the first systematic effort towards industrialising the country. The story of individual cities is even more illuminating. Here are the telling figures:

|           | 1931      | 1951      |
|-----------|-----------|-----------|
| Calcutta  | 11,93,651 | 45,78,071 |
| Bombay    | 11,61,333 | 28,39,270 |
| Madras    | 6,45,586  | 14,16,053 |
| Hyderabad | 4,66,894  | 10,85,722 |
| Ahmedabad | 3,10,000  | 7,93,813  |
| Bangalore | 3,06,470  | 7,78,977  |
| Kanpur    | 2,19,189  | 7,05,383  |

What happens when a city bulges? The limbs go out of control. House-building lags behind. Slums spring up. Even clean areas get run down. Water will be in short supply. Drainage will be insufficient (Even Malad, the large suburb of Bombay had no underground drainage till very recently). Milk and vegetables become scarce and costly. Transport will present a

difficult problem, not to speak of medical aid and the education of children.

#### **Calcutta Corporation and the Government**

The history of local self-government in this country is a chequered one. The alien rulers in their acute distrust of the Indian people had kept all powers centralized in the hands of a few. While such centralization suited a bureaucratic administration its unsuitability in a democratic set-up was manifest even during the early years of Independence. The plea for a greater decentralization and local autonomy has come from diverse sources and in some regions there is also a move afoot in this direction. Strangely, however, in many parts of the country there has been a tendency towards the opposite direction of even greater centralization than before. In this category falls the ordinance which was promulgated in the beginning of July by the Government of West Bengal dealing with the appointment of the Commissioner of the Corporation of Calcutta. The Calcutta Municipal Act 1951 under which the city of Calcutta is administered curtailed much of the authority enjoyed by the institution even under the British regime. The present ordinance seeks to restrict that autonomy still further. It provides 'inter alia' that the Commissioner will be appointed by the State Government and such appointments need not have the approval of the Corporation or of the State Public Service Commission as heretofore. Moreover the ordinance also deprives the Corporation of its powers to recommend to the State Government the removal of the Commissioner if it is dissatisfied with his work. The ordinance virtually supersedes the Act passed by the Legislature and places an official over the head of the popularly elected Councillors. What makes the situation more unfortunate is the fact that there were no special reasons for the Government to assume such drastic authority. If the Government had grounds to believe that the Corporation, as at present constituted could not run the affairs smoothly it had ample powers to supersede the Corporation. But it has not done so apparently because there are no convincing

reasons. The condemnation of the local body implied in the ordinance creates a very bad precedent. The Corporation has in a resolution asked the Government to withdraw the ordinance. As the Government has refused to re-consider its decision the Councillors headed by the Mayor are contemplating the holding of a special meeting to decide upon the course of action. This unseemly controversy has very much lowered the prestige of both the Government and the Corporation before the eyes of the public and it is through such unwise acts on the part of men in authority that the institutions of administration come to lose their respectability and the field becomes clear for the free play of disruptive forces.

#### **Arbitration**

The Indian Labour Conference, which concluded its deliberation in Madras on July 29, has suggested that industrial disputes should be settled more through arbitration and mediation than through adjudication. This suggestion has been endorsed by the representatives of both the employers and the employees. To facilitate the task of finding qualified arbitrators the Government has been asked to maintain a panel of arbitrators; but the parties would be free to choose arbitrators even from outside the panel. The Central Government has further been asked to examine afresh the provisions of the Industrial Arbitration Act with a view to determining the extent to which it could be made applicable to the arbitration procedure laid down in the Industrial Disputes Act. It is indeed a highly welcome development that all the parties—the employers, employees and the Government have accepted the primacy of the principle of arbitration for the settlement of industrial disputes. The greatest merit of this procedure is that it will, if sincerely adhered to by the principal parties, obviate the need to lose valuable man-days and to suffer a fall in production which cause hardship to the nation; we relieve the workers of the strain of undergoing a period of strike which often means substantial loss of income, and ensure the employers of a steady flow of profit.

## INDIAN REACTIONS TO TIBETAN DEVELOPMENTS

By SUBHASH CHANDRA SARKER

THE disturbances in Tibet leading to the dissolution of the Local Government of Tibet and the exile of the Dalai Lama came as a great shock to the Indians who have for long been told by their Government to disbelieve reports of disturbances in Tibet. The Government of India was by no means unaware of the fact that the situation in Tibet was not normal. Indeed, it could not be, as it had to find an explanation for the inability of the Chinese Government to permit a group of Indian scholars to visit Tibet to study certain old manuscripts bearing upon early Indian history and, what is of greater significance, of the Chinese request to the Government of India to agree to the cancellation of the Indian Prime Minister's proposed visit to Tibet. Reports began to circulate early this year of unrest in Tibet and of the imposition of restraints upon the Dalai Lama.<sup>1</sup> By the end of February the Tibetan disturbances had begun to have their impact felt upon the people living on the Indian side of the border.<sup>2</sup> In the beginning of March fighting was reported in Outer Tibet casting its spell upon Lhasa, the capital city of Tibet.<sup>3</sup> The resistance movement was stated to be well organised having the support of the great majority of Tibet's 80,000 monks.<sup>4</sup> Yet on March 6, the Indian Prime Minister declared in his monthly press conference that press reports about Tibet were grossly exaggerated.<sup>5</sup> He confirmed that there were troubles in Khampa areas but discounted reports about disturbances in Tibet proper: "I cannot tell you the extent of these troubles.

The Khampas, as you may know, come from that part of the Tibetan region which was more or less integrated into China long ago not in the last few years, but previously, and it had been a very difficult part to govern even in earlier years. It is that part which has apparently given trouble,"<sup>6</sup> he said.

It was not long before the Indian Prime Minister had to give up his reticence. Speaking before the *Lok Sabha* (the Lower House of the Indian Parliament) on March 17, Shri Nehru said: "There have been difficulties and conflicts (in Tibet) sometimes on a small scale, sometimes on a somewhat bigger scale. They are creating new situations and I do not know if it will help at all for me to go into such details as we know at the present moment, except to say that the situation is a difficult one."<sup>7</sup> He, however, added that there had been no large-scale violence and the situation, although a difficult one, represented "more a clash of wills at present than a clash of arms or physical bodies"<sup>8</sup> The Prime Minister further vigorously defended the Government's restrictive orders on a particular journalist resident in Northern Bengal in the interest of maintaining friendly ties with China.<sup>9</sup>

There was unmistakably an element of deliberateness in the Prime Minister's restraint in replying to questions on Tibet. The *Delhi Hindusthan Standard* in an editorial article on March 20 pointed to this aspect and wrote: "We do not think that the Prime Minister can really want the Chinese to understand that his Government feeling is wholly contained by the words he used on the subject (Tibet) in the *Lok Sabha* on Tuesday March 17) or at his press conference on 6th March.

1. *Statesman*, Delhi, February 7, 1959.

2. Mahesh Chandra: "Political Commentary," *Statesman*, Delhi, February 25, 1959.

3. "The Pattern of Revolt in Tibet," *Statesman*, Delhi, March 2, 1959.

4. *Statesman*, Delhi (Report of the Gangtok Correspondent), March 6, 1959.

5. *Hindustan Times*, Delhi, March 7, 1959.

6. *Ibid.*

7. *Statesman*, Delhi, March 18, 1959.  
*Times of India*, Bombay, March 18, 1959.

8. *Statesman*, *Ibid.*

9. *Ibid.*

While criticising the exaggerated reports, Shri Nehru not only used language to understand the situation in Tibet but he managed to give the impression that he was restraining himself and that the understatement was deliberate."<sup>10</sup> It added that the Prime Minister's statement that the situation in Tibet represented more a clash of wills than a clash of arms or a clash of physical bodies needed crucial qualifications "for in the clash of wills, one side (i.e., China) has in reserve an infinite superiority in arms to back its will."<sup>3</sup>

That the newspaper's reading of the Tibetan situation was not far wrong was confirmed on the same day (March 20) by the news released in New Delhi by the External Affairs Ministry of the Government of India. It was stated therein that widespread rebellion had broken out in Tibet in which the Tibetans and the Khampas were fighting the Chinese in Lhasa, the capital city of Tibet, and in the countryside."<sup>11</sup>

The reaction in India to this confirmation of the unhappy turn of events in Tibet was one of sympathy for the Tibetan people in their struggle against the Chinese and subdued criticism of the Government of India's policy of reticence on Tibet.<sup>12</sup> But most of the people preferred to await the turn of events before making any comment upon the developments in that unfortunate land.

The Prime Minister made a statement on March 23 in the *Lok Sabha* in which he tried to give a sketch of the developments on the basis of information available with the Government of India. He disclosed that the disturbances had occurred following rumours in regard to the safety of the Dalai Lama. A large number of Tibetan women had come to the Indian Consulate-General in Lhasa to ask the Consul-General to accompany them to the Chinese Foreign Bureau and be a witness to their presenting certain demands. The

Consul-General had naturally to signify his inability to comply with such a request. A few days later, on March 20 fighting had suddenly broken out between the Chinese troops and Tibetan elements in the heart of the capital so that it had become impossible for the Indian Consul-General to go out of the premises. The outbreak of violence in Lhasa was a new development. Shri Nehru expressed his anxiety about the safety of the Dalai Lama who was held in high veneration by the people of India. He, however, counselled restraint upon all Indians declaring that India had "no intention of interfering in the internal affairs of China with whom we have friendly relations."<sup>13</sup>

The Chinese Government and the press remained silent over the developments in Tibet until March 28 when it was announced that the Tibetan Local Government had been dissolved by the Central Government in Peking. It was stated that the rebellion had broken out in Lhasa on March 10 and had been inspired by imperialists and reactionaries. The statement issued by the Chinese Government said: "Most of the Kaloons of the Tibet Local Government and the upper strata reactionary clique colluded with imperialism, assembled rebellious bandits to carry out rebellion, ravaged the people, put the Dalai Lama under duress, tore up the 17-article agreement on measures for the peaceful liberation of Tibet and, on the night of March 19, directed the Tibetan local Army and rebellious elements to launch a general offensive against the People's Liberation Army garrison in Lhasa. Such acts which betray the motherland and disrupt unification are not allowed by law. In order to safeguard the unification of the country and national unity, in addition to enjoining the Tibet Military Area Command of the Chinese People's Liberation Army to put down the rebellion thoroughly, the decision is that from this day the Tibet Local Government is dissolved and the Preparatory Committee for the Tibet autonomous region shall exercise the functions and powers of the Tibetan Local Government." Eighteen 'traitorous' Tibetan leaders were named who would be punished if found out. As the whereabouts of the Dalai Lama was not known the Panchen Lama was

10. *Delhi Hindusthan Standard*, Delhi, March 20, 1959, "Feeling on Tibet"—Editorial article.

11. *Statesman*, Delhi, March 21, 1959.

12. See the Editorial article "Tibet" in the *Statesman*, Delhi, March 22 and the Editorial article "Tibet" in the *Hindu*, Madras, March 22, 1959.

13. *Statesman*, Delhi, March 24, 1959.\*

named the Acting Chairman of the Preparatory Committee.<sup>14</sup>

Two points in the Chinese statement affected India. In the first place it was alleged in that statement that the Tibetan rebellion was being directed from the Indian soil; secondly the reference to Tibetan developments in the Indian Parliament was characterised as interference into the internal affairs of China. The suggestion that the Tibetan rebellion had been conducted from the territory of India was promptly repudiated by the Government of India<sup>15</sup> and subsequently by the Prime Minister himself who personally made a statement in the *Lok Sabha*.<sup>16</sup> Referring to the other point the Prime Minister said in reply to a short notice question in the *Lok Sabha* on March, 30 that Parliament had certainly the right to discuss any topic it considered proper though he admitted that it might be difficult for people trained in a different tradition to understand the way of parliamentary democracy.<sup>17</sup> On April, 3 the *Lok Sabha* was informed of the fact that in response to his own request the Dalai Lama had been granted political asylum in India. Explaining the Government of India's attitude towards the Dalai Lama Shri Nehru said that he would be accorded "respectful treatment" and no bar would be placed upon his activities though the Government of India hoped that he would do nothing to embarrass its position *vis-a-vis* China.<sup>18</sup>

The Dalai Lama's flight to India marked the end of one phase of the Tibetans' struggle against China though it did not mean an end to fighting.

The Chinese action in Tibet, and more particularly the reference to India being the commanding centre of the rebellion in Tibet greatly scandalized the Indian conscience. It was particularly the allegations against India that enraged almost everybody in India with the exception of a few among the members of the Communist Party. The charge against

India appeared so fantastic that Indians did not know what to say in reply. The reaction, when it came, was unmistakably definite. In a strongly worded editorial article entitled, "The Rape of Tibet", *The Hindustan Times* wrote referring to the India-China Agreement on Tibet: "An elaborate enunciation of principles which describe non-interference in five different ways was surely an extravagant way of safeguarding a few lakhs worth of business. Our meaning was, and the Chinese seemed to understand it then, that Panch Sheel had a validity in the ordering of relations between China and Tibet. We were not wrong in experimenting with the begetting of trust by trust. If to depend upon Chinese good faith was a risk, it was a calculated risk. Since then we have had several warnings that Panch Sheel pipeline of good-will was one-ended. And, now when we should be torn between feelings of shame and impotence the Chinese have had the audacity not only to frighten us into continued silence by giving us the undeserved credit of harbouring the 'commanding centre' of the rebellion in Indian territory at Kalimpong but to tell us how we shall conduct ourselves in our sovereign Parliament."<sup>19</sup> Much the same sentiment was expressed by many other newspapers, if in less harsh words.<sup>20</sup> "Do the Communist rulers of China seriously believe that the world will be taken in by their version of the tragedy that has overtaken the Land of the Lamas, though words and phrases like 'counter-revolutionary forces', 'traitorous clique', 'reactionary forces of Tibet', and 'patriotic people' are there to hit the reader's eye?" asked the *Amritabazar Patrika*, the leading nationalist daily of Calcutta.<sup>21</sup> "No, truth cannot be smothered by words. There is enough in the State Council's orders and the *New China News Agency's* separate despatch to corroborate and strengthen the impression already formed on the basis of reports received from other sources

14. *Statesman*, Delhi, March 29, 1959.

15. *Statesman*, Delhi, March 30, 1959.

16. Statement made on March 30, reported in the *Statesman*, March 31, see also *Hindu*, March 31.

17. *Ibid.*

18. *Statesman*, April 4, 1959.

19. *Hindustan Times*, Delhi, March 30 1959.

20. See the editorial articles in *The Statesman*, Delhi, March 31, *The Times of India*, Bombay, April 1, the *Delhi Hindusthan Standard*, Delhi, April 1, *The Hindu*, Madras, April 1, the *Amritabazar Patrika*, Calcutta, March 31.

21. Editorial article April 1, 1959.

that what the (Chinese) People's Liberation Army under orders from Peking has suppressed and is engaged in suppressing is a valiant people's last desperate fight for political and religious freedom," it said.<sup>22</sup>

There was always an undertone of anxiety in Indian minds about the fate of the Dalai Lama.<sup>23</sup> The news of the Dalai Lama's safe arrival in India was therefore greeted on all hands. Welcoming the arrival of the Dalai Lama in India the liberal daily of Lucknow, *The National Herald* affectionately referred to the well-known fact of India's respect for his personality.<sup>24</sup> The press in general endorsed the Government of India's action in granting political asylum to the Dalai Lama.<sup>25</sup> "In granting political asylum to the Dalai Lama", the *Times of India* editorially wrote, "New Delhi has demonstrated, in the clearest manner possible, its awareness of moral responsibility in a matter that has ravaged civilized opinion throughout the world."<sup>26</sup>

#### THE DALAI LAMA'S STATEMENT

The Dalai Lama made a statement on April 18 after his arrival in India which was a ringing denunciation of the Chinese conduct in Tibet. The statement pointed out that the Chinese (Hans) and the Tibetans were different peoples and that despite recurrent Chinese efforts to impose their suzerainty upon Tibet "in any event, at all times, even when the suzerainty of China was imposed, Tibet remained autonomous in control of its internal affairs." It affirmed that the 1951 treaty between China and Tibet had been signed by the Tibetans under duress and that the Chinese had persistently violated the terms of even that agreement and the Tibetan Government had been denied the autonomy promised to it. The preparatory committee for the autonomous region

of Tibet which had been set up in 1956 under the Chairmanship of the Dalai Lama with the Panchen Lama and General Chang Kuo-hua as Vice-Chairman had also little authority all the effective authority being exercised from Peking. This had led to disturbances in the Kham areas which assumed serious proportions in 1956.

Giving the background of the latest developments the statement said:

"The relations of Tibetans with China became openly strained from the early part of February 1959. The Dalai Lama had agreed a month in advance to attend a cultural show in the Chinese headquarters and the date was suddenly fixed for the tenth of March. The people of Lhasa became apprehensive that some harm might be done to the Dalai Lama and, as a result, about 10,000 people gathered around the Dalai Lama's summer palace at Norbulingka and physically prevented the Dalai Lama from attending the function.

"Thereafter, the people themselves decided to raise a bodyguard for the protection of the Dalai Lama. Large crowds of Tibetans went about the streets of Lhasa demonstrating against the Chinese rule in Tibet. Two days later, thousands of Tibetan women held demonstrations protesting against the Chinese authority. In spite of this demonstration from the people, the Dalai Lama and his Government endeavoured to maintain friendly relations with the Chinese and tried to carry out negotiations with the Chinese representatives as to how best to bring about peace in Tibet and assuage the people's anxiety.

"While these negotiations were being carried out, reinforcements arrived to strengthen the Chinese garrisons in Lhasa and Tibet. On the 17th March, two or three mortar shells were fired in the direction of the Norbulingka Palace. Fortunately, the shells fell in a nearby pond.

"After this, the advisers became alive to the danger to the person of the Dalai Lama and, in those difficult circumstances, it became imperative for the Dalai Lama, the members of his family and his high officials to leave Lhasa.

"The Dalai Lama would like to state categorically that he left Lhasa and Tibet and

22. *Ibid.*

23. See the editorial articles in the *National Herald*, Lucknow, *The Hindu*, Madras.

24. Editorial article entitled "Dalai Lama" April 1, 1959.

25. Editorial articles in *The Statesman*, Delhi April 4; *Delhi Hindustan Standard*, Delhi April 4; *Hindustan Times*, Delhi, April 4; *National Herald*, Lucknow, April 4; *The Times of India*, Delhi, April 6, 1959.

26. April 6, 1959 Editorial article.



came to India of his own free will and not under duress.

"It was due to the loyalty and affectionate support of his people that the Dalai Lama was able to find his way through a route which is quite arduous. The route which the Dalai Lama took involved crossing the Kyichu and Tsangpo rivers and making his way through the Lhoka area, Yarlung Valley and Psonadzong before reaching the Indian frontier at Kanzey Mane, near Chuhanmu.

"On the 29th March, 1959, the Dalai Lama sent two emissaries to cross the Indo-Tibetan border, requesting the Government of India permission to enter India and seek asylum there. The Dalai Lama is extremely grateful to the people and the Government of India for their spontaneous and generous welcome as well as the asylum granted to him and his followers.

"India and Tibet have religious, cultural and trade links over a thousand years and for Tibetans, it has always been the land of enlightenment, having given birth to the Lord Buddha. The Dalai Lama is deeply touched by the kind greetings extended to him on his safe arrival in India by the Prime Minister, Shri Jawaharlal Nehru and his colleagues in the Government of India. The Dalai Lama has already sent reply to this message of greeting.

"Ever since the Dalai Lama entered at Kanzeymane, near Chuttanmu, he has experienced in full measure the respect and hospitality extended to him by the people of the Kameng Frontier Division of the North-East Frontier Agency and the Dalai Lama would like to state how the Government of India's officers posted there had spared no effort in making his stay and journey through this extremely well-administered part of India as comfortable as possible.

"The Dalai Lama will now be proceeding to Mussoorie which he hopes to reach in the next few days. The Dalai Lama will give thought to his future plans and, if necessary, give expression to them as soon as he has had a chance to rest and reflect on recent events.

"His country and people have passed through an extremely difficult period and all that the Dalai Lama wishes to say at the moment is to express his sincere regret at the

tragedy which has overtaken Tibet and to fervently hope that these troubles will be over soon without any more bloodshed.

"As the Dalai Lama and the spiritual head of all the Buddhists in Tibet, his foremost concern is the well-being of his people and, in ensuring perpetual flourishing of his sacred religion and freedom of his country.

"While expressing once again thankfulness at his safe arrival in India, the Dalai Lama would like to take this opportunity to communicate to all his friends, well-wishers and devotees in India and abroad his sincere gratitude for the many messages of sympathies and concern with which they have flooded him."

The Chinese called the statement to be a forgery perpetrated by the Indian Government officials claiming that the Dalai Lama was under duress in India. The Panchen Lama who was named acting Chairman of the Preparatory Committee in Tibet said in a speech before the National People's Congress (Parliament) of China on April 22: "It is worth noting that reactionaries in India, walking in the footsteps of the British imperialists have always harboured expansionist ambitions towards Tibet and have carried out various forms of sabotage activities."

"It is obvious," he added, "that the so-called statement of the Dalai Lama was imposed on him by foreigners."

The Dalai Lama clarified the position in a statement from Mussoorie on April 22 reiterating that the Tezpur statement had been "issued under my authority and indicated my view and I stand by it."

To meet the growing interest generated by the Dalai Lama's presence in India was the centre of acute interest for many, he agreed to hold a press conference at Mussoorie on June 20.

The Dalai Lama said on that occasion that he did not propose to stay in India indefinitely but his return to Lhasa would depend upon his obtaining the rights and powers which the Tibetans had enjoyed and exercised prior to 1950, i.e., the Chinese action in Tibet. He would welcome a meeting between the Prime Ministers of India and China, he said.

*\*Free Press Journal, Bombay, April 19, 1959.*



In a statement issued to the press at the conclusion of the press conference, the Dalai Lama said:

"Ever since my arrival in India, I have been receiving almost every day sad and distressing news of the suffering and inhuman treatment of my people. I have heard almost daily with a heavy heart of their increasing agony and affliction, their harassment and persecution and of the terrible deportation and execution of innocent men.

"These have made me realise forcibly that the time has manifestly arrived when in the interests of my people and religion and to save them from the danger of near-annihilation, I must not keep silent any longer but must frankly and plainly tell the world the truth about Tibet and appeal to the conscience of all peace-loving and civilised nations.

"To understand and appreciate the significance and implication of the recent tragic happenings in Tibet, it is necessary to refer to the main events which have occurred in the country since 1950. It is recognised by every independent observer that Tibet had virtually been independent by enjoying and exercising all rights of sovereignty whether internal or external. This has also been impliedly admitted by the Communist Government of China for the very structure, terms and conditions of the so-called agreement of 1951 conclusively show that it was an agreement between two independent and sovereign States.

"It follows, therefore, that when the Chinese armed forces violated the territorial integrity of Tibet they were committing a flagrant act of aggression. The agreement which followed the invasion of Tibet was also thrust upon its people and Government by the threat of arms. It was never accepted by them of their own free will. The consent of the Government was secured under duress and at the point of bayonet.

"My representatives were compelled to sign the agreement under threat of further military operations against Tibet by the invading armed forces of China leading to utter ravage and ruin of the country. Even the Tibetan seal which was affixed to the agreement was not the seal of my representatives, but a seal copied and fabricated by the Chinese authorities in Peking and kept in their possession ever since.

"While I and my Government did not voluntarily accept the agreement, we were obliged to acquiesce in it, and decided to abide by the terms and conditions in order to save my people and country from the danger of total destruction. It was, however, clear from the very beginning that the Chinese had no intention of carrying out the agreement.

"Although they had solemnly undertaken to maintain my status and power as the Dalai Lama, they did not lose any opportunity to undermine my authority and sow dissensions among my people. In fact, they compelled me, situated as I was, to dismiss my Prime Ministers under threat of their execution without trial, because they had in all honesty and sincerity resisted the unjustified usurpation of power by the representatives of the Chinese Government in Tibet.

"Far from carrying out the agreement they began deliberately to pursue a course of policy which was diametrically opposed to the terms and conditions which they had themselves laid down. Thus commenced a reign of terror which finds few parallels in the history of Tibet.

"Forced labour and compulsory exactions, a systematic persecution of the people, plunder and confiscation of property belonging to individuals and monasteries and execution of certain leading men in Tibet, these are the glorious achievements of the Chinese rule in Tibet.

"During all this time, patiently and sincerely I endeavoured to appease my people and to calm down their feelings and at the same time tried my best to persuade the Chinese authorities in Lhasa to adopt a policy of conciliation and friendliness. In spite of repeated failures I persisted in this policy till the last day when it became impossible for me to render any useful service to my people by remaining in Tibet. It is in these circumstances that I was obliged to leave my country in order to save it from further danger and disaster.

"I wish to make it clear that I have made these assertions against the Chinese officials in Tibet in the full knowledge of their gravity, because I know them to be true. Perhaps, the Peking Government are not fully aware of the facts of the situation.

"But, if, they are not prepared to accept these statements, let them agree to an investi-

gation on the point by an international commission. On our part I and my Government will readily agree to abide by the verdict of such an impartial body.

"It is necessary for me to add, that before I visited India in 1956, it had become increasingly clear to me that my policy of amity and tolerance had totally failed to create any impression on the representatives of the Chinese Government in Tibet.

"Indeed, they had frustrated every measure adopted by me to remove the bitter resentment felt by my people and to bring about a peaceful atmosphere in the country for the purpose of carrying out the necessary reforms. As I was unable to do anything for the benefit of my people I had practically made up my mind when I came to India not to return to Tibet until there was a manifest change in the attitude of the Chinese authorities.

"I, therefore, sought the advice of the Prime Minister of India, who has always shown me unfailing kindness and consideration. After his talk with the Chinese Prime Minister and on the strength of the assurances given by him on behalf of China, Shri Nehru advised me to change my decision.

"I followed his advice and returned to Tibet in the hope that conditions would change substantially for the better and I have no doubt that my hopes would have been realised, if, the Chinese authorities had on their part carried out the assurances which the Chinese Prime Minister had given to the Prime Minister of India.

"It was, however, painfully clear soon after my return that the representatives of the Chinese Government had no intention to adhere to their promises. The natural and inevitable result was that the situation steadily grew worse until it became impossible to control the spontaneous upsurge of my people against the tyranny and oppression of the Chinese authorities.

"At this point I wish to emphasise that I and my Government have never been opposed to the reforms which are necessary in the social, economic and political systems prevailing in Tibet.

"We have no desire to disguise the fact that ours is an ancient society and that we must

introduce immediate changes in the interests of the people of Tibet. In fact, during the last nine years several reforms were proposed by me and my Government, but every time these measures were strenuously opposed by the Chinese in spite of popular demand for them, with the result that nothing was done for the betterment of the social and economic conditions of the people.

"In particular, it was my earnest desire that the system of land tenure should be radically changed without further delay, and the large landed estates acquired by the State on payment of compensation for distribution amongst the tillers of the soil. But the Chinese authorities deliberately put every obstacle in the way of carrying out this just and reasonable reform.

"I desire to lay stress on the fact that we, as firm believers in Buddhism, welcome change and progress consistently with the genius of our people and the rich tradition of our country.

"But the people of Tibet will stoutly resist any victimisation, sacrilege and plunder in the name of reforms—a policy which is now being enforced by the representatives of the Chinese Government in Lhasa.

"I have attempted to present a clear and unvarnished picture of the situation in Tibet. I have endeavoured to tell the entire civilised world the real truth about Tibet, the truth which must ultimately prevail, however strong the forces of evil may appear to be.

"Today I also wish to declare that we, Buddhists, firmly and steadfastly believe in peace and desire to live in peace with all the peoples and countries of the world. Although recent actions and policies of the Chinese authorities in Tibet have created strong feelings of bitterness and resentment against the Government of China, we Tibetans, lay and monk alike, do not cherish any feelings of enmity and hatred against the great Chinese people.

"We wish to live in peace and ask for peace and goodwill from all the countries of the world. I and my Government are, therefore, fully prepared to welcome a peaceful and amicable solution of the present tragic problem provided that such a solution guarantees the

preservation of the rights and powers which Tibet has enjoyed and exercised without any interference prior to 1950.

"We must also insist on the creation of a favourable climate, by the immediate adoption of the essential measures as a condition precedent to negotiations for a peaceful settlement. We ask for peace and for a peaceful settlement, but we must also ask for the maintenance of the status and the rights of our State and people.

"To you gentlemen of the press, I and my people owe a great debt of gratitude for all that you have done to assist us in our struggle for survival and freedom. Your sympathy and support has given us courage and strengthened our determination. I confidently hope that you will continue to lend that weight of your influence to the cause of peace and freedom for which the people of Tibet are fighting today."

#### THE POLITICAL PARTIES

All the major political parties of India, with the exception of the Communist Party of India, condemned the Chinese action in Tibet in more or less sharp terms.

The Working Committee of the Indian National Congress, India's largest political party, passed a resolution on May 9, in which it said that any happening in Tibet that led to suffering of the people of Tibet was a matter for sorrow for the people of India. The committee fully endorsed the policy of the Government of India.<sup>27</sup>

The National Committee of the Praja Socialist Party, the second largest political party, passed a resolution on April 17, to express its grave concern over the happenings in Tibet which, it said, brought a warning to all "who cherish the right of a people to shape their own destiny".<sup>28</sup>

The Bharatiya Jan Sangh, the fourth political party to be nationally recognised by the Election Commission of India (the other three parties are the Congress, PSP and the Communist Party) indicated its protest against the Chinese action in Tibet by staging a "hands off Tibet" demonstration before the Chinese Em-

bassy in New Delhi and the Chinese Consulate-General in Bombay on March 30.<sup>29</sup>

The Secretary of the All India Hindu Mahasabha (a political organisation of a smaller number of Hindus) called upon the Government of India to raise the question of Tibet in the United Nations—a call, which was repeated<sup>30</sup> by the all-party convention held in Jullundur on May 10—saying that silence on this occasion would mean the betrayal of the cause of distressed humanity.

Almost all the principal non-Communist Marxist political parties were equally critical of the Chinese behaviour in Tibet. The *Call*, monthly organ of the Revolutionary Socialist Party of India, wrote that if, as the Chinese had alleged, imperialist forces had gained ground in Tibet the responsibility belonged to the Chinese who had failed in adopting a wise course in seeking the integration of Tibet into China. "But even if imperialist agents have been active behind the Khampa rebellion in Tibet," the magazine went on to add, "we have to put on record that we have every sympathy for the national sentiments of the Tibetan people, and we find no valid reason, why the Chinese Communist Party should not allow Tibet to evolve as another sovereign 'People's Republic' as the 'People's Republic of Outer Mongolia'—as was done by the Soviet Union under Lenin's guidance."<sup>31</sup>

#### THE COMMUNIST PARTY

The Communist Party of India was thus the only major organisation which kept itself apart from the stream of Indian public opinion about developments in Tibet. The Communist Party not only upheld the Chinese action in Tibet but went to the extent of even repealing the Chinese charges against India.<sup>32</sup> This led to

29. *Statesman*, Delhi, March 31, 1959.

30. *Ibid.*, May 11, 1959.

31. *The Call* (Monthly organ of the Revolutionary Socialist Party of India), Delhi, Vol. XI, No. 2 (April, 1959), page 5.

32. *The Times of India*, Delhi, April (Full text of the Party's first major statement on Tibet). For further statements see also the article "The significance of Tibet" by B. T. Ranadive in the *New Age* (Monthly organ of the Communist Party of India), Delhi, Vol.

\**Indian Express*, New Delhi, June 2, 1959.

27. Full Text of the Revolution in *The Statesman*, Delhi, May 10, 1959.

28. *Statesman*, Delhi, April 18, 1959.

a volley of protests both within and outside the Parliament. Strong exception was taken to the fact that the Party should have repeated the charge of Kalimpong being the commanding centre for the Tibetan rebellion. In a scathing speech in the *Lok Sabha* on April 1, Acharya J. B. Kripalani, a former President of the Indian National Congress and a leading member of the Praja Socialist Party, said: "Supposing, tomorrow, taking the cue from our 'nationalist friends' (meaning the Communists—S.C.S.) who are lovers of this country, the Chinese Government be so mad as to think it was necessary to destroy this nest of intrigue in Indian territory and if they enter our territory, the logical conclusion would be that the Communist Party would welcome such a thing."<sup>33</sup>

The Home Minister and the Prime Minister also expressed similar sentiments. Referring to the allegation in the Communist press of collusion between Indian political officers and anti-Chinese spies, Shri Nehru said in evident exasperation: "The Communist Party of India goes about naming our principal officers. The party shows more than we suspected, a certain lack of balance in mind and total absence of feeling of decency and nationalism. What they are, I don't know. They cease to be Indians if they talk in this way."<sup>34</sup>

The Communist stand was generally very much criticised by the press<sup>35</sup> and the public. Some of the leading members of the party were also reported to have been critical of the wording of the party statement.<sup>36</sup> The latest pronouncements<sup>37</sup> of the party however did not

disclose any change of views. A few newspapers however did not condemn the Communist Party's stand. Referring to the statement issued by the Secretariat of the Communist Party on March 31, the liberal *National Herald* of Lucknow wrote: "Obviously there was not sufficient material to damn the communists as anti-national."<sup>38</sup>

#### THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

The Government of India's stand was that Tibet was part of China, but that did not preclude India's interest in what happened in the region. "We are obviously interested in what happens there and what political developments take place there (Tibet)", the Indian Prime Minister told pressmen on April 5. "We cannot ignore them or look away from them. What we do about them is another matter. But I would like to put it to you that apart from purely political considerations, there are other considerations which move people powerfully,"<sup>39</sup> he added. Clarifying further the Government's attitude, the Prime Minister declared before Parliament on April 27, that India had no political interest in Tibet. "What we were anxious about was to preserve the traditional connections between India and Tibet in regard to pilgrim traffic and trade. Our action in this matter and whatever we have done subsequently (to 1954) in regard to Tibet is proof enough of our policy and that India had no political or ulterior ambitions in Tibet", he said.<sup>40</sup> Indian policy towards China was governed by three factors: (1) The preservation of the security and integrity of India; (2) the desire to have continued friendly relations with China and (3) Indian sympathy for the people of Tibet.<sup>41</sup> The Indian Government was of the opinion that the agreement between Tibet and China on the autonomous status of

VIII, No. 5, (May, 1959), pp. 49-59 The articles of B. T. Ranadive and Ajoy Ghosh in *New Age* (Weekly), Delhi, Vol. VII. Nos. 18 and 19 (May 3, and May 10, 1959).

33. *The Statesman*, Delhi, April 2, 1959.

34. Statement before Press Conference in New Delhi on April 5; *Statesman*, April 6, 1959.

35. See the editorial articles of the *Hindustan Times* (April 2), and the *Delhi Hindusthan Standard* (April 2).

36. *Free Press Journal*, Bombay, April 13. "Political Commentary" by Shri Mahesh Chandra, *The Statesman*, Delhi, April 8.

37. Articles by B. T. Ranadive and Ajoy Ghosh in the weekly organ *New Age*, May 3, and 10, and the statement issued on May 13.

38. Editorial article entitled "Kalimpong" April 3, 1959. This newspaper's views on Tibet generally agreed with those of the Communist Party.

39. *Statesman*, Delhi, April 6, 1959.

40. *Ibid*, April, 28, 1959.

41. The Indian Prime Minister's statement before the Press Conference on April 5, and his subsequent statement in the *Lok Sabha* on April 27, 1959.

Tibet, assurances given to India "have not been kept" by the Government of China.<sup>42</sup>

The Government was all along very restrained in its references to developments in Tibet and this restraint was generally reciprocated by the press and the public. Some of the Chinese statements were hardly calculated to encourage the observance of this restraint. Despite the repeated assertions by the Government of India that Kalimpong had not been, or was not being, used as the commanding centre of the Tibetan rebellion the Chinese continued repeating that charge; and notwithstanding the clearest statement by the Dalai Lama at Tejpur on April 18<sup>43</sup> and subsequently at Mussoorie that he had come to India of his own free accord, and the Indian Government's unequivocal statement<sup>44</sup> that the Dalai Lama was free to go back to Tibet at any time he liked, that Chinese Government emissaries were welcome to meet him, the Chinese Government, Press and Public persisted in openly maintaining that the Dalai Lama was under duress in India. Charges were also levelled against Indians, alleging that they had "expansionist aims" with regard to Tibet.<sup>45</sup> One Chinese newspaper went to the extreme of even saying that attackers in Tibet had been Indians.<sup>46</sup> These malignant accusations were too much to be stomached even by the most ardent Indian sympathisers for the Chinese cause in Tibet. For example, the *National Herald* of Lucknow which all along made the best possible inter-

pretation of Chinese statements<sup>47</sup> wrote in a leader: "The Chinese Government has to convince the Tibetan people of the correctness of this policy and discard any idea that anyone in India is interested in following an expansionist policy. No one who has shown concern over the Tibetan situation has wanted an inch of Tibetan territory, and the Chinese people should understand it and stop accusing Indians of expansionist ambitions."<sup>48</sup>

The Government of India's stand was endorsed by all the political parties and newspapers. The Communists also found it difficult to directly criticize the stand taken by Shri Nehru and his Government. Everybody with the exception of a few individuals<sup>49</sup> agreed that Tibet was part of China but that the action of the Chinese Government in seeking to impose its policies against the wishes of the Tibetan people was wrong.<sup>50</sup> Some also expressed the view that a fully autonomous Tibet was the only safeguard of peace in regions adjoining India's north-eastern frontier and "the only satisfying symbol of China's good intentions."<sup>51</sup> Though the Indian attitude towards China was very critical over the developments in Tibet, there was general agreement that the issue should be treated as an isolated one and should in no way be allowed to be mixed up with the cold war between the Communist and Western blocs.<sup>52</sup> Any suggestion that the Tibetan developments could in any way mean any change in the orientation of the foreign policy of India was

42. Shri Nehru's statement in the Convocation address before Gurukul Mahavidyalaya, Jawaapur, near Hardwar, on April 13, reported in *The Times of India*, Bombay, April, 15.

43. *Statesman*, Delhi, April 19, 1959, (Full text of the Statement); See also *Statesman*, April 23, 1959, for the Dalai Lama's Mussoorie statement.

44. Nehru's statement in the *Rajya Sabha* (Upper House of Indian Parliament), May 4, 1959, reported in *The Statesman*, Delhi, May 5, 1959.

45. Panchen Lama's statement before the National People's Congress on April 22, *Statesman*, April 23, 1959, Statement of non-Communist Chinese Political Parties on April 29, *State-man*, April 30, 1959.

46. Ta Kung Pao, Peking reported in the *Statesman*, April 30.

47. Editorial articles in the *National Herald*, Lucknow, on March 24, March 31, April 3, April 4, April 9, April 20, April 21, April 24, and April 27.

48. Editorial article "Fresh Phase", *Ibid.*, April 30, 1959.

49. Jayaprakash Narayan, for example, advocated independence for Tibet.

50. Editorial articles in the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, Calcutta, March, 26; *Delhi Hindusthan Standard*, Delhi, April 1, *National Herald*, March 24; Dr. H. N. Kunzru and B. Shiva Rao's statements in the *Rajya Sabha* on May 4, 1959, reported in the *Statesman*, May, 5.

51. Editorial article in the *Hindu*, Madras, April, 1, 1959.

52. Editorial "The Arrival and After", *Delhi Hindusthan Standard*, April 7, 1959.

categorically repudiated by the Prime Minister.<sup>53</sup> Though India had granted political asylum to the Dalai Lama, the Government of India did not consider him and his ministers in India as a Government.<sup>54</sup>

#### CONCLUSION

The Tibetan developments certainly bore heavily upon India-China relations; yet, hopefully enough, both sides have maintained the need for preserving the mutual friendship between the Governments of China and India.

53. Nehru's statement in the *Lok Sabha* on May 8, 1959, reported in the *Statesman*, May 9, 1959.

54. Statement of the External Affairs Ministry on June 30, *Statesman*, July, 1959 and the Indian Prime Minister's Statement before the monthly Press Conference on July 7. reported in the *Statesman*, July 8, 1959.

The Government of India by sternly refusing to recognize any image government of Tibet in India and by refusing to agree to take the question to the United Nations, which was suggested by the Jan Sangh and some other parties including Shri Jayaprakash Narain, the Sarvodaya leader, who was elected to preside over the All-India Tibet Convention held at Calcutta during the last days of May to protest against the Chinese action, has shown that it still regards the Government in Peking to be the only legal Government of Tibet. The tides of Indian expansionism should stop at this point and it should not prove beyond the capabilities of the leaders of the two countries to agree on a mutually satisfactory approach to the future of Tibet which would also be acceptable to the people of Tibet.\*

\* Enlarged from an article that appeared in the *World Today*, London.

## WASTAGE, CORRUPTION AND NEPOTISM IN INDIA

By SANTWANA KUMAR DAS, M.A.

Large-scale development schemes undertaken by India after attainment of independence have meant very heavy expenditure. The governmental decision to rapidly industrialize the country has, in its wake, brought in an amount of strain on the normal procedure of financing projects, etc. Financial and administrative powers had to be delegated often to new and inexperienced hands or to those who knew the past too closely to take advantage of loopholes of the laws. On the whole with an obvious relaxation of control, to cope with the exigency of the changed situation, expenditure in national undertaking or recruitment to important key positions have often been influenced by reasons other than national welfare. Honesty at many places is at a discount and the glamour of easy money has produced corruption on a more or less wide scale.

Wastage at high level, corruption and

favouritism have, to an extent, degraded the standard of national morality. Attention may be drawn to a speech by Dr. C. D. Deshmukh. He spoke on July 11, in course of his V. S. Srinivasa Sastri endowment lecture at the Madras University. The former Finance Minister said that it was now recognized, albeit somewhat grudgingly, that the administrative machinery at levels from ministerial downwards, was "erratic and inadequate" both in the conduct of day-to-day affairs and in the implementation of planned development.

The speaker added: "Uneasy public heard of nepotism (still very common), highhandedness, gerrymandering, feathering of nests through progeny, and a dozen other sins of commission and omission and yet was helpless for lack of precise facts and evidence. It was in order to deal with such a situation that a high level impartial standing judicial tribunal was

called for to investigate and report on complaints."

Dr. Deshmukh has pledged to come forward himself to render whatever help he could should such a body be set up. He said: "If such a commission is established, I shall be happy to make a beginning by lodging half a dozen informations myself."

The continued drift for over a decade has created a gap between the administrators and the people. Popular enthusiasm in national reconstruction work is markedly on the wane. Deficit financing, large-scale foreign loans and other steps have together created an inflationary trend in the country's economy. Prices of foodgrains and other essential consumer goods have soared very high. Tax burden on the poor is on the increase.

Planning to vitalise short-term productive agencies, utilization of every naya paisa for national welfare and complete plugging of wastage of national wealth would have accelerated progress of national development undertakings ushering in a welfare state of real worth and significance.

An analysis of the various kinds of wastage, instances of corruption and nepotism shows that the authors of these acts are to be found in almost every walk of national life. The ingenuity of the means and manners adopted often show the care and caution displayed at evading the law. Carelessness, planned dishonesty and complete lack of a national outlook are a few of the outstanding causes behind commitment of the 'crimes'.

Lavish expenditure by ministers on travel bills, 'pomp and show and expensive paraphernalia in government houses' (Speech by Acharya Kripalani in Lok Sabha on February 16, 1959), 'bribery, corruption and nepotism' (*ibid*) plus 'considerable waste in some of the projects in the public sector' (*ibid*) have, of late, accounted for drainage of a good percentage of national wealth. The Prime Minister said some time back that the possibility of mistake in large-scale undertaking cannot be avoided. This statement of Mr. Nehru will be endorsed by all right-thinking persons

of the country. The difference of opinion lies elsewhere. Many devout Gandhites believe that the governments led by Mr. Nehru and his followers in the various states of the Indian Union have often taken no pains to distinguish between financial loss as a result of genuine mistake committed by an individual, who is earnest and honest, and a case of wastage of national fund which flows from dereliction of duty or avowed corruption.

Democracy is, in a way, a disadvantage to cope with wastage of national fund emanating from large-scale corruption by influential and hardened social criminals. Either the persons in charge of national reconstruction jobs should be upright and earnest or there should be specific, standing legislation to meet the veiled challenge of the anti-social elements. The pre-independence pledges to hang a black-marketeer at the nearest lamp-post and to 'prevent concentration of wealth and power in the hands of the individuals and groups' (*Congress Election Manifesto* of 1945) the no more considered worth implementing with any amount of seriousness. If the government intended to keep firm to party pledges, the Congress President, Mr. U. N. Dhebar, would have had no occasion to lament over the fact that the rich were becoming richer and the poor poorer in the country.

Even in democracy an able administrator is capable of calling a halt to anti-social elements. 'Thus far and no further' was perhaps too proud an order that King Canute addressed to the waves of the sea; when dealing with men of low characters, the perverted ones, the enemies of the people, a threat, even a warning, may have a salutary effect. Lack of sacrifice at top and lack of honest second line of leadership have made national progress a costly experiment for India. The only way out, therefore, is to enact new laws or to set up high-powered bodies to deal with wastage and misuse of national funds at various levels with personnel rotating and normal procedure of appeal to higher courts of the land non-applicable. India's development pace is extra-ordinarily quick; the

method to deal with losses during this speedy reconstruction work should also be such as to help maintain the tempo.

There are many astounding cases of corruption. Acharya Kripalani revealed from his personal experience the extent of corruption prevalent in the Indian railways. As the director of the Gandhi Ashram, Acharya Kripalani had to issue instructions to his workers, he admitted, to pay illegal gratification to the railway staff, in order to be able to procure wagon space for the transport of silk manufactured in the various centres of West Bengal to other parts of the country. (*Delhi Hindusthan Standard* dated February 17, 1959.)

The form and technique of corruption often vary. Judicial procedure and legal acumen often help change the colour and shape of a particular case of corruption. Interpretation, procedural and legal, at times, makes case of corruption wear a new look. Only that part of the case, the loss in money or otherwise that the nation has to suffer, remains unchanged.

Here is an example of a peculiar kind of wastage. Ashoka Hotel of New Delhi is a government undertaking. A foreign businessman putting up at the hotel remarked to a Delhi journalist that the kind of loss incurred there was unheard of anywhere else. He said: "Look at the huge waste of space. So many committee rooms empty. In New York in a hotel of this kind, you cannot get a committee room unless you book months ahead. And look at the huge library here which nobody uses." Another thing too amazed the foreigner. "Half a dozen people at the reception desk alone. I have never seen more than two in any other hotel in the world." (*Times of India*, Delhi February 8, 1959). But this wastage is perhaps a part of our accustomed administrative pomp and show. A misconception seems to die hard in a section of our top administrators that through show and luxury alone we may earn in prestige, particularly where a link with foreigners is unavoidable. The common argument is that luxury alone attracts foreign tourists, particularly from the West,

who are habituated to modern comforts. Earning of prestige through a show of luxury, ignoring the realities of the situation, the millions of half-starved, ill-clad individuals throughout the country; a commercial outlook of costly capitalistic variety are ideas contrary to fundamental conception of Gandhian philosophy. Even the heirs and the disciples of the saint have chosen to discard the core of ideas for which the modern Christ lived and died.

Top policy-makers of the nation have a responsibility which they have hardly discharged so far with a view to convince the people that national welfare was their one sole objective. During the national struggle many of them suffered much; privations and humiliations due to poverty were many a leaders' common lot for the best part of life. People must not be given to understand even by suggestion that the leaders are deriving compensation for the past sacrifices and privations suffered.

Corruption and nepotism are easier to check when they are practised at a lower level and in a comparatively narrow and limited circle. Such local cases have often been dealt with rather quickly arresting loss to grow or the problem become complicated. A watchful local administration can intervene with ease and directness before things go out of hand. According to a report, 'recently there have been complaints of maladministration and alleged misappropriation of power house stores worth over Rs. 73,000' by the Amritsar Municipal Electricity Authority. The Government has taken over the task of power-supply and, pending police investigation, some employees have been arrested and others put under suspension. (*Statesman*, New Delhi, February 8, 1959).

While strictly local cases of corruption may be checked with an amount of easiness a case of corruption at a state level presents a little more difficulty. Red-tape hurdles, political pressures and various kinds of resourcefulness of the guilty and his associates make locating the crime and the criminal quite a difficult matter. It is particularly so where there is behind the



screen activity to prevent useful materials to see the light of the day. Other interesting happenings also make escape easy. It has been found in innumerable cases that when a sizeable wastage of public fund has been detected the person responsible for the commitment of the offence has already retired or has gone abroad or transferred to make investigation difficult or something of the sort.

When accusations against the unnamed corrupt individuals are voiced in a state legislature or in the Parliament they hurt nobody, the perpetrators of crime escape unscathed and unashamed. While opposition does not always hurl invectives only for the pleasure of it, the common practice of minimising opposition views has, to no small measure, deprived the various units of the government the prestige which normally they should possess.

It is embarrassing to listen to a legislator shout in the state assembly epithets like 'Kairon Raj is nothing but corruption Raj' (Punjab M.L.A., Mr. B. D. Tandon's Vidhan Sabha speech of February 17, 1959). In the upper house of Punjab legislature a demand was voiced urging inquiry into alleged 'accumulation of wealth' by ministers and their relatives 'during the past four years.'

It must be said that the governments, both at state level and at the centre, have laboured hard on various occasions, to satisfy members of the public and those of the opposition that they are very keen to find out the guilty and to prevent recurrence of malpractices. Often too rigid adherence to democratic procedure defeats the purpose of such inquiry.

The Government of Punjab acting upon the recommendation of a high-powered commission headed by Justice Dulat of the State High Court, has appointed an officer to prepare cases against corrupt officials who had defrauded the state in the construction of the Bhakra-Nangal canals. (*News Item*, February 17, 1959). Further progress of this decision is not known.

The Madhava Rau Committee of Rajasthan, in its report, had listed a number of irregularities in the state's financial trans-

sactions; these the committee termed as an 'astounding state of financial indiscipline in the state.' The medical and education departments committed 'large-scale irregularities' while making 'large-scale purchases.' As an instance the committee mentioned a case of purchase of bandages at a higher rate and from an unrecognized firm entailing a loss of Rs. 14,000. Some of the goods proved unusable but the supplier was let off without penalty; the department paid rail freight of Rs. 315, this too was not recovered from the supplier.

To instance wastage on the administrative side more facts may be borrowed from the Madhava Rau Committee report. Rajasthan is no exception in this respect. A similar probe into conditions in any other state would perhaps reveal similar if not worse cases of wastage in like matters.

The colossal rise in the administrative cost in Rajasthan has been criticized and drastic economy recommended by the committee. The abolition of the Divisional Commissioners' posts, the committee pointed out, would reduce expenditure by Rs. 7 lakhs annually; reduction in the number of districts from 26 to 20 would also mean considerable economy in administrative cost; a 10 per cent reduction in the number of tehsils would mean a saving of Rs. 1.5 million every year. In the sphere of transport also, according to the committee, scope remains for affecting economy. The number of government vehicles increased by 40 per cent from 1953 to 1957 and expenditure registered a rise of 150 per cent.

The Okhla industrial estate in the Delhi territory is another example of 'lavish utilization of space and extravagance'. The Planning Commission team after examining the state of things at Okhla found that 'more money than was necessary has been spent on non-productive buildings such as offices, garages and other constructions not directly related to production of goods.'

An instance of how party interest prompts appointment of persons of questionable competency to state public service commission membership was described in

the Parliament. An Assistant Police Sub-Inspector in one of the native states after independence managed to get into the state assembly. Subsequently he resigned to make room, it is said, for the entry of a favourite of a top administrator. The obliging ex-A.S.I. who is a non-matriculate was made a member of the state public service commission for sacrificing his assembly seat in favour of a ministerial nominee. (Speech in Parliament by Mr. Subiman Ghosh, M.P.).

Mr. Ghosh cited the instance of another state P.S.C. whose report's publication was delayed by two years. The reason behind was, it is said, the inclusion of a case of demotion of a high official in that report. There were a number of complaints against the officer. The government referred the case to the PSC; the commission recommended demotion of the officer concerned. The matter was again referred back to the PSC; the Commission stuck to the old decision. For 18 months after this second decision was intimated the government observed complete silence in regard to the incident. Thereafter it rescinded the first decision to refer the case to the PSC and the fortunate officer did not suffer, as a result thereof, either in position or prestige.

The investment of Life Insurance Corporation's fund in the shares of concerns owned by Mr. Haridas Mundhra struck headlines of Indian newspapers for many many days. Chagla inquiry, Vivian Bose Board, UPSC examination of conduct of the officials passed by, one after another, and at long last the government found that most of the major actors in the deal have committed no punishable wrong; only one LIC officer was found wanting in the performance of his duties.

There was loud complaint about certain doings of the Prime Minister's Special Assistant; louder were the assurances from

the government side to do whatever necessary to find out the truth. An inquiry was conducted which based its function mainly on the statement of the 'alleged accused.' Ultimately it was found that the accusation that the individual 'struck gold' by misusing his official position was not correct. He had with him a sum of Rs. 4 lakhs obtained by the sale of property gifted by the American Red Cross, where he was an employee.

Where the government is not fully representative of the people, i.e., not national many things might happen which would not satisfy the analytic mind. To minimise possibility of popular misunderstanding the attempt to shield culprits through zigzag procedural route or with the veil of departmental rules of un-understandable kind and character ought not to be depended upon. Some small body with quick-to-work rules and adequately empowered, directly under the President, may be set up to deal with cases of misuse of national fund. Mr. C. D. Deshmukh has advocated (New Delhi Press conference, May 26.) that to ensure successful implementation of our development plans there should be a more representative, a more talented and a more uncommitted government both at the centre and in the states. Mr. Deshmukh apprehended danger of 'inexperienced' government not using the nationalised institutions in an appropriate manner.

Corruption is gradually eating into the marrow of the nation's bone. If the present drift could not be arrested before it is too late, if influential culprits may escape after meaningless inquiries and references and wastage of national wealth to benefit only a few continue as at present, peoples's faith in the government would rapidly diminish and country's progress would be ultimately retarded.



## AGRICULTURAL WAGES

BY PROF. DR. J. S. GARG, M.A. (Eco.), M.Sc. Ag. (Agr.), Ph.D.

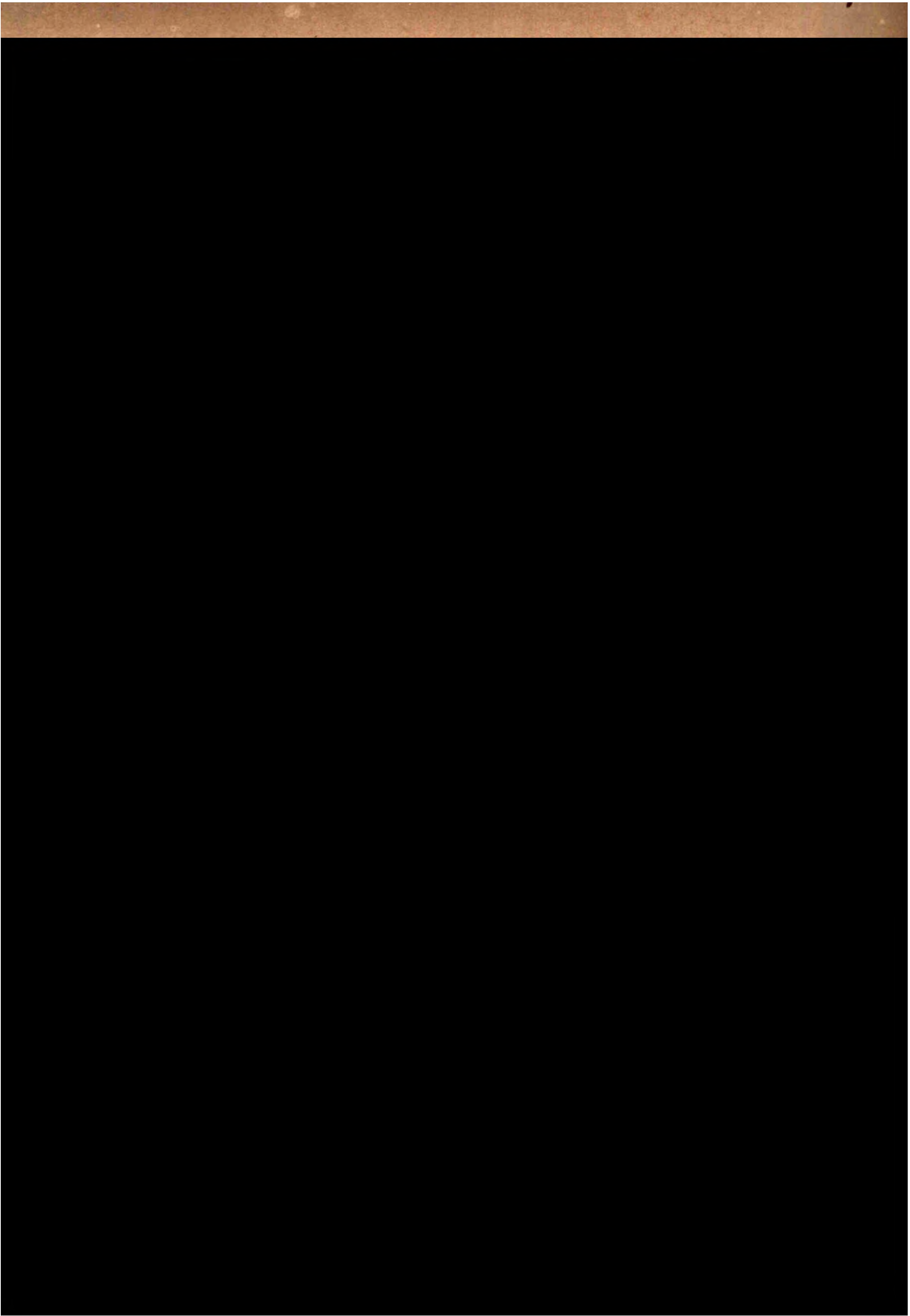
It needs no emphasis that the major problem affecting labour is the problem of wages. The worker's earnings have the greatest importance to him, as that determines his standard of living and that of his family. This is particularly so in India where the wage level of workers is still far behind reasonable standard and where indirect benefits by way of social service and social security have not been extended either to cover the entire population or all the risk to which an individual is exposed.

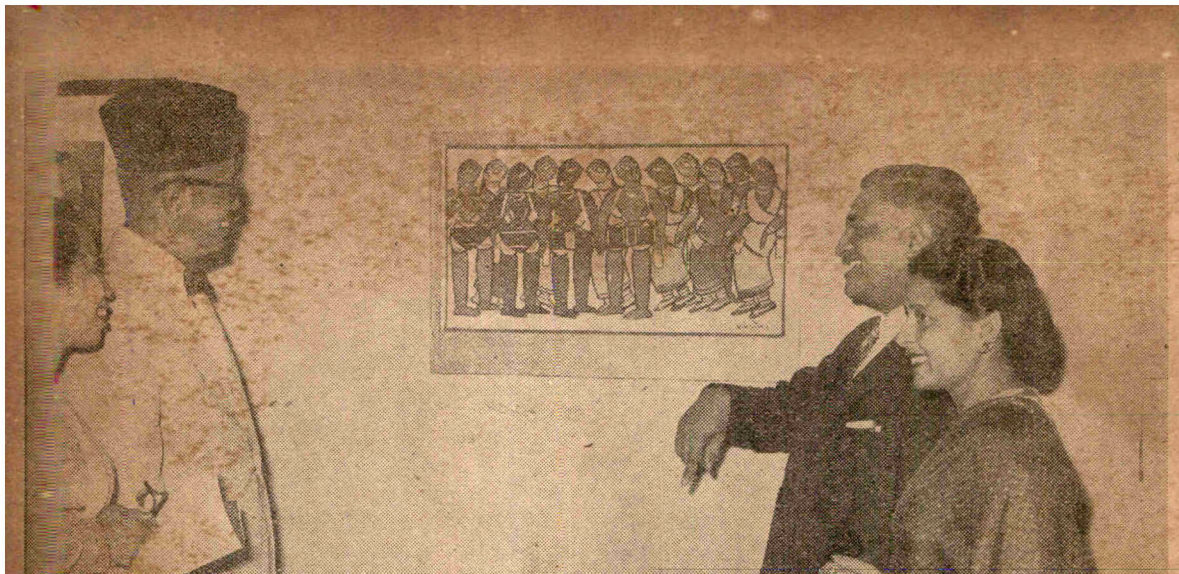
In an ordinary sense, the wages are prices fixed for the use of the second factor of production—the labour. A wage may be defined, says Benham, "as a sum of money paid under contract by an employer to a worker for services rendered." They are primarily of two types, namely nominal wages and real wages. Nominal wages are paid or received in terms of money. They are unable to give a correct economic situation of a labourer. In order to understand the correct economic position of a worker, we will have to measure it in terms of his real wages, which is comprised of the sum-total of the psychic satisfaction of a worker. As Adam Smith has put it: "The real wages of labour may be said to consist in the quantity of the necessities and conveniences that are given for it. . . . The labour is rich or poor, is well or ill rewarded, is in proportion to the real, not to nominal prices of his labour." In order to find out the real wages, which as well determine the standard of living of a worker, the factors like purchasing power of money, subsidiary earnings, chances of additional income, condition of work, regular or irregular nature of work and over-time payments are taken into consideration.

The methods of payment of wages are on the basis of work done or the period the worker has been employed. The former is called 'piece wages' and the latter 'time wages.' Time wage payment is the most frequent and important method of payments whereby a fixed sum is

paid either per hour, per day, per week or per month. Under piece wage, the payment is made per unit or piece of work completed within certain duration. However, there is another method of wage payment used mostly for agricultural labourers, known as 'share system.' It is of old origin. Under this system, the produce is shared by the landowner and labourer. This is prevalent in the States of Punjab, U.P., Bihar, and few others in the country. Landless labourers, mostly prefer this system of payment, because it enables them to utilize their labour at a higher remunerative value. In certain localities wage payments are also made in kind instead of cash, particularly for harvesting operations. The customs of the locality determines the rates of such wages. In the Punjab, cotton pickers get 1/12th of the produce and in Kanpur, Gorakhpur and Mathura districts of U.P., the average rate of such wages for harvesting wheat are 1/12th of the harvest, 2½ seers of grain and 1/12th of the produce respectively. Similarly, for sugarcane in Meerut district, the rate is 1/40th of the produce harvested. But now the payment in kind is being replaced by cash all over the country. In certain parts of the localities, the labourers, besides wages, get morning *Nashta*, smoking *hukka*, clothes, material for the construction of house and food. They form the part of the conveniences which add to the total sum of real wages. But these facilities are granted to "attached labourers" only.

Agricultural wages are subject to wide variation from region to region and place to place. Local customs, nature of work, standard of living and supply and demand of the labour determine the rate of wage in a locality. In general, they are far inadequate to enable agricultural labour to meet their necessities of life. According to the Sixth Wage Census Report, 1929, the daily wages of a weeder, a reaper and a ploughman were on an average -3/4, -3/5, and -3/10 respectively, before World





War II. During and after the War there had been a considerable rise in the level of general wages, but the same could not keep pace with the increase of the cost of living of agricultural labourers. At present (1958-59) the agricultural wages round about Kanpur vary between Re. 1/- and Re. 1¼ for man, -12/- to 1/- for woman and -10/- to -12/- for child. The agricultural wages rates are comparatively lower in the Eastern District, while they are higher in the Western District of U.P. The difference varies from 30 to 50 per cent over Kanpur rates. There is a vast difference between the wages of agricultural and industrial labour. The wages of agricultural labour are lower primarily because they are isolated, unorganised and subject to exploitation of the employers. They have no facility to form a union to strike a better bargain with their master.

It is needless to say that this group of labour demands a special and urgent attention in any scheme designed to improve the living standard of the masses. During the First Five-Year Plan, attempts were made to ensure a minimum standard of living to agricultural labour by fixing minimum wages under Minimum Wages Act, 1948; according to which on an organized farm of 50 acres and above in some of the Eastern and Southern Districts of U.P. an adult was to get Re. 1/- per day or Rs. 26/- per month without perquisites and that of a child (below 18 years), -10/- per day or Rs. 16¼/- per month without perquisites.

The other States, in which the minimum wages have been fixed for the entire area are the States of Punjab, Rajasthan, Delhi, Himachal Pradesh, Kutch and Tripura. Besides U.P., in Assam, Bihar and Bombay, minimum wages have been fixed for some of the localities, which represent low wage-pockets. For want of adequate data an *ad-hoc* method was adopted for fixing the wages. For a correct fixation, suitable data in terms of suitable consumers' price indices for rural areas will have to be prepared. Some suitable measures will have to be taken for their effective enforcement and implementation. Some of the important vital

obstacles like the prevailing economic conditions of agricultural labour and pressure on land will have to be eliminated. The demand and supply of labour will have to be regulated. The labour organizations will have to be formed.

The Agricultural Labour Enquiry Committee (1950-51) had rightly observed that low level of living among this section of people is not so much due to low wages as to lack of sufficient employment opportunities. Therefore, the first and foremost solution of the problem is to increase employment opportunities in the country. Employment is admittedly an important problem not only in the interest of labour but in the general interest of the national economy. It will not be out of place to discuss here the unemployment situation of the country. It is presumed that by the end of Second Five-Year Plan (end of March, 1961) the un-employed labour force in the country would be of the order of 7.5 millions, despite the creation of 8.0 million jobs during the corresponding period. Thus the problem is really baffling.

Coming to the solution of the problem, the first and foremost *sine-qua-non* is the collection of reliable data of unemployment and employment potentials in the country. Then comes 'Man Power' planning, which means co-ordination of man power resources to general economic plan so as to create maximum employment potentials and to absorb maximum man power by scientific and rational exploitation of the available resources. The plan must be labour-incentive. The plan should be drawn as to lay more emphasis on small cottage and village industries. The above curative measures must be supplemented by preventive measures also. Of these, family planning is the foremost to curb the steady increase of population.

In conclusion, it may be said that the problem of lower wages of agricultural labour is acute and its magnitude and importance call for a concentrated and determined plan. The sooner it is chalked out the better.



## ECONOMICS OF CO-OPERATIVE FARMING

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"The great commerce of every civilized society is that carried on between the inhabitants of the town and those of the country (village) . . . The town, in which there neither is nor can be any reproduction of substances, may very properly be said to gain its whole wealth and subsistence from the country," wrote Adam Smith as early as 1776 in his book *Wealth of Nations*. This proposition of Adam Smith holds true even today after about two centuries because the industrial sector, undoubtedly, depends largely on the agricultural sector for the supply of raw-materials to feed its industries and food to feed the labour. Thus industrial sector cannot expand rapidly without the expansion of what Adam Smith called the "subsistence from the country" or what modern economists prefer to call "marketable surplus." Rapid industrialization, therefore, is just impossible without a radical reorganization of agricultural sector in such a manner as to produce a considerable amount of marketable surplus. A process of agricultural transformation must form a part and parcel of the plan for a high rate of industrialization or economic development.

Our planners realized this at an early stage and, therefore, rightly placed an emphasis on agricultural development in the First Five-Year Plan. But, then, they were really faced with two major agricultural problems, besides many others. On the one hand there existed 'big landlords with swelled bellies' nourished out of the exploitation of the poor agricultural tenants and, on the other, there existed a mass of landless labourers. (So much so that the Marxist conjecture of the existence of two water-tight compartments, one owning the so-called means of production and the other owning nothing but

the labour-power to be sold as a commodity in the market, proved quite true and there was every likelihood of Marxian prediction of "Revolution" coming true). As a result, therefore, our planners were forced to adopt the measures for "Land Reforms" which seemed to be the only path of wisdom in the circumstances prevailing. The main tenets of land reforms which were affected quite successfully during the First Five-Year Plan period were: (i) the abolition of Zamindari and other intermediaries, and (ii) ceiling on land holdings.

Consequent to these land reforms, the implementation of which was also carried over to the Second Five Year-Plan period the Government was able to provide "land to the tiller" and, at the same time, effect its objectives of "Socialistic Pattern of Society" by creating a situation in which everybody had some land and nobody had no land. Hence a situation of "equality," in the broad sense of the term, was more or less achieved. But, as we know, equality and efficiency are two incompatible terms so that we can either have equality at the cost of efficiency or efficiency at the cost of equality.

Land Reforms, therefore, tended to affect agricultural production quite adversely in so far as they tended to reduce the size of land holdings still further and from 1954-55 onwards the agricultural production tended to fall. It is, of course, impossible to determine the contribution of land reforms to the fall in agricultural production, for these years were also associated with unfavourable climate and other natural factors. But it cannot be denied that land reforms, especially the ceilings on land holdings, did injure agricultural productivity. This fall in agricultural production, in effect, led to a rise in the food prices and the prices of raw-materials and other



semi-finished article thereby shaking the very foundations of all wishful planning. Now, therefore, we were faced with a problematic situation and if such a situation was to be tackled it was necessary for the planners to reconcile the two objectives of equality and efficiency or, in other words, to maintain equality and at the same time to make the way for a sizeable amount of marketable surplus to nourish the growing urban sector.

This problem of equality versus efficiency with which we are faced today is nothing new or surprising because the Governments in other countries were also faced with the same problem at the critical moments in their process of economic development and they tried to solve this problem by adopting various typical methods.

A question that naturally arises is: Why does not India adopt those very methods and gain from the experience of other countries? But as shall be shown below, none of those methods suits to the Indian conditions and the only method that can suitably be adopted is that of "Co-operative Farming."

In Japan, for example, this problem of diverting a sizeable amount of marketable surplus from the rural sector to the urban sector was solved by the adoption of heavy annual "land tax" during the early stages of her economic development. In 1893-94, for instance, land tax provided as much as 45% of the total tax revenues to the Government in 1906-1907, this percentage was as high as 25%. This heavy land tax provided the Government with a large amount of revenues to initiate and speed up the process of industrialization and, as its counterpart, forced the peasants to part with a larger proportion of the produce.

But this method is just inapplicable in our own country because ours is a mass peasantry with a very low standard of living so much so that to draw a huge amount of revenues from land is not only impossible but undersirable also as it is likely to breed the leftist tendencies. The imposition of just a small amount of "Betterment Levy" has called for an

agitation which must still be fresh in our minds.

Soviet Russia was also faced with this problem of "marketable surplus" for her economic development. During the early stages of her economic development (Period of War Communism, 1918-21), Soviet Government adopted a method of making the terms of trade between the rural sector and the urban sector unfavourable to the former so as to squeeze out the maximum from the rural sector. This policy continued even during the period of N.E.P. (1921-28) as was visible in the famous "Scissors' Crisis" when the relation of industrial and agricultural prices continued to be greatly to the disadvantage of the latter.

But, even on the face of it, such a scheme was not likely to be successful as this was putting the peasantry at a disadvantage thereby disrupting the alliance between the working-class and the peasantry—formulated in the famous Leninist doctrine of "Symtecha." Hence, it was considered necessary to formulate some other measure and that was of collectivization adopted during the First Five-Year Plan period (1928-33). Under this scheme, it was made compulsory for all the farmers to join the "Collective farms," i.e., farms, the land of which was to become the property of the community. The farmers, therefore, became merely the wage and bonus-earners on the Common Land after losing their ownership of land. Undoubtedly, this process of collectivization did facilitate an increase in the amount of marketable surplus as on the collective farms it was possible to use capital intensive techniques and thereby raise productivity. A large part of this increased production was diverted to the industrial sector by barring the free market of agricultural produce and by State forcibly getting the "compulsory delivery quotas" from the collective farms and that too at a very low price. Thus the process of collectivization accompanied by the scheme of "compulsory delivery quotas" helped the marketable surplus of agricultural produce to increase considerably. As Prof. Dobb observes, "The main contribution that collective farms of agriculture made in these hard years of the first quinquennium to the progress of industrialisation was the substantial increase they afforded in the marketable surplus of agricultural produce." In



1938 for instance, the marketed surplus in food-grains alone was  $2\frac{1}{2}$  times that it had been in 1928.

But, as is quite evident, this scheme of collective farming is also quite unsuitable in India. To start with, in case of collective farms all land comes under the ownership of the "commune" and if a member wants to leave the collective farm, he cannot take his land back or, in other words, land does not remain the property of the peasant. The scheme of collective farming if adopted in India, will, therefore, forfeit the main objective of land reforms (i.e., the "land to the tiller"). Besides, we also cannot adopt the scheme of "compulsory delivery quotas" in our own country which is wedded to democracy. Thus, in India, we shall have to adopt some such method which shall be democratic and which shall have all the economic advantages of collective farms. And the "only" solution lies in the adoption of "Co-operative Farming." Thus Sri Nehru has very aptly observed, "It is a patent fact that there is no alternative to co-operative farming," for co-operative farming alone allows the private ownership of land and as land is cultivated jointly as one unit it will definitely have all the economics of large-scale production. Consequently, co-operative farming seems to be the only solution to raise the level of marketable surplus and hence the rate of industrialisation.

I have dealt with the economics of co-operative farming in detail to prove that there is nothing wrong with its economics and that co-operative farming is so obvious and necessary that we cannot dispense with it especially at the present moment when the need for increasing the size of marketable surplus is so urgent. It is only co-operative farming which, by automatically extending the margin of cultivation, will make possible the introduction of technical improvements which can never be brought about on small farms because of inadequate resources of the farmer and the small size of individual holdings. Hence, it is the only method by which we can increase our agricultural production and hence the size of marketable surplus.

Some people, however, are of the opinion that co-operative farming will not lead to an

increase in production unless accompanied by mechanized farming and it is quite useless to try the former since the latter is unsuitable in India. Thus they are of the opinion that technical improvements brought on the joint farms will affect a number of self-employed persons and will therefore aggravate the problem of rural unemployment and that such a scheme of agrarian reforms must be shelved for the time being till enough employment opportunities are created both in the rural sector and the urban sector.

But this argument is quite unacceptable. To start with, the argument assumes that technical improvements and mechanization are synonyms which is actually not so. In fact, by technical improvements, we really mean the use of small machines, better ploughs, better seeds fertilizers, green manures, bunding, sinking of wells, etc. Thus technical improvements taken in this sense are not likely to create any serious problem of unemployment. But even if they are likely to lead to some unemployment, there is no argument in shelving it till such times when industrialisation of the highest degree has been achieved to create enough employment opportunities for those who are likely to be unemployed as economic development is necessarily a continuing process and we cannot adopt policies in separate compartments. In fact, various policies like co-operative farming and rapid industrialization are linked up with each other in such a manner that they will have to be adopted side by side and in an overlapping manner.

Others in the opposition group criticise co-operative farming on the ground that it is just a step towards collective farming. Once a co-operative farm is established, they argue, if a person wants to leave the co-operative farm and withdraw his land, he will not be allowed to do so practically, for if he is allowed to do so, it will mean the upsetting of the whole organization of the co-operative farm and hence a chaos. Thus the only possibility that remains, *prima facie*, is that he will be allowed to go provided he accepts the compensation so that finally the land is

purchased by the "co-operative" and a time will come when "co-operative" will become all in all and land will pass from individual peasants into the hands of the community. Thus as Mr. Masani once said, co-operative farms were "a misnomer that would inevitably lead to collectivization and strengthen the totalitarian trends at the cost of democracy."

This argument is, once again, unfounded as Chinese experience bears testimony to it. Mrs. Renu Chakravarty after her visit to China tells us that, in China, a peasant is allowed to leave a co-operative the moment he wishes to do so, but very few actually leave because the benefits they enjoy from co-operative farming are so much greater than individual farming that almost the entire country has been swept into co-operative every where. Thus there seems to be no reason why people should think of leaving such beneficial projects and even if a person thinks of it, it means that he is, in the words of Mr. Nehru, "a nuisance and a mischief-maker" who cannot be allowed to play with community's interest just for nothing.

Again, it is argued that small peasants who do not join the co-operative farm will be compelled to become the member of the co-operative out of sheer necessity, for otherwise there is every likelihood that they will be discriminated against in the matter of revenue, registration, irrigation, supply of seeds and fertilizers, etc. Further, the formation of co-operative farms will involve compulsion for the minority (one-third) if the majority (two-

thirds) is desirous of forming a co-operative. Hence it is argued that co-operative farming will mean the loss of freedom.

This fear once again, is unfounded as the question of deprivation of freedom of the peasant in the process of co-operative farming is wholly wrong because, as our Government has repeatedly stated, the whole process will be undertaken in a democratic way and on a voluntary basis. Instead of being compelled, the peasants will be convinced by experiments. Thus the remark of Mr. V. L. Mehta seems to be very appropriate when he says, "It is not understood how co-operatives—service co-operative or joint co-operative can deprive the peasant of freedom unless (with all its benefits and advantages) it be the freedom to live and die in poverty and debt," and nobody will deny that these are what sociologists now-a-days call "formal" and "unwanted" freedoms.

It can, therefore, be safely concluded that it is no time questioning the validity of such an economically justified proposition as that of co-operative farming. What is needed now is to shear out all differences so as to make it a success. As our Prime Minister has said :

"There is no choice. I cannot understand any person not realizing this patent and obvious fact. . . . Now we have only to give attention to hammering out details as to how to implement it fully. We have now to discuss and finalise the practical aspects of co-operation."

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## THE PROBLEM OF JUSTICE IN CO-OPERATIVE FARMING

BY DR. V. D. NAGAR, M.A., Ph.D.

SPEAKING under the auspices of the Delhi Study Circle Mr. K. M. Munshi asked, "Will different experiments in co-operatives be permitted as in Israel? And while exercising the choice to keep to family farming, will the farmers get equal facilities to increase production or will they be discriminated against in the matter of facilities of taccavi, credits, seeds, fertilizers and water?" On the other hand, the All-India

Congress Committee's note assumes that the co-operatives will receive reasonable preference in the matter of provision for supplies, credit and other facilities. Quoting Dr. Otto Schiller Mr. Munshi further said, "It is hardly possible to show any example that peasants in an existing old village have voluntarily given up their individual use of land and have pooled their land for joint cultivation." This applies to our

country also, where co-operative farming is to be introduced by voluntary methods and not by coercion. The incentives or preferences, therefore, are of vital importance to the success of co-operative farming and co-operatives.

#### INCENTIVES

Preferential treatment of the co-operative farms on a permanent basis can be both direct and indirect. Direct preferential treatment in matter of facilities of taccavi, credits, seeds, fertilizers and water can be shown towards the co-operatives in the following manner. Firstly, short-term loan, seeds, fertilizers, etc., may be provided at pronouncedly cheaper rates to the co-operative farmers. Secondly, co-operatives or co-operative farms should be granted long-term loan, seeds, etc., at a very cheap rate. Thirdly, membership of a village society should be a necessary condition for facilities from various Government agencies. Railway fares at concessional rates for journey to the places of pilgrimage and exemption from local direct tax can also be tried to encourage the farmers to join co-operatives and co-operative farms. The working group on co-operative policy has recommended that efforts should be made to bring into the co-operative fold villagers who are relatively better off and with surplus funds for investment. Free education and grants for books to sons and daughters of villagers, specially at Higher Secondary and University levels along with exemption from certain taxes will encourage the relatively rich farmers to join the co-operatives. In addition to these, storage facilities (when and where to be provided) should be earmarked for co-operative farms only. Lastly, the Government should prefer the co-operatives for meeting the risks of crop-failures. Lenin realised that co-operatives in order to succeed had to provide safeguards against bad harvests and famine.

Indirectly, the preferential treatment towards co-operative farms should be shown by—

(i) servicing and repairing of tractors at the co-operative farm itself,

(ii) establishing machine-lending stations,

(iii) forming co-operatives of the existing tractors and machine-owners in the region,

(iv) granting subsidy on oils and lubricants,

(v) deputing trained agricultural gradu-

ates to advise the employment of scientific methods, and

(vi) providing transport facilities at a cheaper rate.

#### INCENTIVES IN FOREIGN COUNTRIES

Incentive, inducement, stimulation, preferential treatment special privilege or material interestedness has played an important role in building the co-operatives in foreign countries. In socialist countries incentive wages and incentive prices are paid to the labourers and farmers. Even in Russia, where collective farming has been achieved through violence and pressure, in spite of Lenin's advice that "the representatives of the Soviet Government must not resort to the slightest compulsion in the creation of co-operative associations," the Communists lay very great emphasis on the need for creating material interestedness for all workers. Lenin himself insisted on State loans and incentive bonuses for the co-operatives. In China, special privileges to co-operative associations along with caution, education and public pressure were deemed necessary to combat the emergence of capitalism in agriculture, ensure large-scale efficient operation and solve 'grain-problem.' In Yugoslavia and Japan also similar incentives were provided to the co-operatives in the beginning.

Economic incentives or inducements follow the pattern of economic development. The economic growth may be autonomous or induced and intrinsic or expansionist. Mr. Bert F. Hoselitz held that Great Britain and the countries of Western Europe represented the autonomous—intrinsic type of development; the United States, Canada and Australia the autonomous expansionist type; the Soviet Union the induced-expansionist type; and Japan and possibly under development countries induced-intrinsic type. 'Internal colonization' 'Westward Movement', industrialization, agricultural development, etc., have followed different patterns. But induced-development in relatively dense settlement of many underdeveloped countries through democratic and voluntary methods can only be made possible with the aid of incentives. In agriculture the need is more urgent, because agriculture contracts too slowly and agriculturists are used to having a "decade of prosperity succeeded by a decade

of poverty." There is lack of opportunities both inside and outside agriculture. Then the problem is made intractable because the increasing pressure of population keeps the individual unit of cultivation small. Unless the unit of cultivation is enlarged and non-agricultural activity grows at a specially rapid pace, further growth of population (at 2 per cent per annum in case of our country) will worsen the situation. "The problem of these countries," says Prof. D. R. Gadgil, "is simultaneously to increase food supplies while finding other work for the rural surplus."

Co-operative farming accompanied by employment facilities in schemes of agricultural expansion like livestock and dairy farming as wholtime occupations, developmental activities like digging of wells, reclamation, soil conservation, layout of field channels, etc., and forest industries is the only way to solve the problem. We have to rely, therefore, on the conscious organisation and incentives for ordering of the forces and capacities of a society with the aim of economic progress.

Incentives are necessary to eradicate exploitation of the small peasants by the village money-lenders or *sahukars*. The exploitation during the marketing of agricultural products is too well-known. State purchases of foodgrains from few co-operatives will be easier than purchases from individual peasants. Lenin remarked, "As long as we live in a country where small peasants farming predominates, there is a firmer economic basis for capitalism. . . ." In China, too, the problem of emergence of capitalism in agriculture was sought to be solved by agrarian re-organisation through special privileges. To remove greater evil of exploitation and emergence of capitalism in agriculture, preferential treatment or discrimination (if at all, we call it) may be treated as lesser evil from the equity point of view. Besides this, co-operative farming by re-allocation of resources in agriculture and effective utilization of lands which now be idle wholly or partially because of inadequacy of owner's resources will secure optimal use of existing resources and reap maximum benefit. In the areas not served by irrigational canals, minor irrigation works can be taken only by co-operatives. These advantages merely point out the need of greater good

for greater number of persons through providing inducements or material interestedness.

The German proverb that the first has death, the second has misery and the third has bread is applicable to present-day Indian conditions. Co-operative farming may demand sacrifice from relatively better-off farmers and big peasants who have surplus funds to invest and who could have cultivated their farms more intensively. But it is better to make sacrifices voluntarily today rather than invite compelling power of the state in future to introduce collective farming.

Co-operative farming will also release surplus labour force to other occupations outside agriculture. This will certainly cause inconvenience to farming population which by nature is immobile. Here we should make note of Americans who "could have spent their lives rather comfortably in the familiar surroundings of friends and acquaintances of long standing, left their towns and villages and went into the new and inhospitable western regions, where they often lived in isolation and always had to face a hard struggle with nature." Our generation is meant for sacrifices. Many of us will not live to experience the prosperity, but our children and grand-children will certainly be benefited from our endurance.

Incentives gain potency and become powerful instruments of action for economic growth. Mr. Charles Bettelheim has held that the Chinese peasant was working for more than 300 days a year after establishment of co-operatives against 50-220 days labour put before. The increase in individual output of work can be possible only when the farmers are trained psychologically to welcome, accept and work the scheme and made sure to benefit fully, either immediately or later on, by the increase in production due to their labour. Let the incentives assure the farmers that by joining co-operative farming, increase in production will neither give rise to higher land rents nor to a price fall, because the state will be the sole purchaser at fixed prices, nor to higher taxes. The farmers will then regard co-operatives as their own and work for greater output for the country. The incentives will thus bless both who give and take.

## THE PART PLAYED BY THE PUBLIC IN STRENGTHENING SOVIET LAW

By L. GRIGORYAN,  
*Candidate of Juridical Sciences*

"THE chief trend in the development of the socialist state," N. S. Khrushchov said in his report at the 21st Congress of the CPSU, "is maximum promotion of democracy, drawing the broadest sections of the population into the management of all national affairs . . ." This applies fully also to such an important matter as safeguarding law and order.

### **The People Decide**

The Soviets, the biggest mass organisations made up of elected representatives of the working people, are the core of the Soviet machinery of State, and concentrated in their hands is the whole of the State power, including legislative. However, participation of the masses in legislation is not confined merely to the work of their elected representatives in the Soviets.

It is a long-standing tradition that the basic draft laws of the more important decisions of the Soviet State are first discussed by the people.

The laws on State pensions, the reorganisation of management of industry and construction, the reorganisation of the machine and tractor stations and reform of education were passed after millions of people had expressed their opinions on them and offered their proposals.

An equally thorough discussion preceded the passage last December by the Supreme Soviet of the USSR on the Principles of Criminal Law and the Principles of Criminal Procedure of the USSR and the Union Republics. The laws as passed differed substantially from the original drafts, for many of the amendments and other proposals by the population were incorporated in them.

A characteristic feature in the Soviet Union is that the people take an active part not only in the discussion of actions by the State; they also participate in debating the more important decisions of the Communist

Party of the Soviet Union before they are adopted.

The theses of Khrushchov's report for the 21st Congress of the CPSU were discussed more than two months. More than 968,000 meetings were held for the purpose at factories, offices, institutions and working people's organisations, and over 70-million people took part in the discussion. The result of this country-wide forum was millions of comments and suggestions, some of which were embodied in the Congress decisions and many more will be taken into account by the planning bodies in their work.

Laws and other decisions worked out with the broad participation of the population embody the people's will and interests, and this explains why most Soviet people deeply respect their country's laws. To respect the laws means to obey them strictly, to follow their injunctions, and therein lies the guarantee of the abiding principle of law, which demands that all members of society shall undeviatingly observe the rules of public conduct fixed by the State.

### **The People Participate**

The rise of public ownership, the elimination of exploitation of man by man, poverty and lack of culture of the millions, the abolition of unemployment and the sharp rise in the living standard of the people have led to the disappearance of the causes giving rise to crime; the sharp decline in crime in the Soviet Union is a consequence of it.

A graphic illustration of the triumph of Soviet democracy and important proof of the unity of convictions, aims and aspirations of the Soviet people is the fact that there are no political prisoners in the USSR today.

But cases of criminal, anti-social or immoral conduct still occur, and it is very important to detect crime or other violation of the law and to suppress it. It is, however, much more important to prevent the infringe-

ment of public order and standards embodied in laws, not to tolerate lawbreaking. For this reason the chief means used by the Soviet State to combat anti-social acts are persuasion and education. A wide network of cultural and educational establishments, a highly-developed system of public education, art, press, radio and television are all an important means for educating the people.

Persuasion, however, does not always achieve the purpose, and the Soviet Government also applies measures of coercion where necessary. And here too the State acts with the active participation of the public. The Soviet judicial system is made up of elected courts, and the system's main link is the People's Courts in towns and in the districts. They hear criminal and civil cases. The courts are made up of the People's Judge and two People's Assessors. The People's Judges are elected on the basis of universal, direct and equal suffrage by secret ballot by the citizens of respective districts, and the People's Assessors by meetings of public organizations. The People's Assessors enjoy equal rights with the judge, verdicts, judgements and decisions requiring a majority decision.

This system makes for control of the work of State bodies by the public, for seeing to it that the law is properly applied.

Law in the USSR implies not only strict observance of criminal laws and the rules of public order; it means also observance of the rights of the individual, the right to one's job, property and other rights secured by the Soviet Constitution.

An important guarantee of inviolability of the right of Soviet people is, among other things, that any labour conflict between workers and the management of their enterprise or office is always taken up with the participation of representatives of the trade union organisation. The heads of the enterprise or office may not dismiss a worker without the consent of the trade union thereto. Should that happen, the trade union will order the worker reinstated and that is binding on the management, and the only thing the latter can do is to take the matter to a People's Court. The trade union can demand the

removal of the head of a plant or office for failure to carry out obligations, and where there has been a violation of the law, in particular of the rights of the workers, such a demand has to be carried out indispensably.

### Aid of Public Influence Enlisted

So great is the force of the collective under the Soviet system and its influence over individuals that often it is more effective than coercion by the State.

This explains the wide use made of comrades' courts, formed at factories, offices, house management offices, collective farms, and so on.

It is a court of public opinion, and though the highest punishment it metes out is a public reprimand, such reprimand is more effective with some people than any penalty. It is not so very pleasant to face your work or office mates or your neighbours and hear their reproaches.

In recent years co-operation-with-the-militia groups have been formed in many towns in the USSR on the initiative of the young people. Young factory and office workers, secondary school and college students have seen to the maintenance of order in public places. Though unarmed they have successfully stopped acts of rowdiness and helped in arresting criminals and in combating hard drinking. Their noble work has yielded excellent results.

That is why the Central Committee of the CPSU and Council of Ministers of the USSR have in the decision on participation by the working people in maintaining public order adopted last March fully approved the young people's initiative and given public organisations the right to establish people's voluntary public order squads.

The squads assist State agencies in safeguarding public property and the life, health and property of individuals. The rise of the people's squads has led to a considerable reduction in the militia force. And when you see how enthusiastically the Soviet people have set out to combat anti-social acts you have no doubt whatever that they will fully succeed in the task.

## ON SOME JAINA IMAGES FROM BENGAL

By PROF. SHIB SANKAR SARKAR, M.A.

was in the 6th century B.C. that we notice in India the emergence of two religious movements led by the *Kshatriyas*. In the early ages of the *Vedic* society the *Brahmanas* showed their aptitude for leading the religious world. But gradually their integrity weakened, weakness arose and they laid emphasis more

truth. This made the weaknesses of the *Brahmanas* apparent and inspired the *Kshatriyas* to effect a religious revolution. The *Kshatriyas* were the ruling class. War, conquest, defence, administration, arbitration in social disputes, etc.,—these were their responsibilities. In spite of all these, they were placed in the second grade in the field of religion. In society there was no scope for the *Kshatriyas* to establish their supremacy by disregarding the claims of the *Brahmanas*. Hence, the new religious movements were headed by the *Kshatriyas*. As a result of these movements originated the two new religions—religions of the *Kshatriyas*—Buddhism and Jainism. Buddhism because of its antagonistic policy to Hinduism ultimately disappeared from the land. But Jainism with its assimilating character and not altogether intolerant towards Hindu religious speculations survived. Thus the religion of the Jains is still alive with its past glory and vigour.

Really speaking, our knowledge of the Jaina community and Jainism of ancient Bengal is very meagre inasmuch as the materials at our disposal are not quite considerable.

The Ashutosh Museum of the University of Calcutta has collected some images of the Jaina Tirthankaras from certain parts of Bengal and preserved those in its public gallery. An attempt is going to be made in a short compass to throw some light on four such finds made recently by the Ashutosh Museum.

The first of these is an image of Adinatha, the first of the 24 Tirthankaras. He is also known as *Rishabhadeva*. This has been collected by Sri Mrinal Kanti Paul, a Research Scholar of the Museum, from Mayta in the district of Midnapore on the Silavati river. The image made of black stone is seen standing in *Kayotsarga* posture between two attendants holding fly-whisks. On the head of the figure is the *Jata-mukuta* and at a level with it are shown garland-bearing *Vidyadhara* couples flying amidst the conventional representation of the



Stone miniature temple from Sat-Deulia, Burdwan (C. 10-11 century A.D.)

and more on the technicalities of different times and not on the eagerness to unveil the



## ON SOME JAINA IMAGES FROM BENGAL

clouds. There are standing figures of four Tirthankaras, two on either side of the main image. The pedestal shows his *Lanchhana* or symbol, a bull. At the top, the head of the main figure is covered with a *chhatra*. The sculpture has been assigned to C. 10th century A.D. by the Museum experts.

The remaining three are the collections of Sri Sailendranath Samanta, a former student of the University from Sat-Deulia, three miles away from the Masagram Railway Station of the Burdwan District. Two of them are the broken figures of Jaina Tirthankaras whose proper identification is not possible due to the absence of their *Lanchhanas*. Among them one is assumed to be of Parsvanatha, belonging to C. 8th to C. 9th century A.D. The assumption is made from the existence of a standing figure of Ajitanatha on the left and two more figures on the right, one of Adinatha and the other of Mahavira. The head of the main figure of the image is covered with a *chhatra*. Regarding the other one we are not definite as to whose image it is. The image contains side figures but they are not of Tirthankaras, a fact which prevents us from making its proper identification. This image probably belongs to C. 9th to C. 10th century A.D. Both the figures are made of sandstone found abundantly in Hazaribagh, Manbhum, Gaya and Chhotanagpur districts of Bihar.

The last one of these three collections the most important being a peculiar type stone miniature temple, the four sides of which are curved with standing figures of four Jaina Tirthankaras. They are the images of Chandraprabha, Rishabhadeva, Mahavira, and Parsvanatha. All of them are placed in *Kayotsarga* posture. This miniature temple was constructed, the experts suggest, in period between C. 10th and C. 11th century A.D. Some words are inscribed on it in pre-Bengali which have not yet been deciphered. The miniature temple bears a great similarity with the Rekha-deul type of temple architecture to be noticed in Orissa.

The discoveries of the image of Adinatha and the stone miniature temple from Masagram and Sat-Deulia, respectively, have undoubtedly created a sensation among the scholars and added new materials for the construction of the history of the Jaina Community in Bengal. Prof. Devaprasad Ghosh, the Curator of Ashutosh Museum, remarks: "The Jain sculptures found in Deulia and Mayta indicate that the Northern and Southern Radha regions of Greater Bengal were once a stronghold of Jainism." Systematic excavations are expected to bring newer materials to enrich our knowledge of Jainas in Bengal and place us on a more solid foundation regarding their hold and activities in Ancient Bengal.



## THE PRADO MUSEUM

By PROF. SUSNIGDHA DEY

The famous Prado Museum is the principal attraction of Madrid. Of course, the tourists often show more interest in the bull-fights than in the masterpieces of the art gallery. The same thing happens in Paris where the Eiffel Tower casts its long shadows on the Louvre. Prado is smaller than Louvre and its sculptural work pale into insignificance when compared to the Paris museum or the works of Michelangelo in Florence. But it is one of the most notable art galleries as far as painting is concerned. With the inclusion of some representative painters of the last two centuries, Prado could have become the world's most famous collection of paintings. It has a brilliant collection of the seventeenth century paintings.

The Spanish word "Prado" means meadow. The museum is situated next to a fashionable promenade and a monumental avenue adorned by the fountains of Apollo Neptune and Cybele. It covers an area of five hundred and thirty-five feet long and seventy feet broad and its three storeys contain a hundred rooms, not counting the restoration and photographic workshops, store-rooms and other offices.

### Its Architecture

The architecture of the Prado Museum merits a close study. It was planned in 1785. The architect was Juan de Villanueva, and it is a work of noble appearance in the Neo-classical style. It was a time when everyone was tired of the oddness, the whimsicality, and the exaggerated ornamental decoration of the later Baroque art, as "psychological volumes" had replaced the material exploitation and the vigorous movements of Michelangelo degenerated into mere fantasies of Churriguera. In Spain, the baroque had become an overgrown tumour. Juan de Villanueva and Ventura Rodriguez helped to restore the way to idealism—ideal proportions,

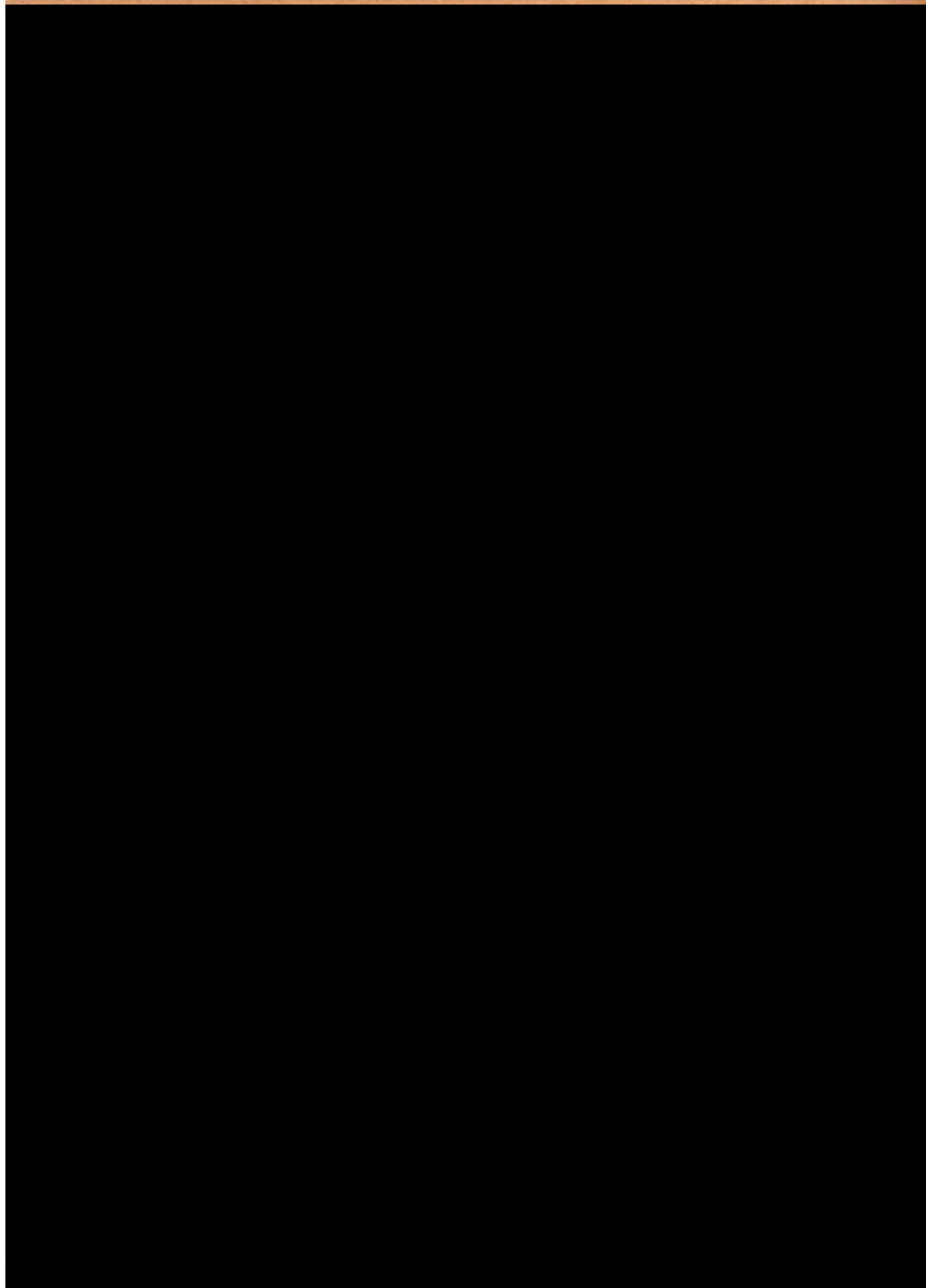
ideal harmony, in short, ideal beauty. They built some churches and some museums in Madrid and thus opened a new chapter in the history of architecture of Spain.

It is said that the bad monarch Fernando VII made one good act—he completed the Prado, which was first meant to house the Museum of Natural History. Villanueva, the architect who was entrusted with the work, was inspired by "El Escorial," the majestic monastery of Phillip II about thirty miles away from Madrid and one of the eight wonders of the world. But the Neo-classic architect was less severe, less rigid and less fond of a grand scale than the Renaissance master, Herrera.

### The Columns

Prado presents a pleasant perspective. The central entrance—the main door—has the classic doric columns, six in number, rising from the ground in a graceful severity to dominate the building. The Corinthian columns adorn the southern side and yet another type of columns is there in the northern approach. The effect is of sobriety and variety. On entering from the northern side, we come across a round hall with columns, in the centre of which is a bronze statue of the Emperor Charles V, triumphing over all opposition. The dress, which is of the same metal, can be taken off the muscular Hercules-like body. In the "Rotunda," there are some paintings relating to the Thirty Years' War (1618-48), which have some historical importance but artistically do not contain much intrinsic worth.

The tiled roof and the alternate use of stone and brick in the construction remind us of the influence of Arabic art. The skylights are genuine innovations to solve the problem of light and create the sense of space.



his life, and where the finest of his paintings can be seen today. He came to Toledo contribution. It is very pleasant with the little white lamb looking at the divine



he supreme interpreter of Spain, he rendered in painting all that he found as the national characteristics, great or small, magnificent or miserable of the eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries. He was commissioned to paint cartoons for tapestries but he rebelled against the restraint imposed by the cartoons. Later, he painted portraits and scenes of contemporary life with a brilliant and sometimes cynical realism. His sketches show his dynamic personality in an extraordinary way. There are some sketches of the bull-fights.

"The Family of Charles IV" is a sincere interpretation of the Spanish Royal family in which the Queen appears as proud and ugly, as in reality she was. A terrible realism almost sarcastic is pronounced in the picture. The colours are juxtaposed in a violent manner, similar to that of impressionism. The consistent psychology of the Bourbons painted here is only comparable to the intelligent distribution of the figures and everything is subordinated to the value of the colours, to the silver gray and to the intense red of the trousers of the Infant, Don Francisco. It was more than that; it was the last note of tranquillity before the War of Spanish Independence tore the country and the mind of the painter. His next important painting was that of the tragic events of

the 2nd. of May, which led to the merciless execution of some rebellious Spaniards by the soldiers of Napoleon. The rendering is dramatic. In the centre of the canvas one of the condemned is raising both his hands with a queer gesture of fright and heroism. Pictorially, it has elements of impressionism but the anguish has come through expressionism.

### The Naked "Maja"

Apart from the popularity of the two Majas—the nude and the dressed—they do not register a progressive scale in the art of Goya. The "Beauty Clothed" is a person of tapestry reclining gracefully; the "Nude Beauty" is the symbol of the artist's total aversion to everything academic. It is alleged that the Duchess of Alba served as a model of the nude, but it is unlikely because at the time when it was painted, the Duchess was 40 years old whereas the nude figure is that of a very young woman. Although Goya made some of her portraits, yet the Duchess never fell in love with Goya. On the other hand, the widow of Alba ignored the advances made by him. Hence, the recent American film, "The Naked Maja" is a monstrosity.

The Prado Museum does not offer very much after Goya. But what it has, is a real treasure of art.





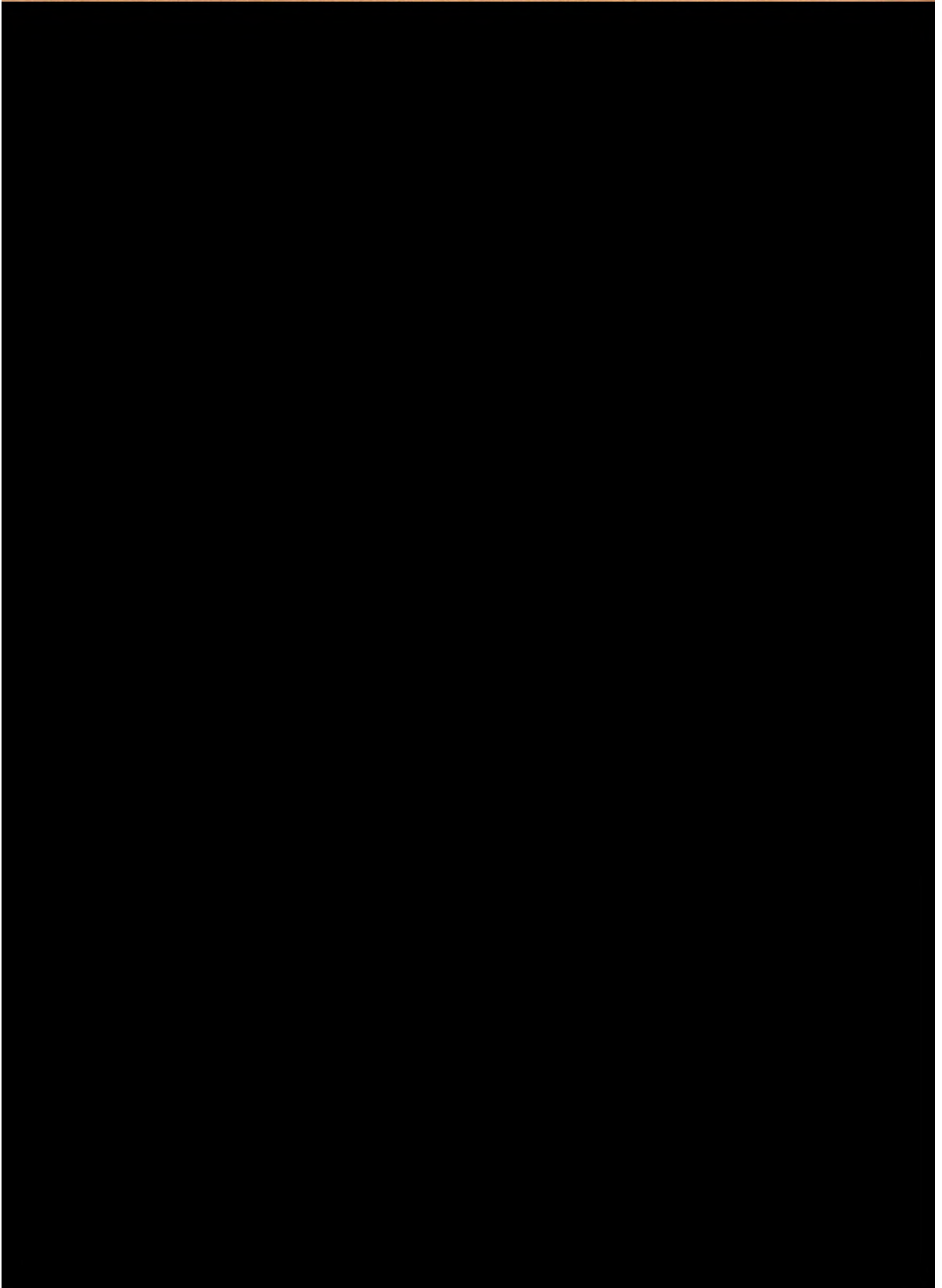
## GIGANTIC EFFORT IN BHILAI STEEL PROJECT

By AMMU KRISHNASWAMY

'SEVENTEEN months ago' said Chief Engineer Dhani, 'we started to build at this spot; next month we shall fire our first blast furnace.' What this means in terms of efforts, planning, men and materials can be understood only when one sees for miles around cranes, pumps, rail-roads, chimney, funnels, spectral roofings edging the horizon and caterpillars, trucks, jeeps all moving in feverish haste oblivious of everything other than their own mission. You came by that road, yet when you return you find that trenches have been dug right through and

Union? First of all the entire blue print of the scheme, drawings (about 65,000) of working parts, etc. Then there is the supply of the main plant and equipment, technical supervision of the construction, and erection of the plant; assistance in training Indian personnel in the USSR, which is also guaranteeing the performance of the plant and the machinery supplied.

In Rourkela and Durgapur which are being constructed with assistance from Ger-





engineers is twenty-five. It is these young men who are constructing Bhilai. Every piece of work is a dedication in their opinion. That is why they want a kind of prayer or ceremony but we've no time for it.'

Yet Bhilai is not without its ceremonies. A small function was the starting of the coke

face. This is free India and only your own coin will bring you luck.'

Opposites meet in Bhilai. There are people with energy, drive and vision, and there are 'dumb driven cattle.' There are the educated and the country bumpkins. But as the evening falls and myriads of lights go up

scientist of the University of Hawaii, has estimated that during the ensuing century approximately 180,000 Japanese, more than 125,000 Filipinos, 46,000 Chinese, 17,500 Portuguese, 8,000 Koreans, 6,000 Puerto Ricans, 8,000 Spaniards, 1,300 Germans, 2,500 from other Pacific Islands and 2,000 Russians migrated to Hawaii as laborers.

The Chinese were the dominant source of labor supply during the last half of the 19th century, the largest groups arriving between 1876 and 1885 and be-

and children, that followed in 1946, relieved the plantation labor shortage created by World War II.

In the early years of immigration, differences in language, food habits, dress and religion were readily apparent among the newcomers. Groups were known by their own cultural or national origins as

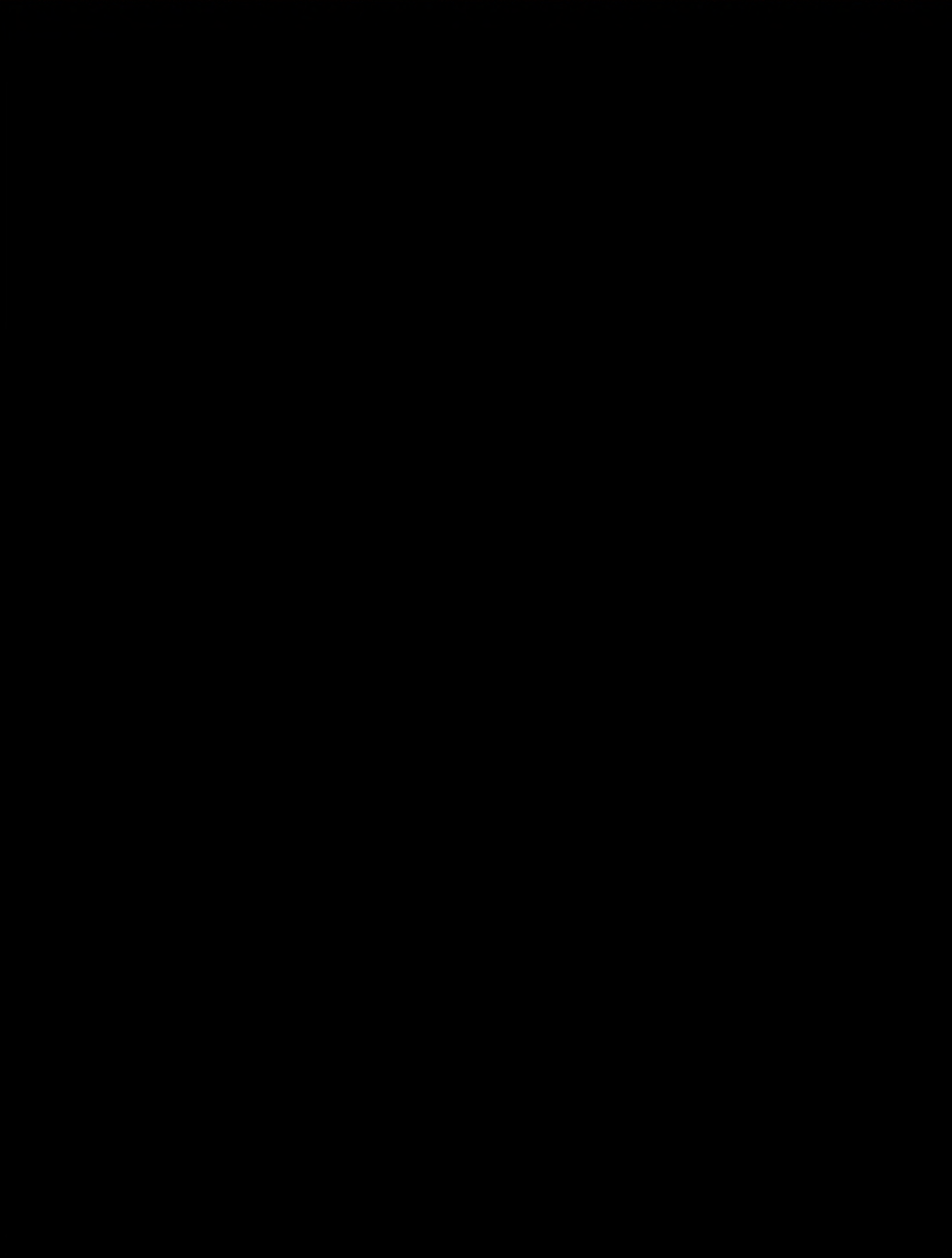


mic status in the cities through hard work and thrift, their children urged them to adopt American standards of living. Many moved to better residential areas, either with other members of their own ethnic group or into a cosmopolitan section.

Children born in Hawaii automatically become American citizens and are educated in the non-segregated public schools and at the University of Hawaii.

Hawaii's claim to distinction as a laboratory of race relations has been based partly on the apparent ease with which peoples of sharply contrasted backgrounds have crossed racial lines in marriage. Accurate statistics for most of the period since 1912 give a clear account of the slow but steady process by which many races are discarding their separate identities to unify as one race.

of European and American descent compose between 20 and 25 per cent of the population. Herbert K. Lee, also of Chinese extraction, is president of the Territorial Senate.



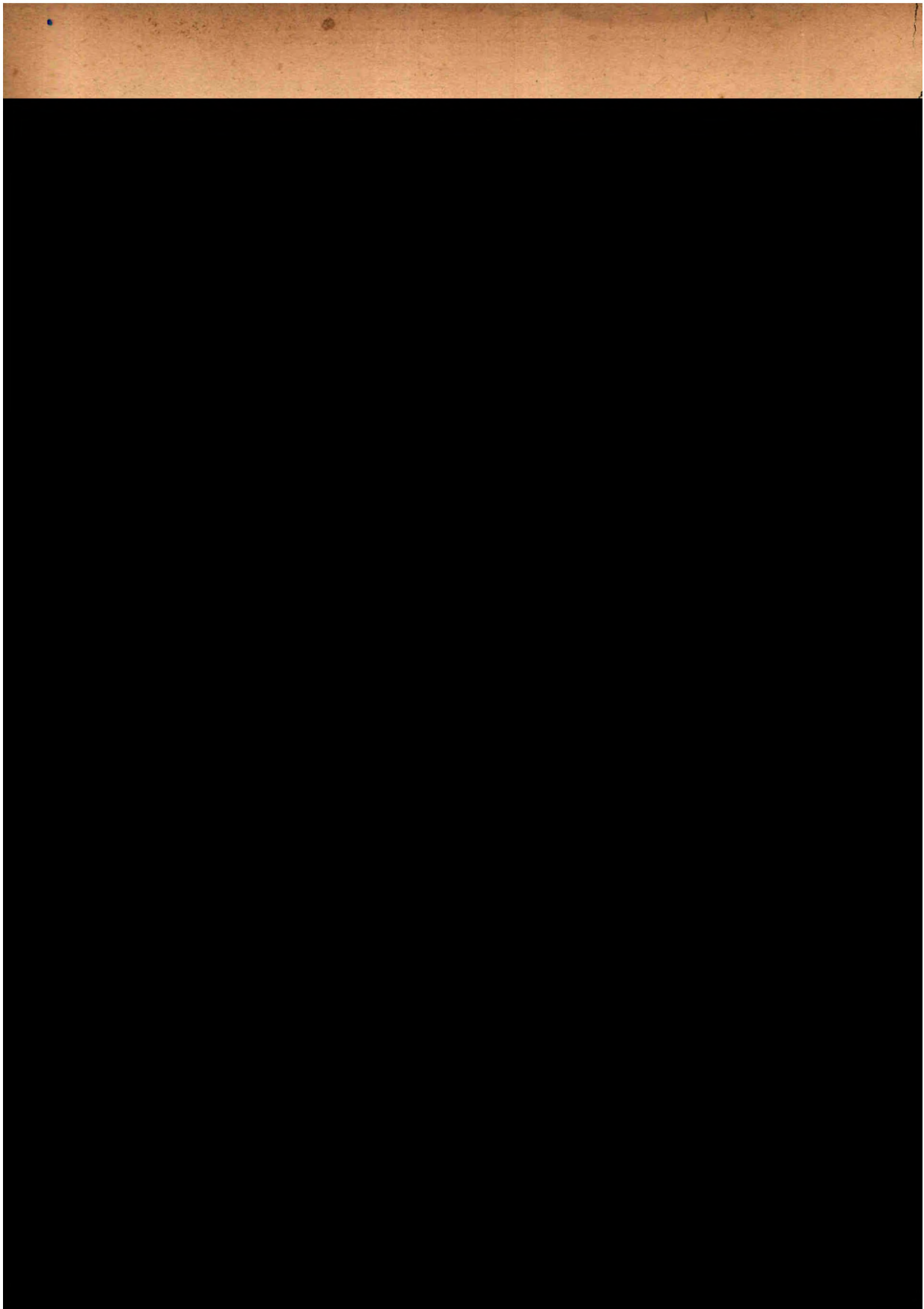


## PERIOD OF CONSOLIDATION

There was no great corresponding increase in the enrolment. Between 1925 and 1935 the enrolment remained fairly steady at about 50,000. This enabled the quality of the Primary Schools to rise very much; the original Govern-

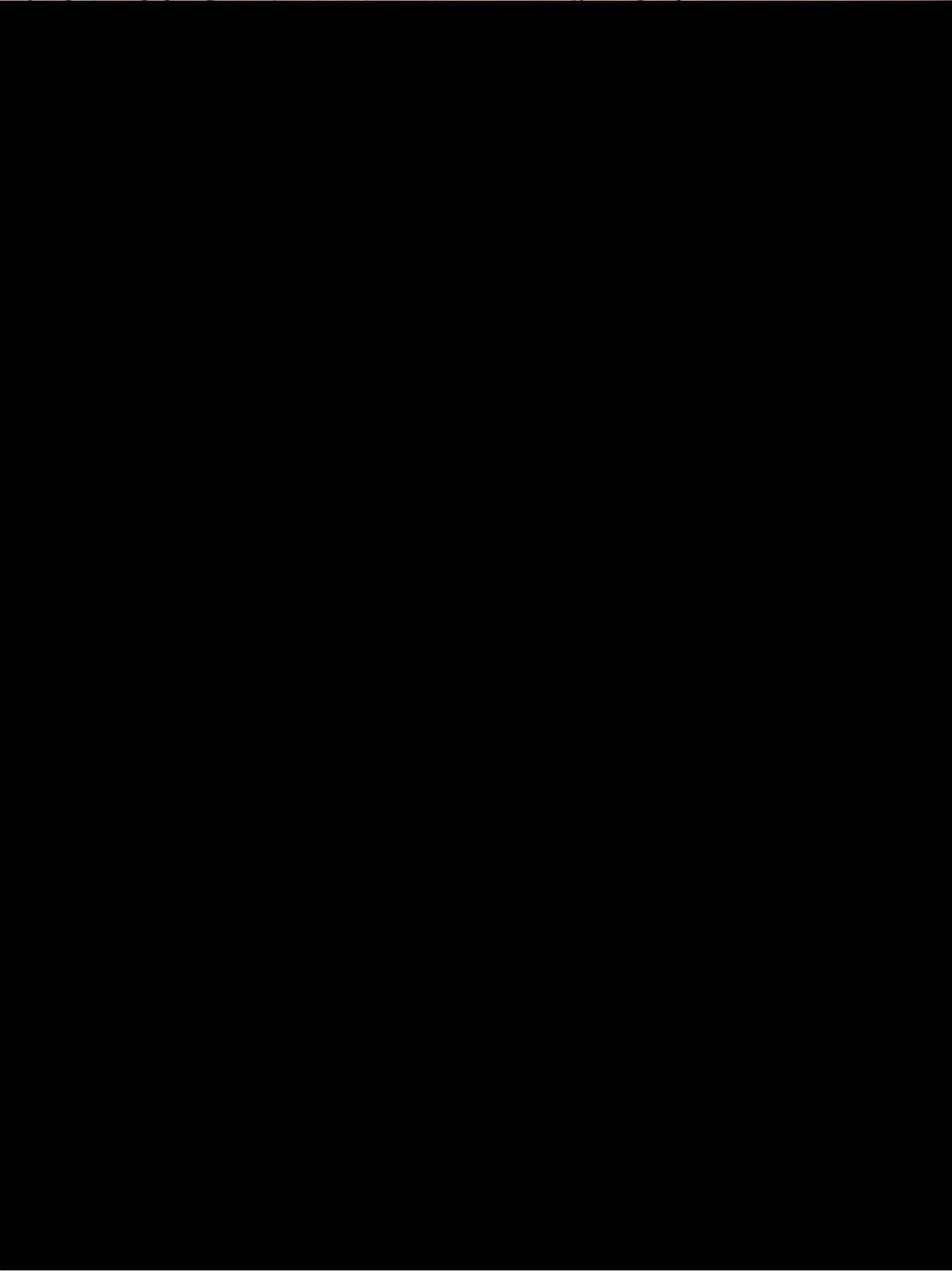
training colleges and a large scheme of emergency in-service training. School attendance rose from over 300,000 in 1951 to over 500,000 in 1955.

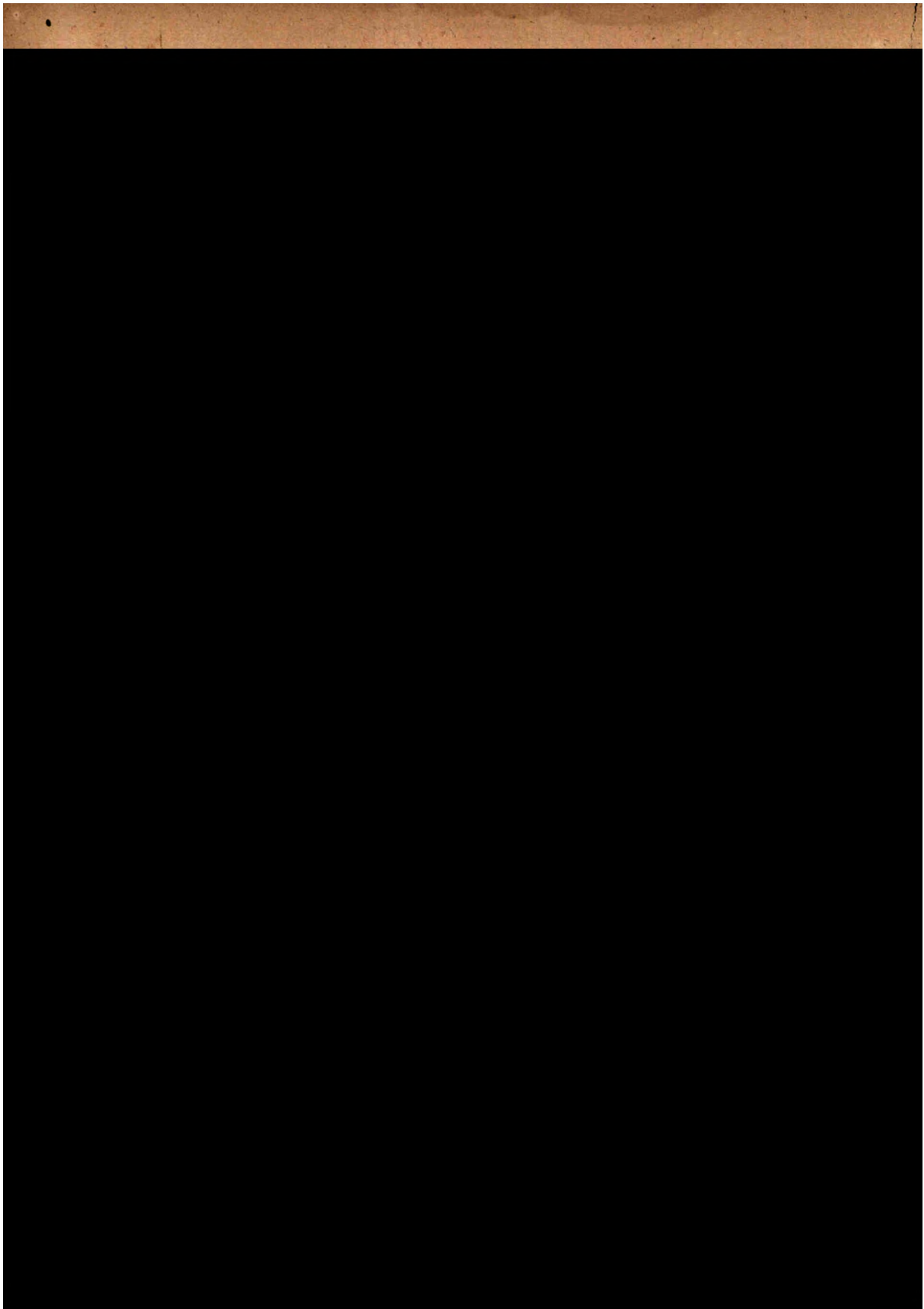
In 1948 the University College of the Gold Coast was opened, and three years later a sister institution, the Kumasi College of Technology





Mango squash is an excellent beverage and started 400 years ago, has helped in the





ness pervaded the ranks of loyal and earnest Muslims. Tithes and free-will offerings poured in from every quarter, while the leading companions vied with one another in the costliness of their gifts. The contribution of Othman surpassed all others, and amounted to a thousand golden pieces. From these sources carriage and supplies were provided for the poorer soldiers; but they did not suffice for all who longed to share in the merit, haply also in the spoils of the campaign. A party for whom, after every effort, Mohammed could make no provision, retired in tears, and their names are embalmed in tradition, under the title of *The Weepers*."—Muir: *Life of 'Mohammad'*, p. 440.

The number of men left behind, i.e., those who could not be properly equipped, were however very small. According to Al-Beidwai they were seven men of the Ansars, who came to Mohammad and begged he would give them some patched boots and soled shoes, it being impossible for them to march so far on bare-foot in hot season; but he told them he could not supply them; whereupon they went away weeping. It may be observed that the numbers *seven*, *seventy* and *seven hundred* are frequently used by oriental writers to signify not so many precisely, but only an indefinite number, either greater or less.

"The army was probably the largest force ever before put in motion in Arabia. Its numbers are given, though probably with some exaggeration, at 30,000, of whom no less than 10,000 were cavalry."—Muir: *Life of Mohammad*, p. 441.

Almost the entire Arabian Peninsula submitted to Mohammad by the end of A.H. 9 and the beginning of A.H. 10. But there were revolts against him and Islam even before the Prophet's death. There were also pockets of Christians, as at Nejran and at Ayla, and some tribes of Christians, e.g., the Beni Taghlib. There were also the Jews in isolated groups in different parts of Arabia.

In the latter days of Mohammad, and after his death, considerable numbers of the Arabs quitted his religion, and returned to Paganism, Judaism, or Christianity. Al-Beidwai reckons them up in the following order:

(1) Three companies of Banu Modlaj,

seduced by Al Aswad al Ansi, who set up for a prophet in Yemen, and grew very powerful there.

(2) Beni Honeifa who followed the famous false prophet Moseilama.

(3) Beni Asad who acknowledged Folciha Ibn Khowailed, another pretender to revelation for their prophet. All these fell off in Muhammad's life-time. The following, except the last, apostatized in the caliphate of Abu Beker.

(4) Certain of the tribe of Fezarah, headed by Oyeyma ibn Hosein.

(5) Some of the tribe of Ghatfan, whose leader was Korrah ibn Salma.

(6) Beni Soleim who followed Al Fajjah ibn Abd Yall.

(7) Beni Yarbu whose captain was Melce ibn Noweirah ibn Kais.

(8) Part of the tribe of Tamim, the proselytes of Sajaj, the daughter of Al Mondhar, who gave herself out as a prophetess.

(9) The tribe of Kendah led by Al Ashath ibn Kais.

(10) Banu Beer ibn al Wayel, in the province of Bahrein, headed by Al Hotam ibn Zeid.

And (11) Some of the tribe of Ghassan, who with their Prince Jabalah ibn al Ayham, renounced Islam in the time of Omar, and returned to their former profession of Christianity.

By the beginning of 11 A.H. the greater part of Arabia acknowledged Muhammad's authority. "The loose autonomy of the Arab tribes made it easy for Mohammed to assert his suzerainty without interfering in their internal affairs. In the more distant provinces, also, the prerogative was vague, and as yet put to no sufficient test. Still, there was, almost everywhere, the outward form of submission to all that had been demanded."—Muir: *Life of Mohammad*, p. 476.

"But a new cause of danger began suddenly to darken the horizon. Three claimants of the prophetic office arose, in different quarters of Arabia, to dispute with Mohammad the supreme authority."—*Ibid.* 476.

These three were: (1) Toleiha of Nejd; (2) Al-Aswad of Yemen; and (3) Moseilama

of Al-Yamama. They have been mentioned above in paragraph 9.

The least important of the three impostors was Toleiha, Chief of the Beni Asad, and a warrior of note and influence in Nejd. The Beni Asad, a powerful tribe, ranged over an extensive territory in the central desert. In 625 A.D. they tried to raid Medina.

The Prophet sought by aid of faithful convert in the tribe to crush the pretender. Subsequent to his death he broke out into open rebellion, and was defeated, after a severe engagement, by Khalid. On Omar's summoning the conquered tribe to join his standard, Toleira submitted, and afterwards with them fought bravely on the side of Islam.

Al-Aswad, the veiled prophet, of the Yemen was originally an idolator, then a convert to Islamism from which he apostatised to set up for a prophet, and establish a religion of his own. His schemes, for a time, were crowned with great success, which shows how unsettled the Arabs were in those days in matters of religion, and how ready to adopt any new faith. "Advancing on Nejrān, which rose in his favour, he suddenly fell upon Sana, where, having killed *Shehr*, the son of Badhan, he put his army to flight, married his widow, and established himself in undisputed authority. The insurrection, fanned by this sudden success, spread like wildfire, and the greater part of the Peninsula lying between the provinces of Al-Bahrein, Al-Taif, and the coast, was soon subject to the Usurper."—Muir, p. 479

Al-Aswad was murdered. His career of power began, and was terminated within the space of four months. The people, easy of faith, resumed Islamism with as much facility as they had abandoned it. "The insurrection ceased; and peace would immediately have been restored had not the tidings that the prophet had passed away again thrown the province into confusion." After much campaigning peace was restored in the Caliphate of Abu Beker.

Mosleima, the other imposter, was an Arab of the tribe of Honeifa, and ruled over the city and province of Yamama, situated between the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf. In 9 A.H. he had come to Mecca at the head of

his tribe, and had made profession of faith between the hands of Mahomet; but, on returning to his own country, had proclaimed that God had given him likewise with prophecy, and appointed him to aid Mahomet in converting the human race. To this effect he likewise wrote a Koran; which he gave forth as a volume of inspired truth.

Being a man of influence and address, he soon made hosts of converts among his credulous countrymen. Rendered confident by success, he wrote to Mahomet: "Let us make a partition of the world, and let half be thine and half be mine."

Mahomet died soon afterwards; and he was unpunished. In 11 A.H. he was punished during the Caliphate of Abu Beker by Khaled. In the meantime he had greatly increased the number of his proselytes and adherents. Khaled attacked him with 4,500 men and at the battle of Akreba 1,200 Muslims were killed; but Mosleima was overthrown and killed, and ten thousand of his soldiers cut to pieces.

Besides the above three imposters, there were rebellions against Abu Beker elsewhere. "Many of the Arabian tribes had been converted by the sword, and it needed the combined terrors of a conqueror and a prophet to maintain them in allegiance to the faith. On the death of Mahomet, they spurned the authority of his successor, and refused to pay the *Zacat*, or religious contributions of tribute, tithes and alms. The signal of revolt flew from tribe to tribe until the Islam Empire suddenly shrunk to the cities of Meccā, Medina and Tayef."—Irving: *Successors of Mahomet*, p. 6.

The rebels under the leadership of Malec Ibn Nowirah advanced upon Medina itself. Khaled overcame them in a pitched battle, and killed 4,000 of them. "He overran their country, giving his soldiery permission to seize upon the flocks and herds of the vanquished, and make slaves of their children"—(*Ibid*, p. 6).

Malec was captured and killed.

As stated before, other tribes also rebelled; and were subdued. The territories occupied by these tribes spread all over the Central and Southern Arabia. How lightly the faith of Islam bound the Bedouin tribesmen

of the seventh century may be gathered from the following short extract from Sir Richard Burton's *Pilgrimage to al-Madinah and Mecca*, Vol. II, p. 109:

"Mohammed and his followers conquered only the more civilised Badawain; and there is even to this day little or no religion amongst the wild people, except those on the coast or in the vicinity of cities. The faith of the Badawai come from Al-Islam, whose hold is weak. But his customs and institutions, the growth of his climate, his nature, and his wants, are still those of his ancestors, cherished ere Mecca had sent forth a Prophet, and likely to survive . . . . Of this nature are the Hijazi's pagan oaths, his heathenish names (few being Moslem except 'Mohammed'), his ordeal of licking red-hot iron, his salkh, or scarification,—proof of manliness,—his blood revenge, and his eating carrion (*i.e.*, the body of an animal killed without the usual formula), and his lending his wives to strangers. All these I hold to be remnants of some old creed; nor should I despair of finding among the Badwin bordering upon the Great Desert some lingering system of idolatry."

Sir Richard's book was first published in 1855. Twelve centuries of Islam have affected the desert Bedouin very little. It was not zeal for religion, but love of spoils of war which was the main motive for joining the army of Abu Beker.

Tribesmen, who had rebelled so seriously and who fought with the forces of the Caliph so seriously, and as a consequence had been punished so severely—more than 14,000 of their fighting strength being killed and slaughtered, and their wives and children enslaved, are not likely to furnish any volunteer contingents to the army of the Caliph, more especially as Islam was sitting lightly upon them. Further their fighting strength was greatly exhausted by recent fighting and consequent slaughter.

On the other hand there was great zeal among the followers of Islam, enhanced by the love of booty. They have not as yet tasted of the rich booties of the Byzantine Empire and Persia. But they had sufficient foretaste of booties in the several warfare with tribesmen and others.

The present (1950) distribution of population in the several parts of Arabia, according to the United Nations Demographic Year Book 1952 is as follows:

|                          | Population<br>in 000's | Percentage of<br>the total | Density per<br>sq. kilometre |
|--------------------------|------------------------|----------------------------|------------------------------|
| Bahrain*                 | 110                    | 0.9                        | 183                          |
| Kuwait                   | 170                    | 1.4                        | 8                            |
| Muscat & Oman            | 550                    | 4.5                        | 3                            |
| Qatar                    | 17                     | 0.15                       | 1                            |
| Saudi Arabia             | 6,000                  | 49.3                       | 3                            |
| Trucial Oman             | 76                     | 0.6                        | 5                            |
| Yemen                    | 4,500                  | 37.0                       | 23                           |
| Aden*                    | 700                    | 0.8                        | ..                           |
| Aden (Protec-<br>torate) | 650                    | 5.3                        | 2                            |
| Total                    | 12,173                 | 100.0                      |                              |

The area of the Hejaz is generally estimated at 288,000 sq. kilometer; and the population one-fourth of Saudi Arabia. Its density per sq. kilometer works out to a little over 5. The density of the rest of Saudi Arabia, Nejd, is, therefore, 2.4 per sq. kilometer.

Saudi Arabia includes both the Hejaz and the Province of Nejd. The cities of Macca and Medina and the ports of Jedda and Yambu are included in the Hejaz. The proportionate distribution of population between the Hejaz and Nejd is generally taken as 1:3.

Burckhardt and other European travellers have noticed the same nomadic tribes to inhabit the same regions as at the time of Muhammad. In their habits and customs the Arabs are almost changeless.

We may therefore assume that at the death of Muhammad the proportion of population in the different parts of Arabia was much the same as at present, except that Yemen with its agricultural resources and agricultural civilisation, and Aden under British protection have progressed faster.

\* The population of Aden and Bahrain are only censured; the rest are mere estimates.

The main areas from which the volunteer army of Abu Beker were recruited seems to be Hejaj and parts of Yemen. The population of Hejaj is 12.4 per cent; and we assess the contribution of Yemen to be one-third the population, i.e., another 12.3 per cent.

Al-Aswad's rebellion was a mere flare up and did not extend over the whole of Yemen. There were many loyal areas in Yemen. But the Yemenis, being agriculturists and engaged in coastal trade, are not likely to furnish the same proportion of contingents as the nomads. Hence we assess its contribution at one-third of the population.

The population outside Yemen and the Hejaj is about half the total population of Arabia. Many tribes in these regions rebelled. At the same time there was zeal for Islam; and love of loot. We assess therefore, that 10 per cent. of the population contributed to the army. Ten per cent of half = 5 per cent of the total.

Thus the total works out to some 30 per cent of the total.

In our estimate of the above percentage, our assessment of the several factors, rather empirical, has entered in each step; as such our estimate is likely to be vitiated by personal equation.

Let us suppose that the zeal for joining Abu Beker's army varies inversely with the square of distance from the centres of Islam.

Mecca and Medina and Taif are all within the Hajaj. The zeal for joining the army in the Hejaj is taken as unity. Medina is some 250 miles distant from Mecca. Yemen is a little over 500 and less than 650 miles from Mecca. Nejd and the rest of Arabia is more than 600 miles from Mecca.

Yemen's population including Aden and its protectorate is some 40 per cent. The rest of Arabia outside Hejaj and Yemen is some 48 per cent.

The zeal for joining the army is thus estimated to be

$$\frac{12.5}{1^2} + \frac{40}{2^2} + \frac{48}{(2.5)^2} = 12.5 + 10 + 7.7 = 30.2 \text{ per cent.}$$

Here also our choice of unit, the distance between Mecca and Medina, is partly arbitrary. And our assumption that zeal is inversely proportional to the square of distance from the centres of Islamic influence, however logical in a biological or social sense, may not be true at all where our subjective mind enters into the calculation as a main factor.

It is better however than our previous assessment of the several factors in estimating the percentage of effective population from which the army of Abu Beker was drawn.

In another way we come to a similar estimate of about 30 per cent; 32 per cent to be precise.

The distance between Mecca and Medina is some 250 miles. Medina is some 100 miles from the Red Sea. With Medina, the head-quarters of the Caliphate, as centre, let us describe circles with radiuses of 250, 500 and 750 miles. They would be more or less semi-circles with the Red Sea as their diameter.

- (1) The area of the first region would be  $\frac{1}{2} \cdot \pi \cdot (250)^2$  sq. miles = some 147,000 sq. miles.
- (2) The area of the second region or strip would be some 250,000 sq. miles.
- (3) The area of the third region would be somewhat less than the calculated area as a part of the circumference extends beyond the peninsular area. We deduct 10 per cent for such area beyond the peninsula.

The area of the third region is some 442,000 sq. miles.

- (4) The area of the fourth region, which extends beyond the 750 circle, is obtained by deducting the sum of the above three regions from Arabia's total of 10,80,000 sq. miles. It is some 2,41,000 sq. miles.

The population of these four regions are estimated from the areas and respec-

tive densities of the areas included in these zones. They approximately are :

|            |    |          |
|------------|----|----------|
| 1st region | .. | 17 lakhs |
| 2nd "      | .. | 28 "     |
| 3rd "      | .. | 40 "     |
| 4th "      | .. | 36 "     |
|            |    | <hr/>    |
|            |    | 121 "    |

Assuming that the force of Abu Beker's appeal, the zeal and opportunity of joining the army varies inversely as the square of the distance from Medina, the percentage works out thus :

$$\left( 17 + \frac{28}{(1.5)^2} + \frac{40}{(2.5)^2} + \frac{36}{(3.5)^2} \right) 122 = 32.0$$

Ordinarily one-sixth of the population is considered to be of the fighting age. Sundbarg has shown that in all communities, the proportion of those who are between the ages of 15 and 50 is exactly one-half of the total population. Leaving aside the females, the number of males between the ages of 15 and 50 is thus one-fourth of the total population. Mere boys, and old and weak men, those who are maimed and diseased are not considered to be fit for fighting. Hence one-sixth of the total population, or one-third of the total males are considered to be the fighting strength of the tribe or the nation.

The army assembled for the invasion of Syria and Irak consisted of volunteers. The proportion of volunteers could not have exceeded one-half of the fighting strength in spite of their zeal for Islam. For we find constant draughts of men supplied for those killed in the warfare in Syria and Irak for the next 10 or 12 years. "The sieges and battles of six-campaigns (in Syria) had consumed many thousands of the Moslems." "The year of their triumph was marked by a mortality of men and cattle; and twenty-five thousand Saracens were snatched away from the possession of Syria."—*Historians' History of the World*. Vol. VIII, p. 158.

The number of Moslems were reinforced from 12,000 to 30,000 at the battle of Kadesiya 636 A.D. (Cf. *Ibid.*, p. 153). At the same

time it could not have been very much less than one-third; for almost every tribe, every sheikh were represented in the invasion. And poverty among the nomadic Arabs was great, which prompted them in joining the army.

As we cannot choose between the two; and as the proportion lies between the two extremes, we shall not be far wrong if we take half the mean of  $\frac{1}{2}$  and  $\frac{1}{3}$ , i.e.,  $\frac{5}{12}$  as the proportion of the fighting men who volunteered for service in Syria.

Pareto Law of Distribution of incomes has been found to hold good for all countries and all ages where proper data are available. It may, therefore, be expected to hold good in the case of the Arabs of the seventh century.

His law is  $Y = NX^{-4}$  where X is the income, Y = the number of persons having income X and above; and N and 4 are two constants.

It has been found that in earlier societies and primitive communities, the distribution of incomes is more equitable and equal. The disparity in incomes is much less than in modern industrialised civilisations. This is the experience all over the world. The value of 4 is generally about 1.67 in all countries where the distribution of wealth or income is more general. We take 4 for the Arabs of the seventh century to be 1.67.

All adult males especially those of fighting age are likely to earn sufficiently to maintain himself. But he may not be able to maintain wife. Mulhall in his *Dictionary of Statistics* says that the economic value of a woman is generally taken as *two-thirds* that of a man. But the consumption of an adult male and a female are equal.

A man must, therefore, earn  $\frac{1}{13}$  times the unit of production, before he can think of marrying.

1 man produces 1 unit, consumes 1 unit  
1 woman "  $\frac{2}{3}$  unit, " 1 "

A little calculation will show that for every 1,000 adult males who can earn sufficiently to maintain himself, the number of males who can besides himself maintain a wife (taking her contribution into account) i.e., who earns  $1\frac{1}{3}$  units is 619.

The number of men who cannot hope to marry is thus  $1000 - 619 = 381$  per 1000. Such men have no hearths and homes; and they are



all other things being equal most likely to join an army, where there is every possibility of booty including women.

The proportion of such men is 38.1 per cent. To this percentage we must add the number of tribal chiefs and sheikhs who joined the army for glory and other considerations.

And this percentage is not much different from 5/12 or 41.7 per cent.

We may, therefore, say that 40 per cent. of those who are of the fighting age volunteered for the army of invasion.

The population of Arabia is thus estimated:

If  $\frac{40}{100} \times \frac{1}{3}$ th of Population furnished 51,000 volunteers,

then the population which furnished such

The total population of Arabia is then volunteers is 7,65,000.

$\frac{100}{30} \times 7,65,000 = 25,50,000.$

There is likely to be an error in our estimate of 30 per cent. of the population only contributing to the volunteer army. If we are in error of 10 per cent. the estimated denomination may vary from 27 to 33 per cent; and the population consequently from 23,18,000 to 28,53,000.

The density of population in Arabia is small, being 12 persons per square mile. Ordinarily urban or metropolitan population grows at a rate faster than that of the country. But where the people are mainly nomadic, and the Government is principally tribal sheikhdoms under the authority of a bigger sheikhdom or kingdom, and life is governed by tradition and customs; and where the population is scattered and thin, growth of towns is likely to be proportional to the growth of population.

Mecca has been the centre of religion even in pagan Arabia. Since the establishment of Islam it has been the one focus of its religious life. The population of Mecca at the time of Muhammad has been thus estimated:

"By the seventh century A.D. the foremost of these towns Mecca and Medina had attained a certain prosperity and a population

of about fifteen or twenty thousand each Mecca being slightly the larger of the two"—Atiyah: *The Arabs*, p. 21.

It is between 15 to 20 thousand. We estimate it at  $15,000 + \frac{2}{3}$  of (20—15 thousand or 18.3 thousand.

Mecca's present population is about 85,000. Assuming its growth to be simply proportional to the growth of population in Arabia, as is the case in the Punjab between 1881 and 1931 the population of Arabia at the time of Muhammad would be—

$$\frac{18.3}{85} \times 12,17,00,000 = 26,20,000.$$

By March 630 A.D. when Muhammad started from Medina for the Farewell Pilgrimage to Mecca all Arabia had submitted to him. He was followed by some 114,000 pilgrims; and he took 100 camel for sacrifice at Mina. He addressed all those who had come for Pilgrimage to Mecca at Mount Arafat in the celebrated 'Parting Exhortations.'

The number assembled on this occasion is popularly believed to be 600,000.

"The Arabs have a superstition that the numbers at Arafat cannot be counted and that if fewer than 600,000 mortal stand upon the hill to hear the sermon the angels descend and complete the number. It may be observed that when the good old Bertrand de la Broquiere esquire-carver to Philip of Burgundy declares that the yearly caravan from Damascus to Al-Madinah must always be composed of 700,000 persons and that this number being incomplete, Allah sends some of his angels to make it up, he probably confounds the caravan with the Arafat multitude."—Sir Richard Burton *Pilgrimage to Al-Madinah and Macah*, Vol II, p. 188).

Everything Muhammad did on that occasion is followed with meticulous care to this day. The crowd that assembled on that day is fondly believed to assemble with the same strength at Mount Arafat to hear the parting sermon. Any defect in human numbers is being made up by the

angels—this is the origin of the superstition. How much truth there is in the belief that the number assembled was 600,000 it is impossible to assess.

The Arab population, there are good reasons to suppose, belonged to the Progressive category of Sundbargh. Their age-distribution was :

|             |    |    |    |     |
|-------------|----|----|----|-----|
| 0-15        | .. | .. | .. | 400 |
| 15-50       | .. | .. | .. | 500 |
| 50 and over | .. | .. | .. | 100 |

All those who could, all able-bodied males came to the Farewell Pilgrimage. But some must have been left at home to look after the womenfolk and children, and to tend cattle and for protection. We shall, therefore, be not very wrong if we suppose that at least three-fourths of the adult males came to Arafat on this occasion.

The population of Arabia will then be about

$$6,00,000 \times \frac{2,000}{(500 + 100)} \times \frac{4}{3} = 26,66,000.$$

Without speculating whether the Arab population was of Progressive, Stationary or Regressive type, as the number of those aged 15-50 is always half the population, if we suppose that all adults between 15-50 came to the Pilgrimage, and those over 50 were left at home, the population would be 2,400,000.

Considering all the evidence and all the factors which enter into our calculations, we are of opinion that the population of Arabia at the time of Muhammad exceeded 26 lakhs. But it cannot have exceeded 3 million limit.

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## THE LINGUISTIC PROBLEM AND THE RUSSIAN EXAMPLE

By S. S. CHAKRABARTY, M.A.

Of all the countries of the world it is perhaps the Soviet Union which resembles India most, excepting probably China. Her vast territories, diverse geographical conditions, varieties of races, religions, cultures and languages all remind one of India and her diversities.

The Soviet Union is now a powerful and rich country, one of the "big" states of the world. But she was not always so. During the time of the Tzars she was even weaker and more backward than India under the British. She was a veritable "prison of nations" as some people used to call her. The mutual rivalry and conflict among the various nationalities inhabiting Tzarist Russia and the chauvinistic and tyrannical national policy of the Tzars were in no small measure responsible for her chronic backwardness.

The wise policy of Lenin and the generous attitude of the Russian-speaking

people towards the non-Russian peoples of the Soviet Union after the October Revolution have solved the age-old national problem of Russia in a manner from which everyone can derive useful lessons. The example of Soviet Union has a special interest for India because of the many similarities between the two countries. The great thinkers like Sidney and Beatrice Webb described the situation well when they said: "One of the difficult problems presented to political science by the geographical unity of the Russian plain has always been that of the extreme diversity of the population found upon it, in race, religion, language, degrees of civilization and culture, habits of life, historical tradition and what not."

They further state that "Lenin and his colleagues . . . had not failed to notice . . . how strong and persistent was the popular discontent caused by the Tzarist insistence on the 'russification' of all the

national minorities within the empire. "That is why, when he came to power, Lenin insisted that the Bolsheviks should declare themselves in favour . . . of the concession of 'cultural autonomy' to national minorities *included within states*." Let the last part of this statement be not clear to Indian readers who are generally so unwilling to grant any kind of linguistic autonomy even to substantial minorities residing in different provinces, let me quote from an article by Mrs. Kamala Ratnam, an Indian educationist who recently spent three years in the Soviet Union. Describing the condition in the Russian-speaking RSFSR she says: "The biggest (of the states) is the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic, a multi-national group *where teaching in 42 languages is carried on in schools*." In case readers think that probably this magnanimity is shown only in the Russian-speaking state, Mr. Ratnam adds: "Children of each nationality in every Republic receive instruction through their mothertongue." Compare this with conditions in India where a University in Bihar has recently asked students speaking Bengali, Urdu or Oriya to discontinue writing their answers in their respective tongues and, write in the regional language instead!

From the first day of the revolution the Russian-speaking people evinced a brotherly concern for the welfare and cultural advancement of the non-Russian peoples of their country. They might have chosen not to do anything like that. They were the largest group of people in the Soviet Union, representing about 50 per cent of the population (more than any similar group in India where no language is spoken by more than 42 per cent, and that too at a very liberal computation). They were culturally more advanced than the rest of the nationalities put together. Their language was one of the greatest in the world, whereas many of the nationalities did not have even written scripts. They had been historically the masters over all the other nations in pre-revolutionary Russia. At the time of the Revolution too they were the most powerful, because it

was mainly the Russian-speaking people who, gun in hand, organized and carried through the Revolution. The guns which destroyed the power of the Tzars might have been easily pointed at the heads of the freedom-seeking—but numerically smaller and backward—nationalities. Moreover, since they were the chief architects of the Revolution, they might have at least demanded the adoption of their language by the comparatively helpless and quiescent non-Russian peoples as the national language.

But they did nothing of the sort. On the contrary, they showed a spirit of self-sacrifice and self-abnegation almost without parallel in the annals of mankind. The Russian-speaking people went all out to help their non-Russian brothers develop their culture and language, even when both of these were practically non-existent in the case of some nationalities like the Uzbek, Tartar, Kazakh, Turkman and Azerbaijani, etc. They accorded state recognition to almost all the languages spoken in the Soviet Union and, in course of time made 15 of them their official languages! When it is remembered that most of these languages were more backward than some of the dialects of India like Rajasthani or Chhattisgarhi, the wisdom and generosity of the Russian people really surpass all praise.

The great service and sacrifice of the Russian-speaking people for inter-racial harmony in the Soviet Union was recognised by Stalin, who was not a Russian but a Georgian himself, when he offered a toast to the Russian nation: "I would like to propose that we drink to the health of the Soviet people, and primarily of the Russian people. I drink primarily to the health of the Russian people because it is the most outstanding of all the nations that constitute the Soviet Union. I drink to the health of the Russian people, not only because it is the leading people but also because it is gifted with a clear mind, a staunch character and patience."

While the Russian nation was extremely solicitous itself for the welfare of the different nationalities, the leaders of

the Soviet Union were very watchful to firmly nip in the bud the least manifestation of any kind of nationalistic chauvinism. Lenin was not tired of saying, prior to the Revolution, that "the economic prosperity and rapid development of Great-Russia, however, requires that the country be liberated from the violence the Great-Russians perpetrate against other nations." Unlike many politicians of other countries, he did not change after he became the ruler of the Russian peoples. In a letter published on January 4, 1920 he firmly declared: "We Great-Russian Communists *must repress with the utmost severity the slightest manifestation in our midst of Great-Russian nationalism, for such manifestations . . . cause the gravest harm by dividing us.*" In view of the fact that the Great-Russians were not even a hundredth part guilty of such chauvinistic faults as many of the bigger Indian nationalities indulge in with impunity and unholy glee, this alert vigilance of the Russian leaders is all the more praiseworthy.

One of the gestures of the Russian people towards inter-racial amity is very significant. The Webbs state: "They (the Russians) abandoned the word 'Russia.' They formed a Union of Socialist Soviet Republics in which all races stood on one and the same equal footing. And *just because it is not a national state, belonging to a superior race, the Soviet Union has set itself diligently, not merely to treat the 'lesser breeds without the law' with equality, but, recognising that their backwardness was due to centuries of poverty, repression and enslavement, has made it a leading feature of its policy to spend out of common funds considerably more per head on its backward races than on the superior ones, in education and social improvements.*" The magnitude of the large-heartedness which makes this possible is left to the reader to fathom.

How does this wise policy work out in practice? We are all too familiar with the strange phenomenon of tall promises being broken or forgotten as easily as they had been made. Perhaps something like

that happens in the USSR too! Let us hear what Rev. Hewlett Johnson who has travelled extensively in the USSR has to say in this regard. "No one can wander through the Soviet Union," says he, "as I have done, and visit republic after republic, and see the mingling on terms of absolute equality of the peoples of different nationalities, without a deep consciousness that a new thing has entered into the world of human relationship." At another place he says that "larger nationalities like the Ukraine, the White Russian, the Georgian, or the Armenian peoples, who possess cultural and historical traditions of a high order and have proved already their competence to do it, run their own educational system from the Primary School to the University. Other national groups, such as Uzbecks and Tajiks and Turcomans, move steadily in the same direction. *As they grow in number and importance national education supersedes Russian education in all its stages. That it receives encouragement to do so is witness to the sincerity of Soviet respect for nationality.*"

What dividend has this statesmanlike and brotherly policy paid? Has so much decentralization and racial autonomy led to disunity and breaking up of the USSR, as many Indians fear would happen to India if she accepted a similar (not necessarily the same) policy? Writing before the Second World War, the Webbs declare: "Yet (that is, in spite of all this cultural autonomy) the state as a whole maintains its unity unimpaired, and has even, like other Federal States, increased its centralisation of *authority*. It is only in the USSR that this centralisation involves no lessening of the cultural autonomy of the minorities, and even occurs concomitantly with the strengthening of the various regional cultures." However, the proof of the pudding is in the eating. And true to this wise adage the terrible Second World War proved that the Russians had been able to establish such a viable state that its unity could not be shaken even by the mighty hordes of Hitler! In the defence of their homeland Tajiks and Uzbecks shed their blood side by side with Russians and Georgians and fought the enemy with such bitterness that their memory became a nightmare to the

invaders! Let us take a concrete example. Though Tajikistan is a full-fledged Republic of the USSR, it has a population of only 15 lakhs—much less than some of the towns of India! Yet, as a Soviet source says, "In the last war the Tajiks fearlessly defended their Soviet homeland. More than 10,000 Tajiks have been awarded Orders and Medals, and upon the 34 most intrepid of the Republic's warriors the title of Hero of the Soviet Union has been conferred."

Apart from this great and covetable dividend, the Russians have reaped another fine harvest out of their wise national policy. In recognition of the great self-sacrifice and brotherly feeling of the Russians, the non-Russian peoples have voluntarily adopted Russian as the language of mutual intercourse between the various nationalities. They have willingly made Russian a compulsory subject of study for their children. The gesture of gratitude has not stopped here. As Dr. Desheriev puts it: "In the first years of the Soviet system most of the new alphabets created in Central Asia and the Caucasus used the Arabic alphabet. . . . Later the alphabets were latinized. . . . Still later, there arose the desire to change to an alphabet that would be based on the Russian." Is there any doubt that a statesmanlike and unselfish national policy pays dividends beyond the wildest dreams of narrow-minded chauvinists?

This study of the language and racial policies of the USSR leads us to some clear-cut

conclusions which deserves careful consideration. They are as follows:

In wise and democratic states no nationality inhabiting a particular region claims for itself any special privileges as against other national minorities residing in that region.

Great concern has been shown towards the preservation and development of the language of a racial minority resident in the territory of another nationality.

No wise nation has tried to force its language upon another section of its people, even when it is in an overwhelming majority.

The decision about the adoption of particular national language has been left to the choice of those nationalities which do not speak that language, without any interference from those who speak it.

It is hoped that those who are entrusted with the solution of the linguistic problem of our country will give their serious thought to the above points.

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# Book Reviews



Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But Reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

EDITOR, *The Modern Review*

## ENGLISH

**BIPIN CHANDRA PAL AND INDIA'S STRUGGLE FOR SWARAJ:** *By Haridas Mukherjee and Uma Mukherjee. Firma K. L. Mukhopadhyay. Calcutta. 1958. Pp. 140. Price Rs. 6.00.*

This is another important monograph from the pen of the two young authors, happily joined in historical scholarship as in wedlock, who have done so much to recover for us the forgotten chapters of the glorious nationalist movement in Bengal in the early part of this century. It has been the aim of the authors to present for the first time "a comprehensive account of the unique and varied part" played by the hero who is acclaimed as "one of the greatest architects of India's freedom movement in its early days." (Preface). It is needless to say that this aim has met with a considerable measure of success. The authors have made use of a mass of original evidence including the very rare files of the *Journals New India* and *Bande Mataram* and the records of the Intelligence Branch of the Government of West Bengal. In the course of their survey they have brought out well the outstanding achievements of Sri Pal's career as a nationalist leader. He developed the boycott of British goods following the partition of Bengal into "an all-comprehensive programme of non-co-operation with the alien despotism" (p. 30) combining in its sweep "Swadeshi national education and Swaraj" (p. 35). Through his famous Journal *Bande Mataram* and his unsurpassed oratorical powers he helped vigorously the growth of the new political party ("the Extremists") with their goal of Swaraj or self-government and technique of passive resistance (1906-08). His lecturing tours (especially one made during the first five months of 1907 and the other undertaken in Madras in May 1908), had a tremendous effect

in rousing the spirit of nationalism throughout the country. During the six months of his imprisonment (1907-8) he discovered in the national movement "the manifestation of the Divine Will" and its significance not only for India's own sake but for the world (pp. 99-100). The last years of his life after his moderate climb-down (1908-1911) and his consequent complete eclipse from the public stage are properly dealt with without rancour.

It remains to mention that the authors have expressed themselves in their usual trenchant style and that the book is rightly introduced with a Foreword from Sri Hemendra Prasad Ghose, the *doyen* of Indian journalism.

U. N. GHOSHAL

**LETTERS TO SARDAR VALLABHBHAI PATEL:** *By M. K. Gandhi, translated by Valji Govindji Desai from the original in Gujarati. Pp. 250. Price. Rs. 2-8-0.*

**HOMAGE TO THE DEPARTED:** *By M. K. Gandhi, compiled and edited by S. B. Kher. Pp. Demi 8vo. 208. Price Rs. 2-50 nP.*

*Both published by Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad.*

An off-the-record appraisal of men and matters of absorbing interest. People lay bare their heart when speaking or writing to intimate ones. And the Sardar was so close to Gandhi (letters, XIII, XXXIV, and XCV). The letters show how Gandhi wore himself out like a piece of sandal wood for the benefit of his fellowmen. Often he is seen at work as early as 1.30, 2 or 2.30 A.M. And he runs like a boy afraid of admonition to excuse himself by saying that he takes excellent care of his health, just adding that unless he begins his day so early he would get lost. His days in Noakhali, Behar and Delhi during the mad period of our recent history have an epic grandeur. And of that epic grandeur we get

glimpses in these letters. He says he was in 'total darkness' in Noakhali and then adds with zest, 'I am very happy (letter CCLXIV). Letter CCLVIII—a slip—contains what may be called his five commandments to his colleagues in freedom fight called to power in 1946. The book has an appendix—statement of the Cabinet Mission and the Viceroy.

The other book falls into two parts—homage to Gandhi to others and by others to him. Gandhi judges people by their worth, not by their name. His homage to Maganlal Gandhi or to the silent worker Jain almost unknown to fame is as magnificent as that paid to Gokhale or Chittaranjan Das.

A little more research would have made the book richer. One misses badly the homage General McArthur paid to Gandhi, paid to non-violence.

The author has given in an appendix Gandhi's thoughts on death, martyrdom and immortality.

BIRENDRANATH GUHA

INDIAN ETIQUETTE: *By B. Aikath. The Book Company (Private) Ltd. Re. 1/-.*

This little book gives a picture of the orthodox Hindu's rules of social behaviour.

K. N. C.

OUR NEXT SHORE NEIGHBOURS: *By Kaka Kalelkar. Published by Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad. Price Rs. 2/8/-.*

The moderately priced, slender volume under review is from the pen of Kaka Kalelkar, popularly known as Kaka Saheb, a life-long associate and follower of the Father of the Nation. Kaka Saheb paid a visit to East Africa in the middle of 1950 and spent a little less than three months in that country. He was constantly on the move during the whole period and the views and impressions recorded in the volume were bound to be superficial. Yet there are a few places glimpses of a penetrating insight and a capacity to go to the core of problems. To illustrate, the author's specific for a lasting Indo-African friendship is that the Indian in East Africa must treat the Africans as equals not for material advantage alone, but "for our moral salvation also" (p. 154). His remark elsewhere gives food for serious thought—"I felt that a wrong and misplaced orthodoxy was destroying the humanity in our people by creating barriers between them and the people of the country where they had settled" (p. 153). Kaka Saheb is, above all, a lover of man. His heart bleeds for Africa's suffering humanity—"It is surprising that the

Africans have any faith left in humanity. No other race has suffered as much from peoples of other continents as has the Africans" (p. 140).

The author deplores the lack of unity amongst the Indians in East Africa. A "special injection against the disease of communalism" and the disinfection and fumigation of the newspapers from India are the remedies prescribed. Humorous as the remark is, it ought to be an eye-opener to those who wish the Motherland well.

We would like to point out in conclusion that Gurumukhi is not a language as the author thinks it to be. It is a script, an adaptation from the old Mahajani and Landa Scripts of the Punjab, attributed to Angad, the second Guru of the Sikhs (1538-1552 A.D.). The author's statement—"I saw that Gujaratis everywhere seem to understand Gandhiji's point of view more easily than others, and try their best to act up to it" (p. 214) is not borne out by our experience and was not expected from him.

SUDHANSU BIMAL MOOKHERJEE

ALL MEN ARE BROTHERS (*Life and Thoughts of Mahatma Gandhi as told in his own words*): *Unesco—Orient Longmans Private Ltd., Calcutta-13, 1959. Pp. xvi + 196. Rs. 8.25.*

The present book grew out of a proposal put forward by the delegate from Uruguay during the Ninth Session of Unesco General Conference in New Delhi in 1956, suggesting the publication of a book containing selections from Gandhi's thoughts preceded by a study of his personality. The book is divided into twelve chapters. The first chapter is autobiographical and the other eleven chapters seek to convey Gandhiji's views on the leading problems of national and international life. The source is indicated everywhere and there is also a selected bibliography. The selections which have been made by Shri Krishna Kripalani of the Sahitya Akademi are eminently appropriate. This otherwise blemishless publication is marred by too many printing mistakes.

SUBASH CHANDRA SARKER

ACHARYA SANKARA: *By Sri Hemanta Kumar Sen. Published by Yogoda Math, Dakshineswara, Calcutta-35. Pp. 151 + xxx. Price Rs. 2.50.*

The author, while in Government service in New Delhi, wrote this book twenty years ago and had it partly published in the *East Bengal Times* of Dacca and *Roy's Weekly* of



New Delhi. It is mainly based on the big Bengali work of Rajendra Nath Ghose on Sankara and Ramanuja, though several innovations have been made by the author here and there. Brahmachari Bhaktiprakash in a learned introduction to this book rightly remarks that it is a bare outline or a mere synopsis of the resplendent life of Acharya Sankara. Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, Vice-President of India, writes as follows about this book: "You have consulted the Sanskrit originals and given the information in a readable form. For those unacquainted with Sanskrit, this book will be quite useful."

Besides a portrait of Sankaracharya and a descriptive table of contents, the book contains a detailed and connected biography of this great philosopher from birth to death along with four interesting appendices. It has to be borne in mind that the Buddhist India was converted into Vedic India by this Lion of Vedanta. The third appendix on the reincarnation of Sankaracharya appears to be meaningless and imaginary. It is nothing but an extract from a letter of Sri K. M. Munshi published in the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* in July, 1954, on Saint Srichand the medieval founder of Udasi Sect of Sadhus. In that letter Sri Munshi wrote that Sankaracharya took his second incarnation as Srichand in 1419 for the renaissance of Hinduism. Here the word 'incarnation' has been used in a figurative sense. Hence, it cannot be taken for granted as actual incarnation. The first appendix on Sankara's Yogic initiation is equally spurious and conjectural. Rejecting these useless additions, the author should have enriched the book with an exhaustive introduction to the Advaita Vedanta on the basis of Sankara's famous commentaries.

SWAMI JAGADISWARANANDA

**PROBLEMS AND PROCESSES OF ECONOMIC PLANNING IN UNDER-DEVELOPED ECONOMIES:** By H. C. Gupta, M.A. Published by Kitab Mahal, Allahabad. Pages 227. Price Rs. 5.00.

The author has discussed the problems of under-developed countries with special reference to India and India's two Five-Year Plans in nine chapters, viz., Meaning and Growth of the Idea of Planning, Capitalistic System Not Suitable to Under-developed Countries, Special Characteristics of Planning in Under-developed Countries Special Theory Needed, Planning in India—Historical Background, First Five-Year Plan and the Second Five-Year Plan, Achievements, Conflicts, Inconsistencies and Confusion

in Indian Planning, Approach to Planning, Agricultural Reorganisation—Land Reforms, Co-operatives, Mobilisation of Rural Man-power, etc.

The approach to the subjects is critical and the author's analysis is scientific and clear. His criticism of the Five-Year Plans and the actions of the Government are straightforward and should be examined by the authorities concerned. India's teeming millions have aggravated the solution of all her economic problems including supply of food. Problems of under-employment, unemployment, small and cottage industries and big capitalistic industries and our approach to these solutions by efforts of the public and private sector are creating new problems not easy to solve. Besides application of capital from within the country and also from outside raise a number of questions and difficulties at once social, political and economic which the learned author has dealt very ably.

A book of this nature will be of help to the students of economics of Indian universities and a general reader interested in economics of the country will find this book a useful study.

A. B. DUTTA

## HINDI

**BUNIYADI SHIKSHA:** By Gandhiji. 1956. Pp. 163. Price Re. 1-8.

**SACHCHI SHIKSHA:** By Gandhiji. 1956. Pp. 318. Price Rs. 2.

**VARNA-VYAVASTHA:** By Gandhiji. 1956. Pp. 159. Price Re. 1-8.

**GANDHIJI KI SANKSHIPT ATMA-KATHA:** Abridged by Mathuradas Trikumji. 1956. Pp. 260. Price As. 12.

**CALCUTTA KA CHAMATKAR:** By Manubhan Gandhi. 1956. Pp. 132. Price Re. 1.

**GANDHIJI KE PAVAN PRASANGA—I:** By Lalubhai Makanji. 1956. Pp. 43. Price As. 6.

All available from Navajivan Prakashan Mandir, Ahmedabad.

Reprints of Gandhiji's works in Gujarati and English and in the translations thereof in the different Indian languages are on the increase since 1948. This is, indeed, a very welcome sign, inasmuch as it shows the interest of the people in his dynamic and diversified thought. *Baniyadi Shiksha* contains his ideas on the fundamentals and form of Basic Education or the Wardha Education scheme, with their twin emphasis on the scheme being self-supporting and the bulwark of the Sarvodaya Society. In *Sachchi Shiksha* or true education

lies the key to Swaraj. Believing this as Gandhiji did, the book dwells on the true ideals of education and the various problems of the education. *Varna-Vyavastha* expounds his interpretation of the caste-system, evolved in the light of the many-sided functions of society and of the aptitude of the temperaments of the principal types to discharge them. He also comments on the innumerable undesirable practices, which have crept into society as a result of the system, in question, having been reduced to a kind of a cockpit for class-war. *Gandhiji Ki Swakshipt Atmakatha* is Gandhiji's autobiography suitably abridged with appropriate chapter captions for the young. *Calcutta Ka Chanakkar* is a moving account of the miracle Gandhiji worked as "one-man-boundary force" for peace in the context of the Calcutta carnage of 1947. *Gandhiji Ke Pavan Prasanga* is a collection of thirteen anecdotes of Gandhiji's life, revealing his burning passion for humanity, cleanliness and truth. G. M.

#### GUJARATI

(1) VEDANT MARGA DARSHINI (2nd Edition): Pp. 330. Price Re. 1-8.

(2) SANATAN DHARMA: By the late Prof. Manilal N. Dwivedi. Pp. 208. Price Re. . .

(3) NITYA PATHA: By Vamandas P. Patel, B.A., LL.B. Pp. 159. Price As. 12.

(4) VICHAR MALA: By Swami Swayam Jyoti Tirth. Pp. 80. Price As. 8.

(5) MAHA VAKYO OF TULSI RAMAYANA (2nd Edition): By Gopalji Odhavji Thakkar. Pp. 108. Price As. 8.

All published by the Society for the Encouragement of Cheap Literature. Printed at its own printing press, Ahmedabad.

All these five books are related to ethical, moral and religious subjects. No. (1) is a guide to the knowledge of Vedant, with a glossary of technical words. *Sanatan Dharma* contains 500 (Panch Shati) maxims of advice culled from about fifty works like the *Gita* and the Upanishads. It was called by the late professor "Imitation of Shankar," on the basis of "Imitation of Christ," and is a very valuable guide. *Nitya Patha*, Daily Recital or prayers contains *shlokas* and their translation in praise of God, and Divine Beings. *Vichar Mala* describes among other things the *mithyatwa* (non-reality) of this world. The selection of the great sayings of Tulsidas in the Ramayana is highly commendable.

K.M.J.

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# Indian Periodicals

## The Romance of Towers

Dudley Glass writes in *The Aryan Path*:

Through history man has enriched the world's architecture with lofty towers. Sometimes the motive has been utilitarian—defence or observation—at other times religious or that of beauty. From the rugged grey masses of the north to those slender shafts of colour against the southern blue, they ornament the horizon. The moonlight of the Orient reveals them in an Arabian-Night's splendour; a New World of the West scrapes the skies with their modernistic majesty.

Sometimes poets and tellers of tales erect towers for our imagination that almost have the quality of reality. We can visualize dawn lighting the "Sultan's turret" of Omar Khayyam's *Rubaiyat*. Princesses from the pages of Grimm dwell in the baroque towers of fairy-tale castles. In a mysterious wood Maeterlinck fashions a shadowy tower from which Melisande, wooed by Pelleas, trails her long tresses. Tennyson sings "many-tower'd Camelot."

The Tower of Babel in the Bible, reaching presumptuously towards Heaven, was possibly inspired by the pride of Babylon's temple-tower of Etemenanki. This was one of the many stepped pyramids of the ancient Chaldean and Assyrian world; also to be found in Egypt and as far afield as the Occidental lands of the Aztecs and the Incas. Sun-worshippers these, and there were also tribes whose priests saluted the moon and stars from high places. Likewise the early Persians bowed to fire from raised platforms on small towers.

The Orient has always been beautified by towers. Carved, sculptured gateways to India's temples are a form of these and many a lake-palace has its pinnacles. Agra's roseate citadel, of the marble courts and pavilions and bath of a thousand mirrors, raises an exquisite Jasmine Tower. Set in a wall of this balconied boudoir there was one more magical mirror. A reflecting jewel, it enabled Shah Jahan, deposed from his throne and almost blind, to see down the Jumna River the

white dome and minarets of the Taj Mahal, towered tomb for his "Exalted One."

Like mirage visions in desert lands minarets crown mosques to sound a call to prayer. Just as impermanent-looking are those tapering, many-storied towers of the Far East, Chinese pagodas making fantastic silhouettes. Yet ancient China had simpler towers of stalwart masonry for defence on the rambling Great Wall.

Military strategy was the reason for most of the first towers. The Romans built them with battlements to guard city ramparts. Tradition ascribes the Tower of London by the Thames to Julius Caesar, but its historical foundation was laid by William the Conqueror. His Norman keep, the White Tower, built for defence and to overawe the Londoners, rises among many others with stern associations. Now peace reigns on Tower Green and there is colour in the glowing costume of the Beefeaters, the "Ceremony of the Keys" and, the glittering opulence of Crown Jewels on display.

The Tower of London has been introduced to millions who will never see it through the medium of Gilbert and Sullivan light opera, just as the voice of another tower is regularly broadcast to the world. For in the Clock Tower adorning the House of Parliament at Westminster hangs "Big Ben," called after Sir Benjamin Hall, first Commissioner of Works at the time of its installation. A light shines each night in the Clock Tower, just as a flag flies from its comrade the Victoria Tower, when "the House" is sitting.

The English countryside is studded with towers; there are twenty on Windsor Castle alone, small ones carried by the walls, culminating in the central "round" one, or nearly so, that gives this noble pile by the silvery Thames its personality. Then there are the cathedral cities blessed with their solemn towers, and centres of learning wearing them like dons' caps on the colleges. Of all Oxford's landmarks Magdalen College is the most famous. Its special feature is a minareted tower of the

Middle Ages dominating that erudite street termed "the High."

At the dawn of each May Day choirster in surplices ascend the tower to salute the rising sun with a Latin hymn. This tribute to a benefactor dates from the first Queen Elizabeth's reign and still it mingles with merry jangling bells to waft over the meadows by the River Cherwell.

Scottish and Welsh castles have their towers telling of brave deeds, in the south of romantic Ireland one murmurs with legendary associations. Blarney Castle, close to Cork, is all the more picturesque for the large red stone high up on a crumbling tower wall. The name of the place recalls a remark made by that same Queen Elizabeth when Dermot McCarthy, the Lord of the Castle, sent her amiable messages to postpone his surrender. "That is all Blarney and means nothing!" she exclaimed. Nowadays folk who feel in need of this Irish accomplishment make for the edge of the turret where they manage to lean over backwards to perform a time-honoured act.

There is a stone there,  
That whoever kisses,  
Oh! he never misses  
To grow eloquent:  
'Tis he may clamber  
To a lady's chamber,  
Or become a member  
Of Parliament.

Leaving soft green hills for nature's whit towers in Norway, marvel at the man-made crest at Holmenkollen, outside Oslo. This unique skitower allows experts to speed down its snow-coated slope in the strenuous competition of an annual ski-jump. Also, concealed in that impressive sweep, is a museum to tell the history of skiing in the country which invented the sport.

Denmark, although not endowed with mountains, is well served with towers. They dignify manor-houses in parks and mingle attractively with Copenhagen's domes and twisted spires and green copper roofs. Hans Anderson told no better tale than the one concerning the *Rundetaarn* (Round Tower). Built as an observatory by order of Christian IX, it has no stairs inside but a spiral ramp winding to the top. This is also the case in Amboise, of the French Chateau Country, where the

Emperor Charles V was enabled to make perilous but successful ascent in a coach-and-four. In the case of the Copenhagen variety, Peter the Great of Russia did it on horseback, leaving the use of the coach to his Empress.

The low country of Holland is alive with wooden towers whirling their wind-mill sails. They contrast with the static ones of stone reflected in city canals. Amsterdam has its eleventh-century Mint Tower, originally a fortress although now it is embellished with a clock-dial and a set of chimes. By the harbour stands the curiously-named "Weepers' Tower," from which Dutch sailors departed on world voyages, to the sorrow of the women they left behind. Yet this same tower speeded Henry Hudson in the *Halfmoon* when he sailed the Atlantic to discover Manhattan Island and the river now bearing his name.

Very different from this squat sentinel by the Zuyder Zee are the shining towers rising out of New York Harbour to form an incomparable skyline. The Statue of Liberty is one in itself, of reasonable height to allow a welcoming torch to be seen, but many of them are of dizzy height. The world's tallest tower, measuring over a hundred storeys, is called the Empire State Building.

An American poet of the past, Longfellow, preferring towers of the Old World, summed up a pride of Belgium in a well-known stanza:

In the Market Place of Bruges  
Stands the Belfry old and brown;  
Thrice consumed and thrice rebuilt,  
Still it watches o'er the town.

A stalwart tower that could face misfortune, it was not only in the service of the Church but also that of the State. On one occasion the Belfry summoned citizens to arms; at other times laws were promulgated from its balcony and proclamations by the Counts of Flanders delivered to townspeople in the Grand Place below. In present-day Bruges passers-by listen to the bell tones of Flemish airs played on the renowned carillon above the tower-watchman's room.

Masons with an inspired mission built the cathedral towers of France. Their graceful Gothic architecture is forzen music, although one at Rouen names itself

a "Butter Tower." The reference is to the circumstances of its erection; funds were offered in return for permission to eat butter during Lent. Twin-towers of Notre-Dame guard their historic river-island in the heart of Paris; in the more modern section of the city a Gothic fragment stands alone, called the Tour St. Jacques. A statue under the vaulting commemorates Blaise Pascal, who stood on the summit to make experiments in atmospheric pressure.

Similarly a bust of Alexandre Gustave Eiffel hides itself under a striding colossus by the Seine. Conceived by an engineer famous for his bridges and viaducts, the Eiffel Tower is more than an extravagant gesture from the 1889 Exhibition etched for ever against the Paris sky. When he unfurled the tricolour at its opening—and the Premier of France apologized for his own opposition—Eiffel knew that his three-platformed, glass-pavilioned tower had also a scientific future, now apparent in its use for meteorological, radio and television purposes.

Castles in Spain are decked with airy towers; so are the fanciful, sugarcake affairs that Germany perches on crags by the Rhine or on woodend mountain slopes of Bavaria. A "quaint old town of art and song" like Nuremberg has carried them on its walls since mediaeval times. If the castle hill presents a grim prison-tower with five sinister corners, there is a happier one on the Frauenkirche overlooking the square. At midday its clock-face opens doors to release a moving row of mechanical mannikins, nothing less than Charles IV and the Seven Electors!

Play-acting clock towers are frequently to be found in Middle Europe as in Switzerland. Addicted to toy effects, they give an entertaining panorama of history or legend. On the other hand the Alps cradle them with lips tightly locked, like the Water Tower keeping guard over Lake Lucerne. Its stones could tell us a secret: that the beacon "light" of the four cantons shone from it in the days of William Tell, a matter for pride; while a pink chateau among blossom by Lake Geneva tries to forget that its thick-walled tower once kept the Prisoner of Chillon from the radiance of day.

Some of the world's most beautiful towers are in Italy; their purpose in life is to chime bells and their name in itself

is music. The domed cathedral of St. Mark's is a wonder of Venice, but so is the "campanile" standing by its side on the piazza. This has a past reaching back to Doge Pietro Tribuna who laid the foundation stone in 912. Having borne the weight of a thousand years the original bell-tower collapsed; so the present one is a glorious resurrection. A golden angel still surmounts it, to look beyond the Grand Canal to the Adriatic as a guide to mariners.

Another Italian "campanile" catches the imagination, not only for its grace but for the attribute giving it such a remarkable name. The Leaning Tower of Pisa, pink and white between its side colours, has a perfection of detail, but it chooses to slant fourteen feet out of the perpendicular. Some would have thought this was a prank of the designers; more than likely the foundation sank and the inclination began at an early date. At all events Galileo availed himself of the oblique phenomenon, dropping objects and calculating their velocity in his study of gravity.

In the valley of the Arno a fair city dreams of a past golden with painter sculptors and poets. No wonder that the bell-tower by the Duomo is of especial loveliness and has earned the highest praise Ruskin can give: "The model and the mirror of perfect architecture."

The master began it in 1334, on the ducal instructions that he must surpass in beauty of structure anything previously attempted. He did not live to see his design completed beyond the first storey, but fortunately Pisano and Talenti continued the upper part of the Gothic square with appropriate grace. Not only are Giotto's contours superb; so are his rich details. Ornaments abound in sculpture and bas-relief; allegorical figures include the Seven Cardinal Virtues and such contrasting types as Eve and Orpheus, Aristotle and Euclid. Marble glows under the Italian sun in variegated hues of pink, dark green and white. Yet the Campanile with open-work pattern, is never overloaded but floats as spiritually as the chiming message it spreads to the surrounding hills.

Seen from them as a tall lily-shape in the garden that is Florence, heard echoing in the soft airs of Tuscany, it symbolizes

the beauty and at the same time the usefulness of that flower of architecture, the tower.

### Why Nehru Did Not Reply to Yudin?

*New Philosophy* writes editorially:

A polemic is usually a consciously undertaken affair—the pros and cons of an issue by two opposite camps being hurled at each other through party papers. Early this year the world witnessed an unpremeditated polemic. It came off this way, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Prime Minister of India, contributed the thesis “The Basic Approach” to the *A. I. C. C. Economic Review*. This was published in the August 1958 number. *Inter alia*, the thesis offered comments on problems of science, materialism, spiritualism, non-violence, and Marxism. Some statements touched Marxists to the

quick and Academician Yudin of Russia took up cudgels on their behalf by publishing a rejoinder in *World Marxist Review* during 1958. Nehru was requested at one of his press conferences to comment on Yudin, but Nehru ignored the questioner.

One can only conjecture that Nehru did not take any cognizance of the reporter's question essentially because the Russian scientist himself, on his part, has not given a square reply to Nehru. Yudin himself has failed to do any justice whatever to the problems raised by Nehru.

We shall make an attempt to locate the omissions—deliberate or otherwise—on the part of Yudin. The nature of these omissions may throw light on the problem why Yudin has chosen to remain silent with regard to them.

1. In “The Basic Approach” (Para 11), Nehru had indicated that both non-communists as well as communists are

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extremists. For "both of them there are no shades, there is only black and white." Yudin in his reply conveniently assumes that his side is "white," and equally conveniently, has not dealt with the allegation of the communists being extremists.

2. Nehru (op. cit. para 13) has attacked smallest of violence. In his reply, Yudin wants to know why then India maintains force; but refuses to answer the points raised in the latter half of the same paragraph which indicated how small violence in Hitlerite Germany totally annihilated all leftists. It should never be forgotten that Nehru is open and frank. He has never claimed that everything India does is ideal. Most important of all, Nehru is here concerned with the theoretical discussion of an ideal problem. Yudin has no reply.

3. In para 14, Nehru demands of the world spiritual outlook, as other methods have failed.

4. In para 16, Nehru says: "I suppose that any line of thought, sufficiently pursued, leads us in some measure to metaphysics. Even science today is almost on the verge of all manner of imponderables." Yudin has not even touched this important argument—let apart discuss it, or offer acceptable answers.

5. Nehru deliberates on and offers suitable examples of how capitalism is adjusting to suit modern times, though slowly. This part of the thesis meets no straight reply.

6. Nehru once again raises in paras 22 and 30, the most important problems of Idealistic thought. Nehru says: "We must not forget the ethical and spiritual aspects of life which are ultimately the basis of culture and civilization and which have given some meaning to life."

Yudin might possibly argue that the issue raised by the so-called good side of capitalism and several aspects of spiritualism have been rebutted by materialist philosophers again and again since long. These indeed were not the only questions that are answered by Marx, but in a sense Marx has given adequate answers for all possible attacks for the coming thousands

of years and as such his followers need reply no criticism at all. However, while others openly hostile to Marxist attitude can be allowed to go by, Nehru's criticism which does not show any partiality either to capitalist or to communistic extremist stand, was outside this category and was of a type that needed an answer. But once Yudin takes this stand—of the necessity of answering Nehru—he just cannot escape having to answer Nehru on every possible point nor refer merely to classical answers by Marx. Nehru has categorically stated that even up-to-date science when it attempts to reply to questions at beyond an ordinary level borders on metaphysical plane. This is a significant point, demanding an answer, if he has any, from Yudin—particularly it is so because of the dilemmas reached by advances in atomic physics. Yudin is probably conscious of his incapacity to reply—in which case his demand for answers to questions becomes baseless.

In reality, the difficulty Yudin finds himself having to face is a grave and genuine one. For an attempt at logical and sufficiently profound answer will lead him straight into the arms of metaphysics.

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# FOREIGN PERIODICALS

## A Suitable Epitaph for John Foster Dulles

William Henry Chamberlin writes in *New Leader*, June, 1959:


The death of John Foster Dulles elicited a general expression of feeling, voiced simultaneously by President Eisenhower and Sir Winston Churchill, that a great man had passed—and in an age when greatness in the free world is not in surplus supply. Another significant tribute to the dead statesman came from one of the few unmistakably great men of this post-war era, Chancellor Konrad Adenauer, who hailed Dulles as a friend. There was indeed much in common, as regards character and personality, between Dulles and Adenauer, both intent on being right rather than popular.

What was the essential element of greatness in Dulles, recognized in the last months of his life even by some of his most persistent detractors? Not his wide-ranging knowledge of foreign affairs and his immense capacity for work; these he shared with others. Not even the rugged devotion to duty which kept him working without stint when he was plagued with acute physical pain, when his medical advisers were pleading in vain for him to relax and

rest. This he shared with the many soldiers who laid down their lives for their country.

The essential element in Dulles' greatness the legacy he hands down to those who must carry on his work, is his combination of a clear perception of the threat of Communist imperialism, in Asia as in Europe, with the constancy and resolution to act logically on this perception, regardless of how strongly the winds of criticism might blow. The people of West Berlin and the peoples living on the fringe of Communist despotism in Asia, the peoples of Japan, Formosa, South Korea and South Vietnam, are more secure in their freedom today because of the vein of iron in Dulles' character that made him say "no," emphatically and repeatedly, to more or less thinly disguised proposals to appease the Soviets.

Not that there is an iota of truth in the stock caricature of Dulles as a "warmonger, a wrecker of any reasonable proposal for settlement. When there were opportunities for peace with honor, Dulles was quick to grasp them. The Korean armistice and the agreement for a general evacuation of Austria were cases in point. What Dulles, with his strong sense of moral responsibility and his keen



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legal mind, persistently and consistently refused to do was to barter substance for shadow, to take worthless Soviet paper promises in exchange for concessions that would adversely affect the strategic position of the West.

A good example of the backbone that Dulles infused into United States foreign policy was his handling of the crisis precipitated without provocation by the Chinese Reds late in August 1958. They opened a heavy bombardment of the Quemoy group of offshore islands held by the Chinese Nationalists. And the U.S. seemed then to be swept by a wave of hysterical appeasement.

Amid all the clamor, with people on both sides of the Atlantic who should have known better shrieking that we would all be incinerated in a nuclear holocaust if we did not give in to Chinese aggression, Dulles remained firm and kept his head. A formidable concentration of American air and naval strength was mobilized. The Chinese Nationalist air force, equipped with Sidewinder American missiles, won a series of striking victories in the air. And the upshot of the whole matter is that today, almost a year after the beginning of the crisis, Quemoy and Matsu are still where they belong, in the hands of the Nationalists, and a Red maneuver that impressed the timorous has been shown up as a pitiful bluff.

Dulles died a painful, lingering death, made easier by his deep religious faith and his stoical courage. Yet his last months must have been brightened by the tributes that poured in on him, from distinguished old friends and associates and from many unknown fellow-citizens, whose respect he had won.

But he was perhaps most honored by the enemies he made. In spite of the hypocritical posthumous tributes from Moscow, Dulles was the constant target of vilification, the Public Enemy Number One for every Communist and fellow-traveler.

Somehow Dulles, in spirit and character, recalls those indomitable old Roundheads, or Puritans, who fought and broke King Charles I's effort to rule without Parliament and, in laying the basis of England's freedom, unconsciously helped to insure our own. One of the most notable of the Puritan leaders, John Hampden, was killed in one of the many skirmishes of the British Civil War. An unknown poet paid him a memorial tribute that would be a suitable epitaph for John Foster Dulles:

*His purer thoughts were free  
From all corruptions; he not valued friends,*

*A fair estate or self-propounded ends,  
Any preferment, or ought else above  
A quiet conscience, and his nation's love.*

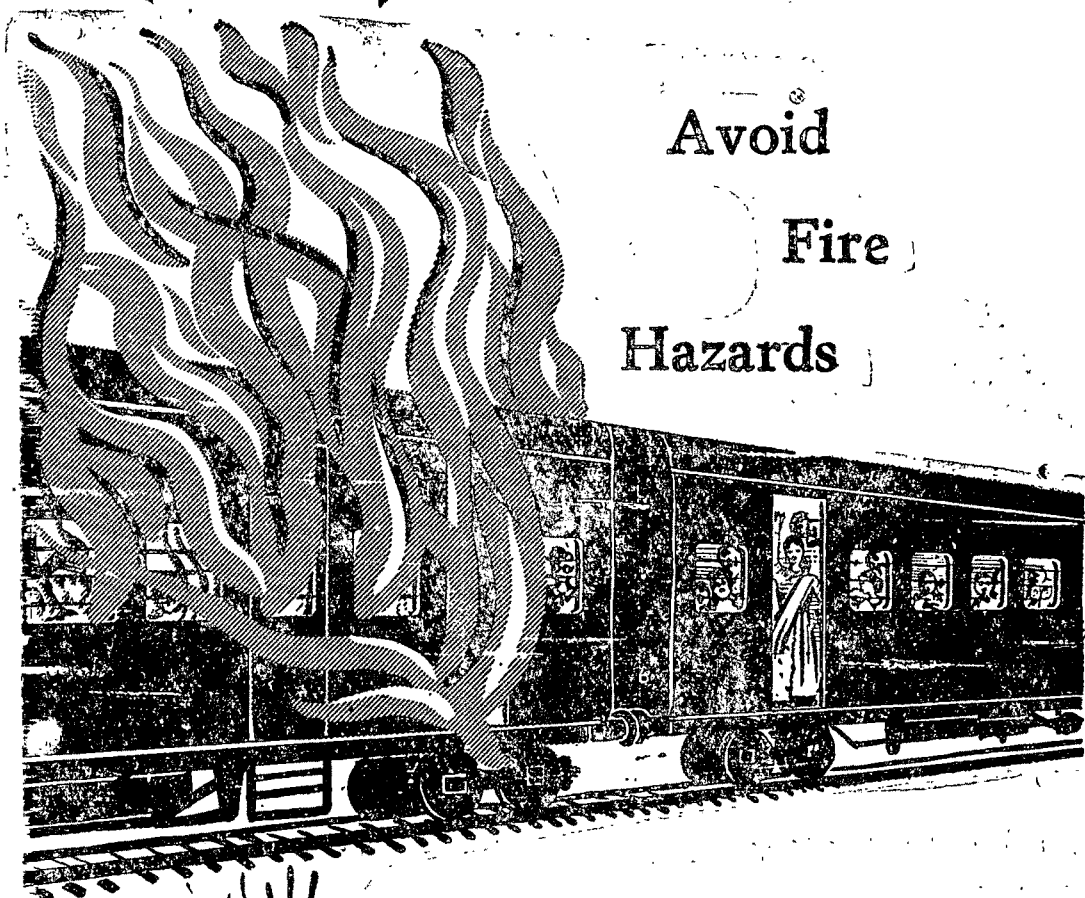
### Electronic Brain

The following news has been published in the *Bulletin of the Embassy of the Federal Republic of Germany*.

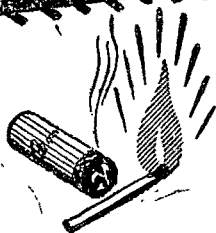
Built by Siemens, the electronic brain is called "Digitalrechner—2002". By using transistors (crystal amplifiers) instead of vacuum tubes (impulse amplifiers) the size and weight of the electronic brain could be reduced considerably; although its weight is only about half of that of the ordinary type roboter its efficiency is equal to that of the old type models. "Digitalrechner 2002" cost DM 1.2 million (approximately Rs. 15½ lakhs) and was built at the Aachen Technical Institute which expects to strengthen its position with the aid of this new electronic brain as a leading German and European centre of training and research. One of the advantages of this Siemens machine compared to that of the ordinary type is that some of the "thought processes" and working operations of this electronic brain can be watched and checked by means of a "visualizer" which operates in a manner similar to a television set.

The "grey matter" of the programme-controlled electronic brain "Digitalrechner 2002" consists of the computing unit, the programme control unit, the data storage unit, a control panel and the in-put and out-put units. Answers are obtained in a few seconds. Any interested person might hand in his date of birth which is punched on a tape. Immediately afterwards he will receive a note which informs him, as demanded, on which day of the week he was born, on which day his birthday will fall this year and the main world events at the time of his birth.

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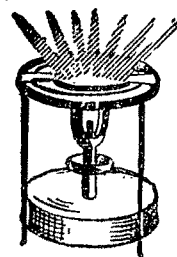


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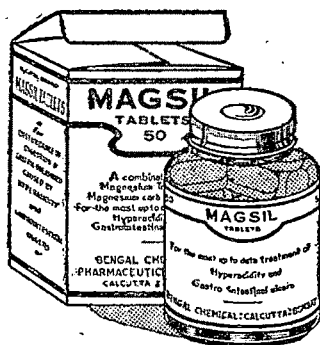
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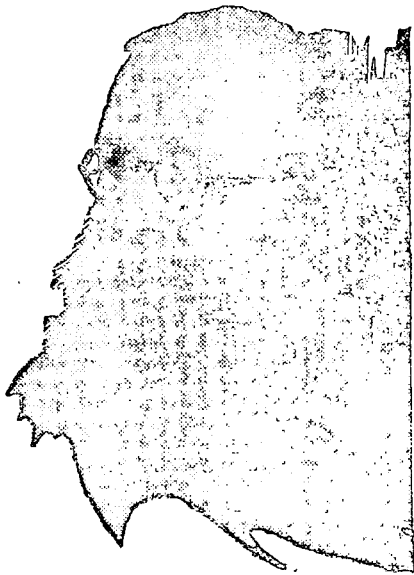
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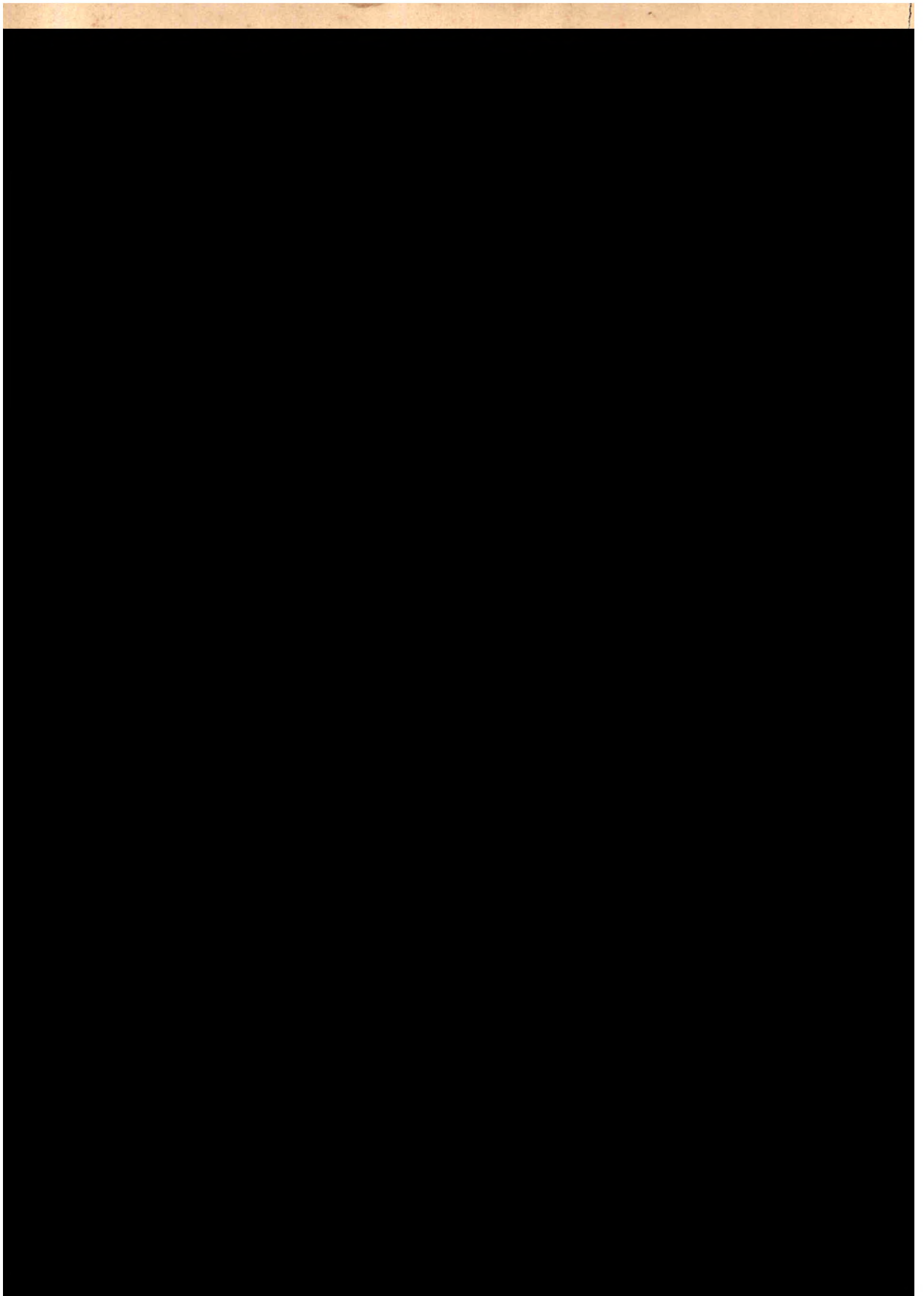




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# THE MODERN REVIEW

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## NOTES

### Security, External and Internal

At the time of writing the text of Mr. Chou En-lai's letter to Pandit Nehru, which was received on the evening of September 9, was released to the Press. This letter was in reply to the letter written by Pandit Nehru on March 22 of this year. The reasons given for this extraordinary delay, in reply to a letter of urgency from a friendly country, are unconvincing to say the least. The language is courteous, but that, we would emphasise, means less than nothing. It might well be to lull our apprehensions until preparations for another step in aggression is ready.

The letter has been written by a skilled diplomat, well-versed in all the intricacies of World diplomacy, and as such will exercise the brains of the innocents at our External Affairs office, to say nothing about the country at large which would be further puzzled by the smoke-screen raised by those who have supported every move of the Chinese against India's security for what consideration, they only know. The *Statesman* comes to the following conclusion regarding that letter:

It contains one solid piece of assurance. This is regarding Sikkim, and he says: "Like the boundary between China and Bhutan this question does not fall within the scope of our present discussion." And he makes it clear "once again that China is willing to live together in friendship with Sikkim and Bhutan, without committing aggression against each other, and has always respected the proper relations between them and India."

On most other questions his attitude can be defined as follows: "The Chinese Government has all along adhered to a clear-cut policy on the Sino-Indian border question: on the one hand, it affirms the fact that the entire Sino-Indian boundary has not been delimited, while on the other, it also faces reality, and taking especially into consideration the friendly relations between China and India, actively seeks a settlement fair and reasonable to both sides, and never tries unilaterally to change the long existing state of border between the two countries pending the settlement of the boundary question."

Having said this, Mr. Chou En-lai goes on to accuse India of trespassing into Chinese territory, of overstepping "the so-called McMahon Line," of having invaded Longju and other places in N.E.F.A. and of having launched armed attacks on Chinese frontier guards at Migyitun, "leaving no alternative for the Chinese frontier guards but to fire back in self-defence."

It also accuses India of having launched "a second anti-Chinese campaign within six months."

Mr. Chou's request is that India should immediately withdraw what he describes as the "trespassing Indian troops and administrative personnel" and thus ease "the temporary tension on the Sino-Indian border." This will set at ease "our friends who are concerned over Sino-Indian friendly relations."

By and large, Mr. Chou En-lai's seems to be a mixed letter and while it yields



no ground, it contains a desire for settlement and restoration of friendly relations.

Pandit Nehru's reactions, as disclosed in the Rajya Sabha on September 10, on this letter, was contained in the Note in reply, placed before the Lok Sabha and the Rajya Sabha on that date. The *Statesman* gives the following summary:

New Delhi, Sept. 10.—Besides reiterating that the McMahon Line definitely forms the frontier between the two countries in its latest Note to China forwarded on Tuesday, India has strongly protested against the continued use of the defective Chinese maps.

"It is most extraordinary that the Government of China should not have found time during the last 10 years to withdraw these faulty maps" the Note says.

The full text of the Note and certain other documents exchanged between India and China since the publication of the White Paper were today placed before the Lok Sabha by Mr. Nehru. Besides the Notes, he said, he would display the relevant maps indicating the Chinese encroachments—cartographic and military—in Parliament's library.

While rejecting the charge of aggression contained in the Chinese Notes, India has expressed her willingness to discuss the exact alignment of the McMahon Line at places where it departs from the geographical features marking the international boundary. Such discussions, however, could not proceed on the basis of the Chinese maps, the Note says.

India's offer to discuss the alignment of the McMahon Line near Khinzemane, Longju and Tamadem is accompanied by the condition that pending negotiations the *status quo* be maintained. The Chinese forces, it is stated, should not cross the Thangla ridge or use force against the Indian post at Tamadem.

As far as Longju is concerned, during discussions India would not send her personnel back to the area provided the Chinese would also withdraw their forces from there.

The four Chinese Notes presented to

Parliament follow a familiar pattern. India is accused of having committed "unlawful intrusion" into Chinese territory and of having made "unwarranted provocative attacks." One Note alleges six instances of violation of Chinese air space by Indian planes. The Indian Note denies the charge.

The question still remains as to what evaluation should be arrived at, of the latest Chinese letter. Is it a really friendly gesture? Has it the elements of *Pancha Sheel*, on which Pandit Nehru puts so much stress? We have failed to find any trace of either. Added to that is the long-drawn period of planned aggression, of which it seems the Tibetan incident is only a part. We believe that in the face of the breaches of faith, as evinced by the complete reversal of statements by Mr. Chou En-lai, and continued incursions into Indian territory, the letter cannot be taken as anything but an attempt to gain time.

It is about time Pandit Nehru understood that in the present-day world only those can go about preaching *ahimsa* and *Pancha Sheel*, who have renounced the world. He cannot carry on as he has been doing without vitally endangering the Liberty and Four Freedoms of the four hundred millions that are in his charge. *Pancha Sheel* can be effectively preached only by that nation that can call to arms and fully equip for freedom's battle, five hundred stream-lined and fully equipped divisions with full aerial and armour support and nuclear weapons if necessary. And we certainly do possess that potential.

The main question now is internal security. As a direct observer of some of the occurrences, we have reasons to believe that planned subversion and disruption came into play. We should like that a full enquiry, on security grounds, be made under strictly secret conditions. Whatever the findings of the enquiry, we are strongly of the opinion that internal security must be viewed now, on an objective level, by the combined organisations of the Home Ministry and the Defence Ministry, on an all-India basis. Things have deteriorated to that extent that all industry and communications might be paralysed in the case of a national emergency by unscrupulous and anti-national forces within the country.

## International Law

As every society must have a set of rules to guide the conduct of its members and affairs, a comity of nations should also in all reasonableness have a well-defined code of conduct governing international relations. It is thus since very early times, when states began to have relations with one another, that the need for framing certain rules for this purpose was felt and a number of principles was set down and reorganised as valid. Inasmuch as the undeveloped state of communications at that early period made contact between States somewhat difficult and infrequent a number of relatively simple rules pertaining to the treatment of ambassadors, traders, and messengers was considered sufficient for the purpose until the recurring wars between the nation States of Europe in the seventeenth century made it imperative for them to have a comprehensive code of international relations covering wider aspects.

The wartime nations of Europe were the most prosperous and also the most powerful at that time doing business with the Americas and the countries of the East. Not accidentally therefore the initiative for laying down a code and the task of enforcing it devolved upon them and since then it was their ideas and views that prevailed upon the field of international law until the beginning of this century when the U.S.A. and then the U.S.S.R. also began to take an active part in formulating and administering international law.

International law suffers not only from the common defects of all laws in not being able to differentiate between the uneven state of development of nations as national laws cannot do so in the case of individuals which makes law the instrument of domination of one section of society over another, it also suffers from the additional handicaps created by the absence of persons who can adjudicate in international disputes with even the limited independence and authority with which the judges administer national laws. These shortcomings have rendered it

largely an instrument of the political domination of the Western Powers.

The countries of continental Europe, coming later on in the field of world politics, felt the pressure and their efforts to tilt the balance in their favour came up against the strongest possible opposition of the maritime powers. Much of the hollowness of the legal pretensions of the West was exposed during the First World War. For example, through a series of remarkable manoeuvres it was not found at all difficult to deprive the Soviet Union of much of the privileges due to it as the successor to the Czarist regime (what it forsook of its own accord is another thing altogether). But the Soviet Union had both power and territory with which she has been able to ignore, so to say, the practical impact of much of the tenets of international law. The countries of Asia and Africa who entered the international comity of nations still later on, were however devoid of the advantages of power, territory and physical seclusion. Their very recognition as nation states had to be achieved in a battle against many of the principles of international law such as the doctrines of colonial possessions and "domestic jurisdiction."

The unevenness of the state of development between Western and Eastern nations has greatly sharpened the dialectical edge of many of the principles of the Law of Nations underlining the need for an early restatement of the principles as well as of the manner of their application in which the impact of the technological developments of this century has also to be fully taken into account. We hope the newly-formed Indian Society of International Law will direct its efforts in achieving this end.

## Goa

Goa remains a signal mark of the utter ineffectiveness of Indian diplomacy to achieve even vital national ends. The continuance of Portuguese domination in Goa has undoubtedly been encouraged by the leading Western Powers including the U.S.A. and the U.K. but it is clearly evid-

ent that the aimlessness of our foreign policy has also been an important contributory factor. The unreal plane on which Indian foreign policy moves is exposed before the public view only at times of grave crisis threatening vital national interests when this country seems to be left with no international friends at all. A glance back at world developments of the past twelve years hardly justifies the conclusion that Portugal could hold on to Goa on the face of stubborn Indian opposition. As a matter of fact the Government of India has more than once allowed itself to be brow-beaten by other powers who had no business to be concerned with the future of Goa. The Government's position has been morally vulnerable by its continued refusal to treat the Goans residing in India as Indian citizens. The reply of the Prime Minister in the Rajya Sabha on September 3, that the question of dual citizenship had prevented the Government from treating the Goans as Indian citizens is hardly convincing in view of the fact of such recognition of citizenship by other countries in the case of their nationals residing in other countries. Malaya is not a Chinese territory; yet the People's Republic of China treats all Chinese residents in Malaya as its own citizens unless they volunteer to renounce their Chinese citizenship. India holds Goa to be an integral part of her territory—the technical omission in the Constitution notwithstanding (otherwise there would remain no logic for the demand for its integration with India)—yet refuses to treat Goans as Indian citizens. There could be no greater evidence of confusion reigning supreme.

### Indian Democracy at Crossroads

The resignation of General K. S. Thimayya, Chief of the Army staff, on August 31 and its subsequent withdrawal pose a number of vital questions on the satisfactory answers to which will depend the future of democracy in India. The critics of the Government who were obsessed with personalities clearly failed to gauge the principal issue at stake which is what is the role of the army in

a democracy? Prime Minister Nehru has done well in re-iterating the principle that under the Constitution of India, the civil authority is and must remain the supreme authority and the armed forces must abide by the directions of the civil authority; but he has not been able to act up to this principle to the desired extent.

The reasons for the resignation of the army chief have not been disclosed; it is, indeed, a pertinent question if mere temperamental differences with the Defence Ministry could have induced the General to take such a drastic step as to resign. If, however, one is not to disbelieve the Prime Minister, the General had never before indicated that his differences were intolerably sharp. The question, especially in view of the fact that the General has since withdrawn his resignation, is what then had prompted him to serve the letter of ultimatum without consultations with the Prime Minister even? Or did he really want to show a particular feat when another General was visiting this country as the head of a neighbouring State? A satisfactory answer to the suddenness of the decision is very important not only for the people but also for the army. The further thing to know is how the news of the resignation was given out to the press and by whom? Why again the report of the withdrawal of the resignation was not given at the same time? Was there any design behind that? The press, it should be noted, only did its duty by publishing this gravely important news. No responsible newspaper could conceivably sit silent over a news of such momentous importance.

It is necessary in view of the ill-conceived criticism by the Praja-Socialist and Swatantra Party leaders to emphasise the fact that Shri V. K. Krishna Menon cannot legitimately be held solely or even primarily responsible for any failure when the decision was that of the Prime Minister as well. Moreover, so long as he is in the Cabinet it is a hundred per cent duty of the army chief to obey him and pay him the proper respect. The Prime Minister has emphatically stated that no political influence was responsible for army promotions in all cases of which but one. The recommendations of the Selection Board had been accepted

by the Government. Even in the case of the sole exception, the variation was made to conform to the regulations and ultimately meant no change as the person concerned has been assured of his existing seniority on promotion. It is, however, needless to argue along this level as the Government always must have the authority to make the final decision whatever the recommendations. Even during the height of the Second World War, the British Prime Minister did not hesitate to fire the Chief of Imperial General staff because of differences of opinion. The historic dismissal of General MacArthur by President Truman is too recent an event to require elaboration. Even in such a dictatorial country as the Soviet Union, the armed forces have always been subject to the strictest control of the civilian authorities. If India departs from this well-tested policy under any guise, the future will be dark. It certainly does not mean that the civil authorities should be tolerated even if they are corrupt and incompetent; because the Constitution lays down a defined procedure for changing the Government and the army-men, as citizens, also can vote for an alternative government. In any case the suffering of the army-men is by no means to be conceived as greater than that of the famished villagers and the unemployed townsmen.

### Audit Report

The report of audit on the Central Government Appropriation Accounts for the year 1957-58 makes dismal reading, not only because of the instances of irregularity and loss to which it refers—and the number of which is unfortunately not very comforting but also, because of the manner in which the irregularities occurred or the losses were incurred. In so far as it may be impracticable to be technically correct always and, inasmuch as even the best brain is liable to err in judgment, some of the irregularities mentioned by audit may perhaps have been unavoidable in so large an affair as the Government of India is. The knowledge of the way how the irregularities occur or losses are incurred assumes a greater importance from the public point of view than the mere knowledge of the fact of the occurrence of an irregularity. It is on this

score that the disclosures in the audit report add to the dismay of even the most casual reader. Indeed, some of the instances listed by audit with departmental explanations lead one to doubt if there is a Government functioning in India with adequate rules and regulations for the conduct of financial administration, requiring of its officers the active application of their minds to the matters that come up before them for decision. How, for example, is one to explain the departure of the second engineer of a foreign ship without paying the fine of two lakhs of rupees which the Collector of Customs had imposed upon him? How again is one to look upon the expenditure of renting out a flat for an officer about a year before his arrival? Or the fact of payment for work which had not been done at all?

The ordinary citizen, who has to go round the Government Departments for months on to get a small refund or to settle a minor claim, may legitimately wonder if all the rules and regulations and all the vigilance and strictness are designed to be concentrated upon transactions affecting small sums and are not intended to be applied in bigger transactions involving national efficiency and having a significant impact upon economy. The manner of functioning of the Government departments and the autonomous bodies like the Sindri Fertilizers and Chemicals Limited and the Indian Airlines Corporation—as exemplified in the audit report—does not give any assurance that even commonsense checks also are being applied before decisions are taken. The Indian Airlines Corporation maintained 700 employees in excess of requirement even though it was perennially running at a loss—in a substantial number of cases even the direct cost not being covered by the receipts.

The report also stresses the need for improvement in the standard of budgetary practice and the maintenance of accounts and other records. The impact of the comprehensive instructions issued by the Government of India in August, 1958, enhancing the financial powers of the administrative Ministers and remodelling the Administrative process relating to budget and supplementary estimates was not clear at the time the report was prepared and is expected to be commented upon

during the audit of the accounts for 1959-60. The attitude of the Government is reflected in the number of objections that have remained unattended to by the authorities and may offer a clue to the persistence of many avoidable evils. More than 120,590 audit objections involving Rs. 69,27,09,319 were outstanding for the period up to 31 March, 1958 in the books of the Audit offices. The corresponding picture from the books of the Pay and Accounts Offices disclosed 7,476 cases involving Rs. 22,26,383. Some of these dated back as early as to 1946-47. Any further comment is superfluous.

### Evaluation of Community Development

The sixth evaluation report of the Programme Evaluation Organisation on the Community Development Programme deals with the planning process at the block and the village level, pilot projects for cottage industries, large and small co-operative societies and social education. As regards the planning process, the report gives an account of the structure and composition of the planning organisations at State, district, block and village levels. The recommendations of the Mehta Committee have largely been accepted by most of the States and they have taken steps to vitalise the Block Committees and give greater authority to panchayats to plan and execute local programmes. The report points out that group action is lacking and it exists more in idea than in achievements. The non-official members of the Block Committees do not show much enthusiasm and they attend less frequently than official members of such bodies and the non-official members rather play a passive role in their work. The responsibility for planning and working out the programmes as a result fall mainly on the official members.

The report states that the common villager is yet to develop an interest in the planning effort. This is just common knowledge that the planning efforts in this country have not yet registered the co-operation of the bulk of the people. Nearly 80 per cent of the members of the block bodies approve the respective budgets in a formal manner without critical examina-

tion. Of the yearly sanctioned amounts, nearly 35 per cent remained unspent during the period 1956-57 to 1958-59. Even the distribution of actual expenditure does not conform to the sanctioned budgets. Only in some areas a beginning has been made to build up sections of the block plan on estimates prepared at the village level. Only recently efforts are being made in some areas to develop village institutions, especially the Panchayats as the agency for planning. So far only a few tentative attempts have been made to build village plans on those for individual families. The report stresses that the planning is still for the family rather than by the family. It is however a good beginning.

About the cottage industries, the report states that the decay of our rural arts and crafts is a serious national problem and the pilot projects for rural industries are expected to contribute to its solution by training artisans, helping them with loans in cash and kind and organising them into co-operative societies. About 10,600 artisans received their training at the 15 projects. These trainees were able to learn improved designs and use of improved tools. But the training programme has not yet made much progress. A large percentage of the trainees are attracted by the prospects of stipends. Nearly 55 per cent of the trainees received stipends and only 37 per cent of the total number went into the crafts they were trained in. This indicates that the wastage of money and material is fairly large. In other words, all those who receive training in particular crafts do not pursue them as professions. It results not only in wastage, but also in unemployment of the trained personnel. The matter is that the trainees are undecided as to their future course of profession and they receive training merely as a stop-gap.

The basic problem of the rural industries is the limited market in the countryside. On account of poverty among the village people there is little or no effective demand and in consequence the rural industries face a very limited market. The increasing competition from large-

scale industries has also cornered the rural industries. But there is no assurance that with an increase of income in farming, the scope for rural industries will expand. Studies now reveal that the more prosperous farmers prefer to use the products of factory industries. In the final analysis, the report states, the future of rural industries depends on their capacity to compete with factory industries and also on their opportunity to supplement the large-scale industries. But unfortunately none of the pilot projects were designed to investigate the possibility of the rural industries in supplementing the factory industries. The pilot projects were started "to act as laboratories for controlled observations to find possible solutions to problems that have come up in the field of cottage and small-scale industries." But the pilot projects have hardly fulfilled this purpose. Among the various reasons which are responsible for the failure of the pilot projects in this respect, the most important is that the projects were not based upon adequate investigations into problems that the rural industries in different areas have to face. Who are those that planned the project, did they have any idea as to what they were planning? The results indicate their ignorance.

### Study of Co-Operatives

The Evaluation Team made a study of the prospects and possibilities of small and large co-operative societies. The finding of the Team is that the large society is on an average five to seven times as large as the small society as regards membership, area covered and share-capital. While the large societies receive Government contribution towards their share-capital, the small societies receive no such aid. In terms of coverage, the large societies have not reached the smaller cultivators more than the small societies. The small cultivators constitute a smaller proportion of the membership of the large societies than of the small ones. Neither the large nor the small societies have yet covered even a fourth of the

households in their respective areas and the large societies have hardly done better than the small societies.

The average small society has a membership of 64 persons, being roughly equivalent to 22 persons per 100 households in its jurisdiction, a share capital of Rs. 30 per member, a deposit of Re. 1 per member and a loan business of Rs. 9,000 a year. In this connection the evaluation report states: The small society has not had a full trial. The grant of credit is not yet linked with marketing and the charge from the credit-worthy persons, of whom there may be only a few in a village—to credit-worthy purposes—which cover all productive activity, has not yet taken place to any appreciable degree. The Government which has not yet helped the small societies to employ paid trained secretaries, may find the subsidy costing less than the loss from the liquidation of hundreds of societies every year. There would still remain the problem of unproductive loans. It should be one of the functions of the social education programme to educate people out of costly social customs, and if loans for credit-worthy purposes are properly utilised, the resulting increase of income should accommodate the irreducible minimum of expenditure on non-credit-worthy purposes.

The committee suggests that the obvious remedy is to make the small society bigger and this can be done without extending its geographic coverage. The low values of all the dimensions of the small societies call for some steps to increase their workability. It may be recalled that larger societies were encouraged on the recommendations of the All-India Rural Credit Survey Committee. But the larger societies were later regarded as the negation of co-operation and Sir Malcolm Darling in his report discouraged the growth of large co-operative societies. In 1958 Simla conference there was a growing awareness on the part of the Government to switch back to smaller societies. Pandit Nehru observed that a blunder was committed by encouraging the growth of large societies. If working fund of the

small society is raised with the help of Government subsidy and if its organisational structure is improved, then small societies will constitute viable units.

The two main objectives of the community development programme are: to increase agricultural production and to achieve an expansion of cottage and medium scale industries. But in both of these two objectives, the community development has almost become a failure. The responsibility for this failure lies with the State Governments as well as with the district administrations. It is the duty of the district administrations to execute programmes of agricultural development in the best efficient way to secure maximum return on investment and also to exploit to the fullest extent the improved techniques of production. In this connection the Vice-Chairman of the Planning Commission made the following admission: "My review has shown that, in both directions, our efforts have not been adequate when viewed in relation to the expenditures incurred and that these need to be intensified considerably. There should be increased administrative efficiency at all levels and careful review of achievement with prompt action to rectify defects."

At the Mysore session held in July this year on community development, Sri S. K. Ley, Minister for Community Development and Co-operation stated that the community development movement was right on the threshold of the revolutionary people's phase. The Programme Evaluation Organisation has, however, severely criticised the way of working the community development. India's target of food production has now been raised to 110 million tons and the achievement of the target at this level will depend basically on the village organisations, particularly the community development blocks which constitute the pivot in the rural economy of the country. Theoretically this is an ideal conception, but its achievement and realisation is most unsatisfactory. That the production of food-grains in this country has been retarded may be traced to a great extent

to the failure of the community development projects.

During the Second Five-Year Plan 3,900 seed farms were scheduled to be opened for the production of nucleus seed during the first three years of the Plan. But of this programme only 60 per cent have been achieved. Of course, other factors like the lack of irrigation facilities and inadequate aids to the cultivation are also greatly responsible for the retardation of agricultural production.

Originally there was the plan to divert at least 10 per cent of the population from agriculture to industry by 1976 and this was to be achieved by the development of rural industries mainly through the community development programmes. To achieve this object 24 pilot projects of large-scale industrial programmes were started through the community development blocks. Each project covered nearly 300 villages. But these pilot projects have not met with desired success. Another drawback in the administration of co-operative societies is that all societies are treated as credit societies, although in some circles they are registered as multi-purpose societies.

#### West Bengal State Electrification

The third Annual Administration Report of the West Bengal State Electricity Board covers the period from April 1957 to March 1958. As regards planning and progress of electrification schemes in the State of West Bengal, the general policy of the Board in chalking out its programme of work continues to be to harmonise as much as practicable its commercial interests with the objective of promotion of public welfare. Owing to the serious dislocation of supply position of machineries and equipments from abroad resulting from Suez Canal blockade, only 30 per cent of the planned targets of that year could be completed leaving a balance of 70 per cent for execution during the year under review. With this carry over of the preceding year's unfinished work, progress in the execution of various schemes was maintained with the funds available under



the Plan supplemented by funds advanced by the State Government for Community Development Projects, Relief and Rehabilitation Schemes and Normal Expansion purposes.

The following programme of work was taken up for execution during the year under review. These include rural electrification schemes, Kharagpur-Midnapur electrification scheme, extension of Mayurakshi hydro-electric scheme to Labpur and Kharidya, Howrah-Hoogly rural electrification scheme and suburban electrification scheme. The work according to the above programme was taken up as was permissible with the limited fund of Rs. 56.29 lakhs available during the year against the anticipated allotment of Rs. 76.17 lakhs under the Second Five-Year Plan. In addition to the schemes enumerated above, the Board undertook execution of other schemes during the year under review with the help of loans amounting to Rs. 9.49 lakhs made available by the State Government from the Community Development Programme budget and also with funds supplied by the Relief and Rehabilitation Department. Progress was maintained in the execution of schemes sponsored by the Relief and Rehabilitation Department for electrification of a number of mills, factories and rural areas with a view to opening up possibilities of rehabilitating the displaced and unemployed persons in the areas.

It is said that the use of power indicates the standard of progress of a country. In India the use of power is comparatively much below that of the Western countries. At the end of 1957, the total installed capacity of generators in West Bengal was 493,389 Kw. Of this 3,208 Kw. was hydro-electric and 4,748 was diesel generated. Of the total installed capacity, 489,301 Kw. was under the private sector and 4,088 Kw. was under public sector. Of the 27 electric generating undertakings in West Bengal in 1957, 8 were owned by private companies and 18 companies received bulk supply. Up to March 31, 1958, 262 towns and villages were electrified by the Board. Of these, 98 towns and villages had a popu-

lation below 1,000; 50 had a population between 1,000 to 2,000; 59 had a population between 2,000 and 5,000; 24 had a population between 5,000 to 10,000; 23 had a population between 10,000 to 20,000; 7 had a population between 20,000 to 50,000 and one town was electrified having a population of 50,000 to 100,000. In 1957, the total units of electricity generated in West Bengal were 1,724 million Kw. The total units generated by the Board were only 4 million Kw. The Damodar Valley Corporation supplied 79 million Kw. to railways and big industries in West Bengal.

In West Bengal in 1957, the total units generated and purchased amounted to 2,084 million Kw. The total units sold were 1,839 million Kw. Of this, irrigation used 539,338 Kw., traction 49 million Kw., public lighting 17 million Kw. In domestic uses, light and fan consumed 223 m.Kw; heat and small power consumed 52 m.Kw; in industries low and medium voltage consumed 106 m.Kw. and high voltage used up 1,209 m.Kw. In West Bengal steam power generates the largest volume of electric power and this is 1,709 m.Kw. and that is entirely by private undertakings. The Board only generates hydro-electric and diesel electric power.

The Jaldhaka hydro-electric scheme is the only major scheme of the Board under the Second Five-Year Plan. The original project report submitted to the Planning Commission was based on the preliminary survey and investigations and was accordingly given preliminary approval for inclusion under the Second Five-Year Plan. Comprehensive investigations were carried out during the year under review. These included contour survey of barrage area extending 1,000 ft., upstream and downstream at 5 ft., contour interval showing contour line up to 2,500 ft. Acquisition of land in the project area is in progress. As the river Jaldhaka forms Indo-Bhutan boundary and approximately 70 per cent of its catchment area above the intake point lies within the territory of Bhutan, an agreement has been reached with the Bhutan Government through the Ministry of External Affairs on payment of royal-

ties. The project report after submission to the Planning Commission will be scrutinized by the Central Water and Power Commission for processing through the Advisory Committee on Irrigation and Power Projects after which clearance from the Planning Commission will be received.

### Policy For Transport Development

There is a general feeling in the country that there should be a long-term policy for the development of the transport system. The importance of the rail-road co-ordination also deserves a careful consideration by the authorities. The problem of co-ordination demands early solution, but the progress in this direction has remained unsatisfactory. At the end of 1957, India's surfaced roads totalled 127,000 miles and unsurfaced roads 201,000 miles. The railway mileage stood at 34,889 during 1957-58. The road transport, therefore, deserves much more attention and development in view of the fact that the railways only serve a very limited percentage of the total transport system in the country. The occasional disequilibrium that occurs in the country in the distribution and movement of food-grains and other essential commodities may be attributable to the lack of proper road transport system. The railways are over-worked and under the present conditions have limited capacity to serve the interests of the country. Free movement of goods within the country is essential to maintain the economic equilibrium. The railways suffer from bottlenecks and the zonal divisions have further worsened the situation.

The Transport Development Council recently met in New Delhi and endorsed the suggestion for setting up a high level committee for laying down a long-term policy for the development of all forms of transport. As regards the rail-road co-ordination the Council discussed the measures that need be taken pending the examination of the question by the proposed committee. The Council felt that there would be legal difficulty in associating railway representatives with the State

Transport authorities, as was suggested in the past. The Council instead accepted the suggestion of the Union Ministry of Transport and Communications that whenever application for road transport permits for routes exceeding 300 miles would be considered, the State Transport authorities might consult the inter-State Transport Commission.

The Council also discussed Masani Committee's recommendations that the formation of the viable units for the operation of road transport should be encouraged so as to ensure better service to public. The Masani Committee suggested that while there should be no ban on single truck operators for inter-regional operation of goods services, there should be a unit of at least five vehicles for State-wide operations and ten vehicles for inter-State operations of goods transport. The Council considered this suggestion and its view was that while in principle viable units should be encouraged, subject to special conditions in individual States, there was a danger of creating vested interests and it would be better to confine such units in future to co-operatives or joint-stock companies and individuals should not be encouraged to form large units. That is just a decision in the right direction. Monopoly ownership should not be allowed to creep into road transport. Moreover, the authorities should be vigilant enough to keep watch on the conditions of private transport system as to its viability, maintenance of vehicles in good condition, fare, etc.

The Council felt that one of the purposes for creating viable units was to ensure better and safer service to the public. With that end in view the Council agreed that a scheme should be prepared under which it would be compulsory for the operator to make use of certain services to be provided by Government for repairs, for ensuring safety of operation and for amenities to users; and the cost of such services will be recovered from the operators. This would result in better supervision and also more facilities to the public. The question of taxation of motor

vehicles was also discussed by the Council. In this connection the Council felt that States which had not so far fallen in line with the policy of consolidation of tax, fixation of ceiling on taxes, avoidance of double taxation, etc., should examine the question again and the whole matter will be reviewed at the next meeting of the Council. As regards the question of rendering financial assistance to the road transport industry, including the provision of hire-purchase facilities, the Council came to the conclusion that the measures already taken were not adequate. It felt that efforts should be made to develop easier credit facilities. It was also decided by the Council that a scheme should be worked out under which scheduled banks would advance loans to transport operators on the security of hypothecated vehicles and other collateral security. Encouragement should be offered to individual operators to form hire-purchase companies on a co-operative basis, such companies being guaranteed easy-loan facilities.

The Council approved the pilot scheme for forming co-operative societies of educated unemployed persons for running goods transport services. Under the scheme as approved by the Council, all members of the society would be working members, each contributing an equal share and each receiving the same salary. For the present the pilot scheme will be introduced in Bombay, Madras, Kerala, West Bengal and Delhi with one unit each. The Government of India will give financial assistance including loans on easy terms and the Government will also provide training facilities and other assistance.

The Union Minister of Transport and Communications said that at this stage it was not possible for the Planning Commission to allocate resources for different sectors of the Plan. But proposals for road development could be worked out on the basis of the 20-year plan drawn up by the Chief Engineers. This plan envisaged an expenditure of Rs. 250 crores a year. The Nagpur Plan targets which were to be attained in 20 years have already been

achieved in 16 years. But in view of the rapid economic growth of the country, the targets as laid down under the Nagpur Plan have totally become inadequate. The Nagpur Plan should be revised so as to provide much more roads in keeping with accelerated growth of Indian economic conditions. By 1960-61, there will be a shortage in transport for carrying goods of about 50 million tons a year.

### Oil Prices ✓

The disclosure made in the statement of the Union Minister for Mines and Oil, Sri K. D. Malaviya, that the foreign oil companies had ignored repeated requests made by the Government of India to bring down the prices of mineral oils must come as a great surprise especially to those who had wanted to read in the decision of the Burma Shell Refinery Company to forego the duty protection on diesel and other "black oils" with effect from last July a basic change in the method of operation of the foreign oil companies in India. The tone of the Minister's statement in the Lok Sabha on August 20, shows how disappointed the Government has been over the response of the companies concerned. The case for a reduction in the prices of mineral oils rests on the fact that though a good proportion of the total oil supplies of India is imported from the areas bordering the Persian gulf the sale prices are not worked out upon the cost of production and refining but are fixed on a higher level on the basis of some theoretical consideration. The reduction in the sale prices of petrol would thus hardly affect the efficient functioning of the Companies or their legitimate profits though it might conceivably hurt those whose business investments had been made upon the expectation of the gains of plunder and not of industry. The Government of India's policy of neutralising all reductions in prices through the imposition of excise duties of a proportionate order, as it has done in the case of the duty protection given up by the Burma Shell Refinery Company has resulted in a general apathy to this question of far-reaching implications to the national

economy. It is really inexplicable why the Government should be unable to share the gains with the consumer.

### Democracy in Nepal

Nepal's experiment with democracy has started with a great handicap which has been due to the non-recognition of the elective principle to the fullest extent. The adoption of the principle of royal nomination for half of the membership of the Upper House of the Nepalese Parliament has resulted in putting the two Houses of Parliament at loggerheads and threatens to make the Government ineffective. The innovation of a royal prerogative for nomination of members of Parliament (it is inconceivable that if the exercise of the King's powers in this regard had been subject to the advice of the Council of Ministers the Ministry would have to face two defeats in the Upper House within such a short period of the inauguration of the Constitution) is rather inexplicable on the face of the King's public profession of constitutionalism. In so far as the King could not have been unaware of the political and social views of the persons he has selected for membership of the Upper House, he must be ready to share the responsibility for the grave threat of impasse presented by the attitude taken by them in the Upper House. Much of Nepal's present misery has been due to the ineffectiveness of successive governments that had been formed since the democratic revolution headed by the late King Tribhuvana. It is really unfortunate that the King Mahendra, who has shown much keenness for democracy, should have been instrumental, even remotely, in placing constitutional Government in Nepal at an initial disadvantage.

### Indo-Afghan Trade

A new trade agreement was concluded in August between India and Afghanistan in New Delhi which is to take effect from July 21, 1959 when the term of the previous agreement, signed for one year in 1957 and subsequently extended for another year, expired. The new agreement envis-

ages increased trade between the two countries and provides for the extension of facilities to their dealers to import larger quantities of good and new items. Normal imports would be governed by traditional methods of payments but special import would be governed by the mechanism of a self-balancing rupee account. The sale proceeds of hides and skins imported from Afghanistan would be credited to the account to be opened by the Da Afghanistan Bank with the State Bank of India. Afghanistan would be able to draw upon this account to finance her expenditure in India. India would freely license import of hides and skins and special facilities would be extended to the registered importers to import dried and fresh fruits such as foetida summin seed, inedible animal and vegetable crude material and medicinal herbs from Afghanistan. On the other hand the Afghan Government would afford facilities for the import into India of cotton and woollen textiles, tea, coffee, dried fish, vegetable products, agricultural products, chemical products, soap, engineering goods, electrical goods, household and building requirements, hardware, rubber manufactures, leather manufactures and products of handicrafts and cottage industries. India would also offer facilities for the export of Afghan goods through India to other countries. India has a recurring adverse balance in the Indo-Afghan trade—Rs. 1.39 crores in 1954, Rs. 2.08 crores in 1955, Rs. 2.05 crores in 1956 and Rs. 3.12 crores in 1957. It is to be hoped that Indian traders would avail themselves of the opportunity of larger trade offered by the new agreement to increase their trade with Afghanistan and to wipe out the deficit in the account.

### Panchayats

The Government of Rajasthan proposes to constitute 232 Panchayat Samities and 26 Zilla Parishads on the 2nd October as a measure of administrative decentralization which is essential for making democratic functioning real. The Government has introduced a Bill in the State Legislature with this end in view. The

measure is a novel one. Though some of the States have drawn up plans for the introduction of such a scheme in isolated blocks and districts it is only in Rajasthan that the Government has moved to introduce the system throughout the State. There will thus be much interest in the current proceedings of the Rajasthan Assembly and how the system works out in practice there. The beginning has however been far from a happy one. The detection of discrepancies in the decisions of the Select committee and in the copy of the Bill as introduced in the Rajasthan Legislative Assembly led to a hot controversy over the admissibility of the Bill which was got over only after the Speaker's intervention with his ruling that the discrepancies were not of a nature to handicap discussion. The discussions which followed indicated the weakness of the scheme formulated by the State Government. An independent member, Shri Mohar Singh, for example, pointed out that the Government proposed to give only 25 naye paise per head of population of a block to panchayat samities which worked out a total of Rs. 32 lakhs for the whole State whereas the villages made an annual contribution of six crores of rupees as land revenue. While money is not everything it can hardly be denied that money has a crucial role to play in efficient functioning and if the panchayat samities are to be kept at a perennial state of beggary it is as well that there was no scheme for administrative decentralization.

### Problem of Language ✓

The controversy over the adoption of an official language for the Centre has clouded judgment over another, far more important, thing—namely, the determination of the medium of higher education in the various universities. Not that there is any significant divergence of opinion on the matter among people with a sane outlook on public affairs. With the exception of a few ultra-enthusiastic supporters of Hindi, whose unfortunate preponderance in the official language Commission was mainly responsible for bringing that

statutory body to disrepute as the "Hindi Commission," nobody has so far suggested that any one Indian language should supplant English as the medium of instruction in the Universities and other institutes of higher education throughout the country. The University Education Commission—better known as the Radhakrishnan Commission, and the English Committee of the University Grants Commission, commonly known as the Kunzru Committee, both are agreed that English should give way to the regional languages as the medium of instruction at all levels—a position, which found a welcome and authoritative re-iteration in the Prime Minister's speech in the Lok Sabha on August 7 during the discussion on Mr. Frank Anthony's motion to include English in the eighth schedule of the Constitution as a national language. Yet mainly because of the tussle at the Centre between the extremists who would like everything to be in Hindi or in English the practical implementation of the principle has failed to receive the attention due to it and has thus so far gone by default.

There was an undeniable force in a Member's charge in the Rajya Sabha on August 5 that the Government had failed to make any serious effort to give effect to the recommendation of the Radhakrishnan Commission to make the regional language the medium of instruction in higher educational institutions. Experience with the changeover of the medium from English to the regional languages at the secondary level, which was effected only about a little over two decades ago, has shown that there is no other way to cultivate of the Indian language conceived "as a medium of expression for learned purposes" and to prepare "a sufficient body of learned literature in that language in all subjects of study" than immediately to make it the medium of instruction at the university level. To hope to achieve perfection and the highest standard even during the initial periods of transition from English is to expect the impossible to happen and is the other way of stemming the progress of Indian languages,

To make the regional language a medium of instruction is an altogether different thing which is to be considered apart from the question of the future of English in India, either as a language of administration or as a compulsory second language. As matters obtain at present, English is going to be retained as an important and compulsory second language. On the other hand firm believers as we are in the adoption of Hindi as the official language, we cannot be oblivious of the inconvenience and the genuine misapprehension of the greater majority of Indians which are not calculated to be assuaged by some of the things said, or the attitude displayed by a number of people on behalf of Hindi. Seth Govind Das's insistence on putting Mr. Anthony's resolution, to which we already indicated our objection, to vote even when the mover himself offered to withdraw it betrays an attitude which only increases this uneasiness about the ultimate pattern of things. It is not accidental that the Prime Minister's clarification has received an overwhelming appreciation both in the House and outside, the principles enunciated by him should thus determine the pace.

### Prospectives for Education

The deliberations of the two-day conference of the Education Ministers of the States which concluded in New Delhi on August 9, have indicated no new line of thinking on the educational front. The conference has been content to reiterate the well-known fact of the extension of the target date of providing universal, free and compulsory education for children between the ages of six and eleven years from 1960 to 1966. To implement this programme, it has been suggested that all the State Governments should accept the target at the Cabinet level and immediately proceed upon adopting preliminary measures so that there is no difficulty in starting work from the beginning of the Third Plan. The superficial character of the discussions is too pronounced to escape notice. It was never difficult to know that the targets of introducing universal free primary education by 1960, as envisaged in the Constitution, was not going to be achieved

within that time. Did the State Governments think that it would not be possible to achieve the target even by 1966? It is, therefore, rather inexplicable why the State Ministers should have assembled in a conference, as they have done, only to declare a pious wish without working out the practical requirements of finance and administrative tasks.

The conference has stressed upon the need to convert at least half of the schools into higher secondary schools by the end of the Third Plan and that permission should not ordinarily be given to open high (class X) schools. According to the Union Education Minister, 1033 high schools had already been upgraded into higher secondary schools and 77 schools converted into multi-purpose schools against targets of 1187 higher secondary schools and 937 multi-purpose schools for the period of the Second Plan. While the physical targets of the Plan is not impossible of achievement it hardly disposes of the fundamental problem which is the improvement and maintenance of standards. This leads to the examination of the philosophy of education held by the policy-makers. On the one hand they want higher education to be restricted, on the other hand efforts for improvements of standards have to come up against the hurdle of a lack of an adequate number of properly educated teachers. It is however re-assuring to know that the Government of India has decided to give one hundred per cent assistance for the remaining period of the Second Plan to State Governments for opening teachers' training institutions and for increasing their enrolment. The conference has shown commendable caution in suggesting that the compulsory introduction of the scheme of national service proposed by the Union Education Ministry should await results gained in pilot projects and should not be rushed through without proper experience.

The question of education is intimately bound up with English. On this, the right line has been set by the Prime Minister. While rightly opposing Mr. Frank Anthony's motion for the inclusion of English in the eighth schedule of the Constitution of India, Shri Nehru has equally wisely stated that English would remain as an important second language, but

not as a medium of instruction. It is for our educational authorities to act upon this policy and to adopt the speediest measures to make the mother-tongue the medium of instruction at all stages of education.

### I.A.C. Strike

The lightning strike of the radio officers and pilots of the Indian Airlines Corporation on the night of August 14-15, which was withdrawn later on the assurance of the Union Minister for Transport and Communication, merits especial consideration because of a number of peculiar features. It was one of the rare occasions when a national public utility service was paralyzed practically without any notice. The people who were responsible for organizing the strike apparently considered it to be of paramount importance to bring the fact of their grievances to the attention not only of the Corporation authorities but also of the Government and the people of India in the most immediate fashion. So much so that they were ready to justify the loss incurred by the Corporation and the travelling public. Frankly, the published version of the cause of the strike does not warrant the grave steps taken. In Bombay, the men left their post on the plea that discourtesy had been shown to the President of the Indian Commercial Pilots' Association by the Chief Pilot and the General Manager of the Corporation, in Calcutta, the airmen were on strike apparently for the non-implementation of the agreement regarding granting of leave on public holidays; and in Madras the men stopped work after having served two flights.

The fact that despite these divergent reasons the strike took place at such a short notice and with such great completeness would suggest a deep-rooted resentment of the general body of IAC workers towards the management. This presumption gains strength from the promise made by the Union Minister for Transport and Communication to hold a high-level enquiry into the charges made by the Association. It would clearly be unwise to restrict the scope of the enquiry to the present charges and counter-charges. The warning of this strike should be fully utilised to clear the atmosphere in the IAC. To ensure the efficiency

and the integrity of public service it is essential that responsibility is fixed for failure and mis-management and due punishment is meted out to the guilty irrespective of their position in the administrative hierarchy. Experience shows that much avoidable trouble arises out of the mechanical application of private enterprise norms—which are themselves unsatisfactory and are in a process of transformation in the industrially progressive countries, but retain their relatively early forms in this country—in the field of public enterprise. While an undertaking based on sole-proprietorship could function without having a special machinery for the reconciliation between the management and the employees, a joint stock company could not. Thus labour legislation first came to be enacted bringing in the Government as the third party. Similarly the functioning of publicly-owned undertakings where everybody is an employee can hardly achieve efficiency, functioning along the lines of a joint-stock company which has a set of definite owners—which leads to the need for working out a new code of conduct for those who are engaged in the public sector.

Lastly there is the most important question, that of discipline in the public utility services. This question is paramount in importance, though too often forgotten in the emotional consideration of a strike. Was the strike justified?

### Legal Aid

The Union Law Minister, Sri A. K. Ser, disclosed in the course of his speech winding up the debate on the report of the Law Commission in the Lok Sabha on September 1 that the Government of India was busy drawing up a model scheme for giving legal assistance to the poor which would soon be circulated to the States for their opinion. He referred to the agreement reached in the last conference of Law Ministers on the question of providing legal aid to the poor and expressed the hope that the aforementioned scheme would be found acceptable by all the State Governments. The Minister's emphasis on the need for providing legal aid to the poor will be widely welcomed as an indication of the Government's awareness, belated though it is, of one of its



fundamental duties under the Constitution which is to ensure justice and equality to all the citizens. The legal system as it now operates puts a heavy premium upon the financial capabilities of a person seeking justice and it is well-nigh impossible even for an urban middle-class man to secure justice for his grievances, not to speak of the ordinary villager and the poor man. Any scheme of legal aid, however limited in character, is therefore to be heartily welcomed but it is necessary at the same time to point out the fact that no system of legal aid can be expected to be significantly effective within the existing framework of law and justice. The essential prerequisite for a cheaper and speedier justice is a thorough reform of the system which however the Government is not willing to consider at the moment. But until that is done, recourse to law and the judiciary will largely remain a privilege of the rich.

### Incivil Civic Guardians

The extent of the loss of values even among those who are supposed to be leaders of society was evidenced in the need to call in the police to restore order at a meeting of the Sholapur District Local Board on September 1. The trouble arose out of the association of a former member of the Samyukta Maharashtra Samiti group with the Congress Group to which the samiti group objected. Verbal altercation started over the propriety of the dissident member's action and was soon followed by physical pushing when the police had to be called in. For obvious reasons no business could be transacted at that meeting which was scheduled to elect four Local Board Members to the District Village Panchayat Board. It is through such unimaginative approach that the functioning of democracy is being made more and more expensive and ineffective in this country. The leaders of all the parties must clearly recognize the fact that unless they are able to hold up before the public the example of a disciplined conduct and efficient functioning it will only provide an additional weapon in the armoury of those who are clamouring that democracy is unworkable in India.

### The Injured Comrades

The confusion in the thought-process of the leaders of the Communist Party of India was sharply exposed in the retort of the Chief Minister of West Bengal, Dr. B. C. Roy, to the Leader of the Opposition and the Communist Party in the State, Shri Jyoti Basu. Shri Basu had charged that the movement launched by the Price Increase and Famine Resistance Committee in West Bengal had been a peaceful one and the Government's measures to check it were oppressive. Dr. Roy has contested the claim that the movement is peaceful and has quoted from the speech of another Communist leader of West Bengal, Shri Bhupesh Gupta, who had asked the Rajya Sabha whether the incitement by the Opposition parties in Kerala to lay a siege to the Secretariat there was not reprehensible. Contrasting the statement of P.I.F.R. Committee, in which it was stated *inter alia* that "a central rally on the slogan of 'All to Calcutta' from various districts will be held in Calcutta and a march towards Writers' Buildings (Secretariat) in thousands and defiance of law *en masse* will take place", to Shri Bhupesh Gupta's remarks, the Chief Minister has asked how the two views of the two Communist leaders can be reconciled. Evidently they are not mutually reconcilable. The Communist leader may perhaps seek a way of escape by officially denying his Party's formal responsibility for the statement of the Committee but that will not deceive anybody because the inspiration as well as the practical leadership of the movement is openly Communist. The Communist would not have to face the dilemma had they been publicly faithful to their ideology or to their democratic pretensions. Apparently they were so afraid of losing power in Kerala and were so disappointed having to admit defeat that in their eagerness to prove their good conduct and their fidelity to democratic forms and procedures that they were even ready to abjure their faith. Shri Bhupesh Gupta and many other Parliamentary Communist leaders did so. However, as the Party did not really believe in the indispensability of the Parliamentary method, other not directly connected with Kerala, continued

to act on their ideological understanding as did the Party leaders in West Bengal. Hence, this contradiction. By the same reckoning however the Congress position is also equally vulnerable. Having led a movement for the overthrow of a Government it cannot convincingly decry a similar movement against its own Government.

### Labour in U.S.

The United States is experiencing another major industrial strike, that of the United Steel Workers' Union. These men have had an 85 per cent rise in their wages since January, 1950. This rise, even when corrected for changes in purchasing power due to rise in commodity prices, comes to 44 per cent, absolute. But they want more, and the producers of steel, that is the management, has said it cannot give any further raise without increasing the price of steel.

In general, Labour is at the cross-roads in most democracies. In the U.S.A., it has been further complicated by racketeers dominating some of the most powerful unions. It has come to such a pass that the U.S. Government has had to formulate a labour reform bill about which *The New York Times* of August 23, gives the following details:

"Labour: The Senate passed a labour reform bill in April; the House passed its more stringent version two weeks ago. Last week the two measures went to a fourteen-man conference committee for reconciliation. It was a tough job because on a number of important points the two measures are diametrically opposed. The Democratic leadership agreed to give the conference committee seven days to try to find a compromise; if it fails, the Senate might take up the House bill and vote on it. But in any case, the Democratic leadership strongly predicts that some labor reform legislation will be passed. Organized labor regards the Senate measure as distasteful, the House measure as downright repugnant. Last Thursday James B. Carey, head of the International Union of Electrical Workers, sent letters to the legislators who voted for the House bill threatening that labor

would "take appropriate action at the ballot box." A number of legislators angrily branded this as "an attempt to intimidate" the Congress."

Some details about the nature of trouble that the proposed bill wishes to guard against can be gathered from the following commentary in the same issue of *The New York Times*:

"Since the racket-ridden, hoodlum-dominated International Longshoremen's Union was expelled from the American Federation of Labor in 1953 it has been the focus of considerable activity and pressure. For one thing, the waterfront Commission of New York Harbor, created in the same year, has been hard at work purging the 80,000-member union. The Commission has largely excluded hoodlums and racketeers from the I.L.A. It is now a crime for a local that has a convicted felon among its officers to collect union dues. It is also a crime for a convicted felon to approach within 500 feet of the waterfront. The shape-up, under which longshoremen had to appear early each morning to wait a nod from the gang boss assuring him he would work that day, has been scrapped. Now hiring agents are licensed and longshoremen are registered. Longshoremen's pay has on the average doubled—as of June 30 it was \$107 a week—and their wives, able now to feed and clothe their families are all for the new respectability.

Another form of pressure on the I.L.A. has come from Harry Bridges of the West Coast longshoremen's union, who would like to extend his control to the East and Gulf coast ports, and Jimmy Hoffa, of the Teamsters, to whom the longshoremen are an indispensable element for the transport federation he would like to build."

Our Government should take note of all these.

### Laos

The Security Council of the U.N. has met in an emergency call in response to an appeal by the Government of Laos for U.N. aid to meet aggression by forces that have been equipped, according to them, by arms

Chinese, Russian and Czech origin. The incursion, according to the Laos authorities, was organised and supported by a neighbouring Communist State. The Security Council has appointed a fact-finding commission, which has been condemned by the Premier of North Viet Nam. *The New York Times* of August 23, carried the following commentary which gives the U.S. version of the affair:

"Last Friday, en route home after a month's 'vacation' in Moscow, Ho Chi Minh, the President of Communist North Vietnam, held a secret conference at Peiping with the leaders of Communist China. The meeting was followed by a banquet. There was no official hint of what had been discussed but it was widely believed that high on the agenda was the fighting in Laos."

(The Buddhist kingdom of Laos (area: 89,000 square miles; population: 3,000,000) is in the heart of South-east Asia and shares common frontiers with six states—Communist China, Communist North Vietnam, Neutralist Burma and Cambodia, pro-Western South Vietnam and Thailand, which is allied to the United States through SEATO.)

Three weeks ago fighting broke out between Communist dissidents and Government troops in the country's two northern provinces along the North Vietnamese border. Last week the fighting intensified and there were reports that fresh Communist forces were massing inside the Communist Vietnamese frontier.

The fighting has touched off an acrimonious East-West exchange. Russia last week accused the U.S. of violating the 1954 Geneva accord on Laos by establishing military bases in Laos. Under the terms of the 1954 agreement, which ended the eight-year-old Indo-China war, the introduction of troops "from outside Laotian territory" was prohibited but Laos was permitted to receive military aid "necessary for the defense of Laos." Russia warned that the fighting in Laos would have "dangerous consequences for peace in South-east Asia."

The U. S. branded the Communist charges "false" and declared: "We have

no troops in Laos. We do not have in Laos, nor have we provided that country, with any heavy or medium equipment. We have no bases in Laos, nor airstrips." U.S. military aid to Laos, it was pointed out, started in 1950, and has continued since 1954 as "defense support." The bill now runs to about \$25,000,000 a year. The U.S. also has seventy-one military aides in Laos and 100 technicians in civilian garb to help train the 25,000-man Royal Laotian Army.

Washington accused the Russians of "complicity" in instigating the fighting. The U.S. said the conflict erupted when Communist dissidents in the northern provinces balked at integration into the Government army—as agreed to last year. The insurgents then escaped into Communist Vietnam, the State Department said, "providing further evidence of the link between (Laotian Communists) and North Vietnam," regrouped their forces and returned to invade Laos.

Some Asian observers speculated that the Laos crisis may have been created by Peiping against Moscow's wishes. According to this theory, Peiping may have been trying to register displeasure at and possibly disrupt the forthcoming Eisenhower-Khrushchev exchange. They recalled that Peiping was believed to have vetoed Mr. Khrushchev's proposed trip to a U.N. summit meeting in New York last summer. Moreover, this line of reasoning goes, he had no choice under the circumstances but to back Peiping on the Laos issue.

During the week the United Nations was drawn into the affair despite Secretary General Dag Hammarskjöld's expressed desire to maintain "hands off." On Wednesday a Laotian envoy arrived in New York and held a series of conferences with Mr. Hammarskjöld to ask what the U.N. will do about the affair."

### The Caribbean States

The Americans are known to most of us in the terms of the major States, such as, Canada, the United States, Mexico, Brazil, Argentina, Chile, etc. But besides these there

are a whole host of big and small States that are highly unstable and are in a perpetual state of agitation. Recently, after the seizure of power by Fidel Castro in Cuba, there have been sporadic attempts to start risings against Castro's rule, that were financed and supported by dictators in other States. Castro also retaliated in trying to stage a revolt in the Dominican Republic. There was a turmoil which led the U.S. Foreign Secretary to call a meeting, at Santiago, Chile, of the Foreign Ministers of twenty-one American States. The *New York Times* of August 23, gives the following commentary of the meeting:

"Within the Caribbean Sea's 750,000 square miles is a diverse group of nations ranging from new "revolutionary democracies" of the Latin world such as Fidel Castro's Cuba to old entrenched dictatorship such as Generalissimo Rafael Leonidas Trujillo's Dominican Republic. At least six Caribbean states—Nicaragua, Haiti, Panama, Honduras, Cuba and the Dominican Republic—claimed over the past six months to have been invaded or infiltrated by "foreign elements." The turmoil ultimately led to the meeting at Santiago, Chile, a fortnight ago of the twenty-one American foreign ministers—including the representatives of the rival Caribbean nations—to discuss ways of coping with the strife.

At the conference the United States—which is deeply disturbed by the tension on its doorstep—was confronted with a dilemma. On the one hand, the U.S. was loath to give apparent support to Latin American dictatorships. On the other hand, the U.S. has termed the inter-American principle of nonintervention the "foundation stone" of hemispheric relations and has viewed the Caribbean invasions as undermining that doctrine.

Last week, after six days of debate highlighted by bitter exchanges between the Cuban and Dominican delegates, the conference produced the "Declaration of Santiago." The declaration reaffirmed the doctrine of nonintervention but condemned every system tending to suppress political and civil rights and liberties." The con-

ference also approved a resolution empowering the five-nation Inter-American Peace Commission, formed in 1940, to "initiate" an inquiry into Caribbean tensions. Secretary of the State Christian A. Herter said: "(The meeting) has had a positive and constructive result."

Observers in Santiago felt that the conference achieved about as much as could be expected under the circumstances and that Mr. Herter had favorably impressed most of the Latin American delegates. There was hope in some diplomatic quarters that the peace commission might discourage governments such as Premier Castro's from assisting exiled rebel groups in mounting invasions against the dictators, while restraining the dictators from aiding anti-Castro movements in Cuba. But many observers felt the committee lacked the authority to do the job and that the "Declaration of Santiago" had a hollow ring. They pointed out that the Dominican Republic was among the signatories and that, obviously, Generalissimo Trujillo had no intention of introducing democratic reforms at home.

### Bengali Encyclopaedia

An encyclopaedia forms an essential part of a nation's literature. The Government of India has formulated a scheme for financial support to efforts to prepare encyclopaedias in the various languages of the country. Work—under official patronage—is in progress simultaneously for the compilation of two encyclopaedias in Hindi. Commendable progress has been made in the preparation of a Tamil encyclopaedia in the south and some of the volumes have already come out. However, progress in this respect has been rather tardy in other languages—chiefly because of a lack of proper financial support for the project and the absence of a feeling of urgency for such a thing among the scholars. In West Bengal all work has so far been bogged down over the controversy over the personnel of the editorial board. While Indian efforts have thus remained crippled for one

reason or other it is rather remarkable that Pakistan, where financial and aggregate intellectual capabilities can hardly bear comparison with India's, should have managed to launch upon a scheme for the compilation of a Bengali encyclopaedia representing what has been described as "Muslim points of view." Of course the project is being financed by a U.S. firm but considering the possibilities of market returns Indian producers could certainly present more hopeful prospects to draw in foreign concerns over comparable projects in Indian languages. The truth must be sought elsewhere—in the enthusiasm of Pakistani scholars to enrich their language and literature. Only the other day we had the news of the completion of the compilation of a Urdu-Bengali dictionary. Indian languages have yet to have a dictionary each for every other Indian language.

### The Coal and Soft Coke Problem

We have received disquieting information about the position of coal and domestic (soft) coke stocks and raisings from one of the mining organisations of Bengal and Bihar. The information was given in response to our enquiry as to whether supplies would improve after the sanction of the increase of price by 0.50 nP per ton, and a full subsidy for stowing. In passing it should be remarked that the Government of India has taken 28 months in coming to this decision.

The fact that the Government has accepted the report in its entirety raises with force the question why the decision on the matter had to be delayed so much. The Government's action consisted solely in deciding upon policies the implications of which had been examined by the Price Revision Committee in relatively great details. The importance of an adequate explanation for the reasons of the delay in making up the Government's mind arises out of the fact that this indecision has had a particularly adverse impact upon the production of coal which was 3.81 million

tons in June this year against 3.88 million tons in May last year. According to a statement issued on behalf of the industry the fall in production and non-utilization of available transport facilities (notwithstanding the fact that the latter have remained one of the great headaches in the matter of making coal available to the consumers at a reasonably low price) had been due not to any lack of demand for coal, since collieries held more than adequate orders for their output, but due to the absence of adequate financial support and the proper incentive. The result has been the almost complete disappearance of the stock of quality coal everywhere.

The Revision Committee's recommendations are based on the assumption that there would be no demands by labour during the next five years—a very doubtful proposition indeed in view of the constantly rising prices of daily necessities. During the past twelve years provision for wage increase alone has accounted for a rise of Rs. 8.25 in the price of coal per ton.

According to information received, the stocks of steam coal at the Bengal-Bihar coal fields are practically nil. The official statistics are illusory as the figures they give are of brick-burning slack. Also the stocks that should be maintained for Iron and Steel Works and other industries have also dwindled down to almost nil, day-to-day raisings and supplies therefrom being the order of the day. As a result the stocks held by the major consumers are fast coming down below the danger level.

The position regarding domestic coke is still worse, as we can testify from our own knowledge. Would the position improve now after the Government's decision? "No," say our informants. The Government's decision means that losses will continue in the coal mining industry, the award will only lower the losses by 30 per cent. The industry cannot carry on at this rate, in the face of continuing losses, and no prospects of industrial peace. The situation, as we can gather from the papers placed before us by three mining organisations, is extremely delicate.

## REMINISCENCES OF SANTINIKETAN 1921-1922, 1923

By SNEHALATA SEN

Of all my visits to Santiniketan during the last 45 years, the present visit has brought to my mind the true significance of the words, "Santiniketan—the Abode of Peace."

When I came here before this, I was active, able to go for long walks, attend all the functions and visit people, but this time I am unable to go out much.

As I sit quietly at home with the sky and open places all around "Memory brings the light of other days around me." So I sit down to write the reminiscences of these days.

My longest visit to Santiniketan was when I lived here for 1½ years in charge of the Girls' Hostel.

The opening of the Women's Section of the Visva-Bharati is a landmark in the history of the Institution.

It is now nearly 37 years ago when I came here. I was then living in Calcutta in the northern quarter, and was longing to go away somewhere out of the crowded city. My son Kula Prasad was at that time working in the villages at Surul along with a band of boys under the guidance and leadership of Sri Nepal Ch. Roy, the well-known patriotic worker. Kula Prasad suggested I should come to Santiniketan for a change.

I had been to the Asram four or five times before, after my son Prodyot had been admitted as a student to the Brahma Vidyalaya started by Gurudev. I sent Prodyot there at the age of ten years on the advice of my father. I decided to go to Santiniketan and wrote to Gurudev that I would like to go and work there if he would let me. He wrote at once in reply, asking me to go:

কল্যাণীয়াসু  
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তুমি ছুটির পরে শান্তিনিকেতনে আসচ শুনে খুব খুসি হয়েছি। আমি নিশ্চয় জানি তুমি যদি ছেলের পড়াবার ভার নেও তাহলে খুব ভালই হবে। আমার অনেকদিন থেকেই ইচ্ছা ছিল তোমাদের মত কাউকে পেতে

কলকাতার চেয়ে এখানে তুমি শান্তিতে থাকবে তার বন্দেহ নেই। আমার খুব বিশ্বাস এখানকার কাজ তোমার ভাল লাগবে।

এখানে আমাদের কয়েকজন অতিথি এসেছেন তাঁদের নিম্নে ব্যস্ত আছি। ইতি ২৩শে আশ্বিন ১৩২৮

শুভাকাজী

শ্রীরবীন্দ্রনাথ ঠাকুর

His reply to my letter seemed to be a most answer to a prayer. It has been my privilege to be intimately known to the Poet since my childhood and throughout my life. When I went to Santiniketan I took 2 or 3 classes teaching little boys English and English conversation. They used to come to me every morning.

Later on when Gurudev requested me to take charge of the Women's Section of the Visva-Bharati, I felt it was a great honour. I prayed I would be able to justify the Poet's trust and confidence in me. I wanted no salary, and wished to work in an honorary capacity as long as I could. I was made a member of the Karma Samiti and attended all its meetings.

After receiving Gurudev's reply to my letter I left Calcutta with my daughter Malati accompanied by my son Prodyot, and arrived at Bolpur Station. Some boys met us at the station and took us to the cottage known as Nutan Bari. It adjoined the building known as Dehuli. I was given a large room with a big verandah in front and also a bath-room attached to my room. The other rooms of Nutan Bari were occupied by the girl boarders, who were then ten in all. I give the names of the girls: Manjusri, Malati, Surekha, Eva, Sayabati, Latika, Saraju, Tapasi, Amita and a little girl of 6 or 7 years of age.

I did not know then that Surekha would become my daughter-in-law. She was married to Prodyot after I had left the Asram. Soor the number of girls increased to twenty.

There was a matron to look after the kitchen and boarding arrangements.

I lived happily with the girls here, attending Gurudeva's classes, going to the mandir for prayer and service once a week. In the evening I would go out for walks or go to Gurudev and sit by him with the other girls, boys and visitors.

During my residence at Santiniketan my eldest daughter Sunity came here with her little son on a visit to me. She was surprised to see how much I had improved in health and how active I was.

We had at that time amongst us Miss Stella Kramrisch, the talented lady, who came out to India at Gurudeva's invitation. She taught the students the principles of Indian Art and dancing. Miss Kramrisch occupied a room of girls' boarding opposite mine. We soon became very friendly.

It was at this time that Mr. Elmherst came out to India at the Poet's request and took charge of the Agricultural Institution at Santiniketan in Surul. He came and visited us sometimes and encouraged the girls in gardening. His first lesson to them was to cut down some trees and clear the jungle around Nebu Kunja and other cottages.

How happy the girls were—attending classes in the open under the trees, learning embroidery, handicrafts, music, dancing, painting and gardening.

At that time Gurudev lived in the Dehuli and the girls went to him to attend classes named *Balaka*, when he read out his poems from the book *Balaka* and explained them to us all.

I made it a rule that the girls should cook one meal on Wednesday, their weekly holiday. They were very enthusiastic and cooked their lunch. Sometimes they went out for a picnic and cooked somewhere in the open.

They used to go out for long walks in the evening and they went out in groups of four or five and had to be back in the Asram before the bell rang for Evening Prayers.

An English lady came to the Asram to enlist members for the Girl Guide Movement from the Girls' Boarding and other places. I sent the girls to her. They were very eager and excited and went to her.

Soon they came back looking very serious and said they could not take the Oath which was 'Loyal to my King and my country'. They

were willing to take the Oath: "To my country but not to my King, as the king may not always be loyal to our country." I laughed and told them; "It is alright, do what your conscience tells you." However, in spite of this, the girls of the boarding and Asram were given lessons in Girl Guide. It was good discipline and training for them. Gurudev named them *Sahaika*.\*

In a year the number of boarders increased to twenty. It was a slow increase but people hesitated to send their girls to a place where there was co-education. In order to encourage the girls and boys to mix freely as comrades and class-mates I proposed inviting the boys now and then to small social gatherings. I wrote to Gurudev asking his permission to do so. He wrote in reply:

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কল্যাণীয়ায়

তুমি যে প্রস্তাব করেচ আমি তার অনুমোদন করি।  
ওখানকার ছেলেমেয়েদের মধ্যে একটা আত্মীয়তার সম্বন্ধ  
বটাই ত উচিত। তবে কিনা মাঝখানে তোমাদের থাকার  
ব্যবস্থা হবে। তার কারণ বাংলা দেশের সাধারণ গৃহস্থ  
যে পবম্পরের মেলামেশার অবকাশ না থাকতে এ ভুলে  
অধিকাংশ লোকের মন ঠিক তৈরী হয়নি। শুধুবাটে  
মাঝাঠর এ সম্বন্ধে কোনো বালাই নেই। বাই হোক  
তোমরা এরকম নিমন্ত্রণ সভার কাজ আরম্ভ করে দিতে  
পার। তোমাদের ওখানে কেবলমাত্র মেয়েদের মাধ্যম  
আলাপিনী সভা আছে—ছেলেমেয়েদের একটা আলাপ  
সভা থাকলে ভালই হবে। আমি সম্ভবত দশই এপ্রেল  
তারিখে আশ্রমে উপস্থিত হব। ইতি ৩ এপ্রেল, ১৯২২

শুভাক জ্যো

শ্রীরবীন্দ্রনাথ ঠাকুর

However, that prejudice of co-education was gone in time, for when I visited Santiniketan fifteen years after in 1938, there were more than 100 boarders. The girls' boarding had been removed from Nebu Kunja to the big building which was named *Sree Bhavan* by the Poet. There was a Lady Principal, an Asst. Lady Principal and two matrons in charge.

I was obliged to go to Calcutta for a few days in November, 1922, and wrote and asked

\* সহাযিকা



Gurudeva's permission. He wrote in reply saying I could go, leaving the girls in charge of Sm. Sarajubala Dutt who was then with us, living in the boarding with her daughter Amita (Ranu).

When I came back the girls ran to welcome me. Then I went to Gurudev to make a *pranam*. He laughed and said, "Oh you are back. The girls seemed to be quite lost without you." It was at this time that repairs were made to the cottage of our boarding for additional accommodation to receive more girls. The copy of Gurudeva's reply to my letter is given here:

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কল্যাণীয়াসু

আমি যুব যুব বক্তৃতা দিয়ে ভিক্ষে কবে বেড়াচ্ছি। আশা করি শীঘ্র ফিরব। জীবনে কোনো বিছাই শিবি নি, কি কবে ভিক্ষে করতে হয় তাও জানি নে, তাই এত সময় লাগছে। তোমাদের ওখানকার খবর শুনে খুশি হলাম। নেবকুঞ্জের বাড়িটা মেরামত করবার কথা ছিল। যদি মেরামত হয়ে থাকে তাহলে নতুন মেয়ে আবে কিছ নেবার বাধা হবে না। যদি মেরামত না হয়ে থাকে তাহলে বখী ক তাড়া দিতে ভুলো না।

তুমি নিছুদিনের জন্ত ছুটি চেয়েচ। সবুয়ালার উপর ভার দিয়ে ছুটি নিয়ে। আমি যখন ফিরব তখন হয়ত তুমিও ফিরবে, সেই সময়ে তোমার সঙ্গে সকল বিষয়ে আলোচনা করতে পারব। নতুন পাল্লাবী মেয়ের কথা শুনে খুশি হলাম। বিদ্যা মেয়ে অনেক জুগবে, জায়গা করে দিতে পারলে আর কোনো বাধা থাকবে না।

তোমরা সকলে আমার আশীর্বাদ গ্রহণ করো। ইতি  
২২ নবেম্বর ১৯২২

শুভাকাঙ্ক্ষী

শ্রীবীজনাথ ঠাকুর

The personality of our beloved Poet and his unique institution drew girls from all the provinces of India. I found girls from Rajputana, Gujarat, Sind, United Provinces, Central Provinces, Assam, Bengal, Behar and Orissa, South India and Ceylon. And the wonder of it was, that most of the non-Bengali girls spoke Bengali fluently!

The Poet had a great regard for women and gave them a special place in his institution. He did his utmost to place within their reach Indian learning, culture, and art in all

its phases. There is a wonderful library open to all.

Gurudev combined idealism with the practical side of life. He was accessible to all and never refused anyone or turned away anyone. He treated the workers and teachers of his institution like friends. He took a personal interest and this human touch of sympathy, promoted co-operation and made his institution develop and grow into what it is now.

He helped me in my difficulties and advised me in all matters like a friend. His energy was unceasing and untiring and he looked after his guests and to all the details of Sriniketan and Santiniketan.

When the call came Gurudev would leave India, and set out as an ambassador to other countries, to tell the peoples of the world, what India was, what India is, and what India can be. Wherever he went he was besieged by crowds, and went through a heavy programme with a cheerful and untiring spirit, but throughout his tours, his heart was at Santiniketan, and with the residents of the Asram.

Sometimes visitors from Calcutta came and visited the Girls' Boarding. They were surprised at the freedom given to the girls and at the long walks they used to go for. I explained to them that this was not a boarding in a city but a home, an Asram for them, and we trusted them.

After nearly 1½ years, I left my post as Lady Principal to the Women's Section of Visva-Bharati to go to my son Prodyot, who was then posted at Gaya. I went to Gurudev and asked his permission to leave. He smiled and said, "You must wait till I get someone to replace you." Soon after Miss Hembala Sen came from Calcutta to relieve me, and I left Santiniketan before the summer vacation. I left my daughter Malati in the Girls' Boarding, where she remained for five years more. During Malati's stay at Santiniketan as a student, a young man of a well-known family of Orissa, Naba Krishna Chowdhury, came to Visva-Bharati as a student. Malati and Naba got engaged to be married and they left the Asram. I was very pleased and the marriage took place at Calcutta. Gurudev attended the wedding and gave them their blessing. Malati was very happy and benefited much from her esi-

dence at Visva-Bharati as a student. The personal influence of Gurudev and his teachings, his patriotism and idealism, have influenced and guided Malati throughout her life.

During my stay at the Girls' Boarding my eldest daughter Sunity Dutt, came on a visit to me with her little boy. He is now a grown-up young man. Sunity was surprised to see the improvement in my health and the active life I had.

Her little boy was very sweet and intelligent and Gurudev took a great fancy to him and would keep him on his lap. One evening the child was sitting quietly in Gurudev's lap

when a sudden strong breeze arose. The child turned to Gurudev and said, "Gurudev, uttal hawa."\*

The Poet was delighted to hear the apt quotation from his poem in the lisping accents of the tiny child.

The months that I spent at Santiniketan were some of the happiest and peaceful days of my life. The memory of that time brings to my mind the picture of the Poet, as a friend, a worker, a counsellor, and a Guru; to be loved and revered by all.

\* উত্তল হাওয়া

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## THE PRIME MINISTER IN THE INDIAN POLITY

By PROF. V. LINGAMURTY, M.A.

### I

Parliamentary government signifies the entire web of the government, the legislature the executive, the electorate and political parties being the four important strands closely interwoven. Parliamentary system connotes the manner and extent of parliamentary control over the executive, the position and influence of the opposition, parliamentary check on delegated legislation and the existence of a vigilant electorate. Thus parliamentary system of government is a multiple thing and involves four factors. "The first of the four is an electorate . . . The second is a system of parties . . . The third and cardinal thing is the parliament . . . The fourth is a guiding Cabinet—a Cabinet guiding parliament and yet at the same time guided by parliament."<sup>1</sup> Of the four factors, the Cabinet is a "vitally necessary thing—which adds the final touch to the representative system."<sup>2</sup> Gladstone once described the Cabinet as "the solar orb round which the other bodies revolve." While the Cabinet is "the Central directing instru-

ment of Government," the Prime Minister occupies the pivotal position within the Cabinet. In the suggestive phase of Lord Morley, "The Prime Minister is the key stone in the Cabinet arch."

What then is the exact position of the Prime Minister under the parliamentary system? According to the traditional view the Prime Minister is the leader but not the master of the Cabinet. He should treat the other ministers as his colleagues and not as his servants. His position is described by the phrase "Primus inter pares" or "first among equals." Such a characterisation of the Prime Minister is considered by writers like Ramsay Muir<sup>3</sup> as "nonsense," for the Prime Minister is practically occupying the position of a "dictator." Even Sir William Venon Harcourt's phrase "inter stellas luna minores" or "a moon among lesser stars" does not fully describe the pre-eminent position occupied by the Prime Minister in Britain. His functions are so wide and varied that "all in all, it is small wonder that the shoulders of many a Prime Minister have drooped under the burden."<sup>4</sup> In Great Britain

1. Ernest Barker: *The Parliamentary System of Government*, pp. 21-22.

2. *Ibid.*

3. *How Britain is Governed.*

4. Ogg and Zink: *Modern Foreign Governments*, p. 93.

the ascendancy of the premier has been developed. Dr. C. R. Reddi once remarked, that "the premier is not the Chairman of the Cabinet, much less its speaker. The Cabinet is his. He is not its." Under the Constitution of the Fourth French Republic the office of the President of the Council of Ministers or Prime Minister<sup>5</sup> is "constitutionalised" and he is given wide powers. While it is undesirable, nay dangerous, to idolise the Prime Minister, it is equally improper to consider him as one who is merely to register the opinions of the ministers. The recognition of the leadership of the Prime Minister is indispensable for the establishment of a unified Cabinet. Otherwise there would be as many leaders as there are Cabinet Ministers, each being the leader of a group in the legislature. It would be the negation of the Cabinet system, for under such conditions there would not be a Cabinet at all.

## II

Unlike the constitution of the Fourth French Republic, definite mention is made of the Prime Minister in the Indian Constitution. But bitter controversy has been raging over the position of the Prime Minister in the Indian Polity. This is because, the President of the Indian Union is not a glorified figure-head. He is vested 'with powers' of far-reaching significance and this has given rise to the opinion that supreme authority lies not in the Prime Minister and the Cabinet but in the President. Article 74 (1) which lays down that the Council of Ministers is "to aid and advise the President" is often pointed out as indicative of the importance attached to the President. This becomes still more significant by the absence of any clause stating that any act passed by the President must be countersigned by a responsible Minister. The power to appoint the Prime Minister under Article 75 (1) cannot be treated as a formal one in view of the multiple party system that seems to be developing in the country. What has already happened in some of the states like

Kerala and Orissa may take place at the Centre also. Then the President will have ample opportunity to exercise his discretion in the appointment of the Prime Minister and the other Ministers. The powers of the President do not cease with the appointment of the Prime Minister. Article 77 (3) says that he "shall make rules for the more convenient transaction of the business of the Government of India and for the allocation among Ministers of the said business." There are, however, certain articles which clearly indicate that the President of India is not intended to be the counterpart of the American President. Article 75 (3) which says that "the Council of Ministers shall be collectively responsible to the House of People" (Lok Sabha) envisages the establishment of a parliamentary system in India. Mr. Aladi Krishnaswami Aiyar who was one of the architects of the Indian Constitution, observed on several occasions that the system envisaged under the new constitution is of the parliamentary type. Referring to the various articles dealing with the functions of the President, he remarked that the President "will have necessarily to be understood as the President acting on the advice of his ministers."<sup>6</sup> He further observed that "the expression, 'aid and advice,' is euphemistic phraseology."<sup>7</sup> A similar opinion was expressed by Mr. S. N. Mukherjee, Joint Secretary of the Constituent Assembly of India. He remarked, "Although the title 'President' has been used in the constitution to denote the head of the state, the form of government is modelled not on the Presidential system of Government of the United States but on the system of parliamentary democracy."<sup>8</sup> From this it becomes clear that under the new constitution, a parliamentary-cum-non-parliamentary system is introduced and it is mainly by conventions that the one or the other should prevail.

"No important institution is ever what the law makes it merely. It accumulates about itself traditions, conventions, ways of

5. In the Constitution, the word, Prime Minister, is nowhere used.

6. *The Hindu*, January 22, 1950.

7. *Ibid.*

8. *Indian Republic*, 26th January, 1950.

behaviour which, without ever attaining the status of formal law, are not less formidable in their influence than law itself could require."<sup>9</sup> The framers of our constitution were largely influenced by the examples of Britain and the Dominions where the parliamentary system is largely based on conventions. Nothing is said in the constitution of the relation between the Prime Minister and other ministers. Moreover, no provision is made for the appointment of different categories of ministers such as Ministers of the Cabinet rank, Ministers of State and Deputy Ministers. "The constitution does not fix any minimum or maximum limits to the size of the Council nor designate the offices. It leaves the Prime Minister completely free in these matters."<sup>10</sup> As long as Sardar Vallabhai Patel was alive there was the post of Deputy Prime Minister and it terminated with his demise. The setting up of convention for the sake of an individual is not a good sign for the healthy development of a constitution. However, in the matter of the relationship between the President and Prime Minister, the aims of the framers of the constitution have been fulfilled by the setting up of healthy conventions. It is remarked that "since the achievement of independence there had been scores of instances where the Chief Ministers and Governors in certain states differed over many matters."<sup>11</sup> But there are hardly any such instance in the case of relations between the President and the Prime Minister. The President of India has so far kept up the tradition of the parliamentary system by acting on the advice of the Prime Minister. The working of the constitution during the last eight years has shown that in the matter of powers the Indian Prime Minister occupies a unique position.

The ascendancy of the Prime Minister has been established not only by conven-

tion but also by certain provisions in the constitution. The leadership of the Prime Minister is recognised in Article 74(1) wherein it is said that he shall be "at the head" of the Council of Ministers. Under Article 78 he acts as a liaison between the Cabinet and the President. He has to communicate to the President all decisions of the Cabinet and furnish such information relating to the administration of the affairs of the Union and proposals for legislation as the President may call for. In the words of Mr. Alladi Krishnaswami Aiyar, "This article is a very salutary provision and is based upon the constitutional practice obtaining in Britain at the present day."<sup>12</sup> Unlike the constitution of the Fourth French Republic, it is not stated in our constitution that the Prime Minister alone should "initiate" legislation. However, constitutional practice has established that the Prime Minister of India is the moving figure in the legislative field also. The cardinal feature of our constitution is that the powers of the Prime Minister are "secreted in the interstices of procedure," and consequently the Indian Prime Minister has become one of the most highly powerful functionaries in the world, more by practice than by the letter of the constitution.

Since the beginning of this century, parliamentary system is marked by the mounting supremacy of the Prime Minister. This has led Mr. Ramsay Muir to remark that the Cabinet Government is "a dictatorship of one man." This tendency goes counter to the ideal of parliamentary system. The Prime Minister "is, of course, eminently a co-ordinating Minister and up to a point a supervising Minister, though even he will be wise not to overdo it. He is not the master of the Cabinet."<sup>13</sup> But the position in India today is far from this ideal and the Cabinet is completely eclipsed by the Prime Minister's overshadowing personality. "The parliamentary system is conducted on the vital

9. H. J. Laski: *American Presidency*, pp. 13-14.

10. N. Srinivasan: *Democratic Government in India*, p. 218.

11. *The Mail*, August 3, 1958.

12. *The Hindu*, January 22, 1950.

13. Herbert Morrison: *Government and Parliament*, p. 38.

hypothesis that no man is indispensable"<sup>14</sup> functions with the pressure, for instance, of an office like that of foreign affairs, is bound to neglect one or other."<sup>17</sup> But the Indian Prime Minister has not only overburdened himself with a heavy portfolio but also placed on himself several other problems. Mr. C. D. Deshmukh's statement in the Lok Sabha after his resignation as Finance Minister has great constitutional significance, for it throws light on the relations between the Prime Minister and his colleagues. Mr. Nehru observed, "I am something more than a Prime Minister of this country. We are something more. We are the children of the Indian Revolution."<sup>18</sup>

However, in India a feeling of the indispensability of Mr. Nehru is pervading the minds of the people and this explains the paramountcy of the Prime Minister in India today. In the matter of the selection of ministers as well as in his relations with them, the Prime Minister has been acting almost without any check. The names of several of the Ministers of State and Deputy Ministers have come to be known to the people only after their appointment as ministers. Several of them have been made but they have not grown into ministers. It is a significant fact that few of them could rise higher in the ladder and become Cabinet Ministers. It is well remarked that "promotions from the ranks of the deputies have been so few that one cannot help questioning the wisdom of the initial choice."<sup>15</sup>

The imperious position occupied by the Prime Minister can be noted in his relations with his colleagues. Under the parliamentary system the Cabinet forms a team and hence collective responsibility has become a characteristic feature of the system. But in India Cabinet discussions and consultations have become few and formal. Men of the calibre and experience of Dr. John Matthai, Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, Mr. V. V. Giri and Mr. C. D. Deshmukh could not work under such circumstances. Mr. A. D. Gorwala in his report to the Mysore Government stated, "Some of the Chief Ministers have been responsible for holding up work. They concentrate all decision-making authority in themselves reducing their colleagues in the Cabinet to mere figure-heads."<sup>16</sup> What is said of the Chief Ministers holds good to a certain extent in the case of the Prime Minister. The Prime Minister has only to co-ordinate and supervise the several departments and acquaint himself with the broad outline of events in all departments. "A Prime Minister who endeavours to combine these

In his relations with Parliament also, the Prime Minister occupies a unique position. Under the Parliamentary system, "he must be the active leader of the legislative assembly—his presence co-ordinates, in a way otherwise unattainable, the work of his colleagues in the legislature."<sup>19</sup> The uniqueness of the parliamentary system lies in the responsibility of the cabinet to the legislature and its fulfilment depends on the existence of a strong opposition in the legislature. "On the opposition rests the main responsibility for what was once the critical function of Parliament as a whole."<sup>20</sup> In India Cabinet responsibility to parliament has become a picturesque formality and whatever the Prime Minister speaks in the Lok Sabha is drowned in applause. This is partly due to the personality of Mr. Nehru and mostly due to the absence of a strong opposition party. As the late Mavlinkar remarked, "The difficulty is that one should reckon with the vagaries of the mammoth official party which has a three to one majority in the House while the opposition is a heap of contradictory and conflicting elements."

The Prime Minister of India is the key-man not only in the Council of Ministers and the Parliament but also in

14. H. J. Laski: *Parliamentary Government in England*.

15. *Cit.*, in the Ed. Notes of *The Modern Review*, May, 1957, from the *Economic Weekly*.

16. *The Eastern Economist*, Aug. 8, 1953.

17. H. J. Laski: *Grammar of Politics*, p. 362.

18. *Statesman*, July 26, 1956.

19. H. J. Laski: *Grammar of Politics*, p. 362.

20. L. S. Amery, D. W. Brogan and Others: *Parliament—A Survey*, p. 39.

the Congress Party. Under the party system that prevails today the Prime Minister cannot but belong to a political party. However, it would not be proper for him to burden himself with party organisation or to carry party propaganda at the time of elections. A Prime Minister who works as the Secretary or President of a party can hardly find time to do his duties as a Prime Minister. Moreover, the two offices are irreconcilable, for the president of a party represents the party while the Prime Minister represents the country. It is equally inadvisable for the Prime Minister to take an active part in an electioneering campaign. It is no doubt said that the work is done in the capacity of a party member but not of a Prime Minister. Such a transformation is elusive. In the matter of political pressure exerted on the people and officials, the distinction between the Prime Minister and party leader, hardly remains valid.

### III

Further evidence or argumentation is not wanted to conclude that one of the dangers to the parliamentary government in India lies in the growing domination of the Prime Minister. Under parliamentary system, no doubt the Prime Minister is the key-figure but in India he has become almost the sole figure. A sound party system is the sine qua non for the healthy progress of parliamentary system. Parties in a democracy must depend for their strength not on individual persons but on programmes. In a democracy "the professed reason for the existence of a party is the promotion of a particular set of doctrines and ideas."<sup>21</sup> In a country like Great Britain the Labour Party owes its strength not to Mr. Attlee or Mr. Gaitskell but to its programme; so too the conservative party. But in France it is said that "groups are pledged to men rather than to programmes or principles."<sup>22</sup> This is due to the absence of well-organised parties and so parliamentary system has resulted in parliamentary anarchy in France. In India the

distinguishing feature of the party system is the existence of one strong party and a number of small groups. The parties which contested the elections (in 1952) for the Union Parliament numbered 79 and for the State Legislatures over 179. "The Congress won 368 seats out of 489 seats in the House of People."<sup>23</sup> Either the continuance of the present one-party domination or the growth of multiple parties will endanger parliamentary system in India. Under the former there will be the domination of the Prime Minister due to the absence of a strong opposition leader. Under the latter the Prime Minister's post may become slippery as has happened in France and the dictatorship of the President may come into existence. Thus either way there will be danger to parliamentary system. Political theory and practice have beyond dispute established the fact that the existence of two great political parties divided by broad issues of policy is an essential factor in the success of parliamentary democracy.

The domination of a single individual becomes possible when the people are ignorant and are indifferent to politics. Such a people generally lack self-reliance and develop hero-worship. Dr. B. R. Ambedkar remarked that "democracy in India is only a top dressing in an Indian soil, which is essentially undemocratic." The social and psychological background in India is such that people are prone to think that they are fit to be ruled but not to rule. No doubt in every country "party idols" exist and "personal leadership may attract or repel large numbers of followers."<sup>24</sup> But in India this tendency exists in a preponderant measure and therein lies the danger to our parliamentary system. The success of Parliamentary system in India or anywhere, ultimately depends on educating the people to love freedom. "The whole system (Parliamentary system) is a free system—and dependent in the last analysis on the will of the people to be free."<sup>25</sup>

21. Lord Bryce: *Modern Democracies*, Vol. I, p. 126.

22. Munro: *The Governments of Europe*, p. 507.

23. N. Srinivasan: *Democratic Government in India*, p. 378.

24. C. E. Merriam and H. F. Gosnell: *The American Party System*, p. 148.

25. Ivor Jennings: *Parliament*, p. 507.

## SHORT-TERM BORROWINGS OF THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

BY PROF. DHARMENDRA PRASAD, M.A.

### I

It is the usual practice to resort to short-term borrowings to meet temporary imbalance in the revenue receipts so that the public authorities are constrained to borrow in the anticipation of revenues. The rates of such loans are generally lower because they are made with funds which the banks would not dare to use for long-term loans as they may need such money on very short-notice and unless this money can be loaned for short-periods it will have to remain idle with them. In addition, the modern governments have demonstrated an increasing reliance on short-term borrowings through the renewal and funding operations for war and development financing and consequently, the traditional pattern of floating debt forming a small part of the total debt has changed. It has come to occupy an important place in the public debt structures. An attempt has been made in this article to discuss in brief the trends in short-term borrowings of the Government of India. It will be preceded by a description of the various forms of floating loans.

### II

The most common forms of short-term or floating loans in the Commonwealth countries are the Treasury Bills and 'ways and means advances.' Occasionally, however, Treasury Deposit Receipts have also been used as an effective instrument of short-term borrowings.

The Treasury Bill is a promissory note of the Government issued in exchange of deposit at the Reserve Bank of India. It gives a written promise to pay 91 days later the specified sum. The advantage to the creditor in this form of lending is that he can lend his money for only three months and know exactly what sum he will then have available. Moreover, the form of Treasury Bill leaves a space for

the creditor's name, but the sum is payable to 'bearer' if no name has been entered and most of the bills the market handles are generally left as "bearer bills"; a phenomenon commonly inconsistent with ordinary commercial bills where the addition of each signature adds to the security. But the Treasury Bill is a promise of the Government and no discount house or bank signature can add to that security. The unquestionable security makes it possible for them to pass round the market as 'bearer bills' without any one hesitating to take them up. Being rediscountable at the Reserve Bank and generally issued during the slack season, they provide an ideal form of investment for the surplus funds of the banks.

The Treasury Bills are issued in two forms, viz, 'tender' and 'tap'; the former is meant to draw money from the public, and the latter, to enable the State Governments, semi-Government institutions and foreign Governments to invest their short-term surplus funds. The tap issues are created by the Reserve Bank on behalf of the Government of India in the form of ad hoc Treasury Bills which also have a currency of 91 days. These ad hoc bills are sold at a rate arrived at by adding Rs. 0.016 to bulk 'tender' rate at the preceding public auction. The tap issues have been introduced with the object of making available to the State Government sufficient Treasury Bills to meet their needs whether or not the weekly auctions were being held and to eliminate undesirable fluctuations in the discount rate which would otherwise result if these governments competed with the regular investors, such as banks and insurance companies for the limited supply of Treasury Bills at the weekly-auctions.

Public issue, in India, on account of tight money market conditions, is often only a small part of the total issue of the



Treasury Bills. The notice for the weekly tender indicating the amount offered and the dates on which the tender and payment are to be made, are included in the same press communique which announces the results of the previous auction. Applications for the Treasury Bills have to be made for a minimum amount of Rs. 25,000 or a multiple thereof and payment for accepted tenders can be made in the form of cash, cheques or maturing Treasury Bills normally on the third day following the issue of the press communique. Tenders are usually received from a few scheduled banks but there are no restrictions on the class of tenderers and any member of public can put in an application. Very often the Reserve Bank has to intervene by purchasing bills on its own account to ensure successful placement. To certain extent it is true, private individuals and institutions other than banks also tender for Treasury Bills, but the amount tendered for on their own account is very small. More usually they purchase Treasury Bills through their banks. Tenders at higher rate which carries correspondingly lower discount rate are accepted to the fullest extent possible and the difference between the amount sold and the amount of offer is made up by making a proportionate allotment to the next best rate. On maturity the bills are repaid at the office or branch of the Reserve Bank from which they were issued.

This brings us to the ways and means advances. When in anticipation of receipts from taxation or from long-term loans, the government needs funds which cannot conveniently or economically be obtained from the money market, either because of temporary stringency or because the issues and maturities of Treasury Bills or other short-term securities cannot be properly adjusted to the requirements of the government, the Central Bank can perform a useful function by granting temporary ways and means advances to the government. Although, to the extent that the proceeds of Government disbursements out of such advances whether in the forms of notes, coins or cheques on the Central

Bank—are deposited by the recipients to the credit of their accounts with the commercial banks, the latter enjoy an increase in their cash resources and, therefore, in their capacity to expand credit through increased advances, discounts and investments, but it is not always inflationary in consequence. In the first place, since such an advance is liquidated within a short-period, it does not serve as a source of inflation per se. Secondly, there are occasions during the year particularly in countries where the money market is not well organised, when owing to a desire for liquidity for those liable for heavy tax payments a temporary stringency arises; the Central Bank accommodation to the government not only provides the latter with the necessary finance for the time being but also helps to counteract the stringency by placing more funds at the disposal of the market.

Section 17 (5) of the Reserve Bank of India Act, authorises the Bank to make to the Central and State Governments ways and means advances which are repayable not later than three months from the date of making the advances. There are no statutory provisions as regards either the rate of interest to be charged or the maximum amount of advance, which are regulated by the respective agreement of arrangement. The actual rate charged has usually been one per cent below the prevailing bank rate. In case of the Central Government the total of such advances outstanding at any time should not exceed the minimum balance which she has agreed to maintain with the Reserve Bank.

Borrowing through the issue of Treasury Deposit Receipts on the British pattern was resorted to as an anti-inflationary programme for a period of about two years since October, 1948, when on account of the tight money market conditions public issue of the Treasury Bills had to be suspended. In England, Treasury Deposit Receipts came into existence during the Second World War when in order to mobilise all available finance the British Government started the practice of bor-

rowing a large part of the surplus balance of the banking system. Borrowing through Treasury Bills still left large balances idle in the market because of the low return on the Bills and the voluntary character of subscription to them. Under instructions from the Treasury the Bank of England, therefore, called upon the banks to lend a sizable part of their idle balances at stipulated rates of interest. Quotas were fixed for each bank after taking all relevant factors into account. Treasury Deposit Receipts have been, thus somewhat compulsory in nature and differ from the Treasury Bills in this respect. The Indian Treasury Deposit Receipts were issued for six, nine and twelve months

bearing rates of interest of 1 per cent, 1½ per cent and 1½ per cent, per annum, respectively, and thus, they were slightly less liquid as compared to the Treasury Bills. The Treasury Deposit Receipts were available only to the Commercial Banks. They amounted to Rs. 11.47 crores at the end of the year 1951-52. Their issue was discontinued on the resumption of the public issue of the Treasury Bills.

### III

In the following table is given the trend in the short-term borrowings of the Government during the last twenty years. It has been compiled from the Reserve Bank's Reports on currency and finance.

#### SHORT-TERM BORROWINGS OF THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA 1939-60

(in Crores of Rs.)

| At the end of the year | Issue of Treasury Bills. |   |   |   |                            |  |
|------------------------|--------------------------|---|---|---|----------------------------|--|
|                        | Amount sold to public    | Amount sold in favour of the Reserve Bank | Amount outstanding at the end of the year | Treasury Bills, ways and means advances and Treasury Deposit Receipts | (5) as percent- age of (7) | Total Internal or Rupee debt of the Government |
| (1)                    | (2)                      | (3)                                       | (4)                                       | (5)   | (6)                        | (7)  |
| 1930-40                | 120.43                   | 104.95                                    | 54.71                                     | 54.70   | 6.6                        | 760.34   |
| 1940-41                | 101.33                   | 140.76                                    | 68.90                                     | 84.90   | 9.4                        | 902.74   |
| 1941-42                | 118.60                   | 291.48                                    | 136.98                                    | 136.98  | 13.7                       | 998.58   |
| 1942-43                | 371.93                   | 496.42                                    | 264.70                                    | 264.70  | 20.3                       | 1,298.37                                       |
| 1943-44                | 396.19                   | 275.73                                    | 110.61                                    | 110.61  | 7.4                        | 1,494.11                                       |
| 1944-45                | 229.28                   | 144.81                                    | 86.71                                     | 86.70   | 4.7                        | 1,822.55                                       |
| 1945-46                | 117.91                   | 161.99                                    | 83.33                                     | 83.33   | 3.9                        | 2,245.10                                       |
| RE 1946-47             | 51.27                    | 220.30                                    | 77.59                                     | 79.20   | 3.2                        | 2,323.55                                       |
| RE 1947-48             | 84.56                    | 271.33                                    | 98.68                                     | 86.84   | 4.1                        | 2,132.59                                       |
| RE 1948-49             | 46.01                    | 1,117.85                                  | 350.47                                    | 373.33  | 15.0                       | 2,412.66                                       |
| RE 1949-50             | 38.76                    | 1,381.12                                  | 341.86                                    | 361.48  | 14.8                       | 2,456.33                                       |
| RE 1950-51             | —                        | 1,394.35                                  | 358.02                                    | 373.20  | 14.9                       | 2,500.73                                       |
| RE 1951-52             | —                        | 1,335.50                                  | 314.34                                    | 335.01  | 13.5                       | 2,474.77                                       |
| RE 1952-53             | 42.00                    | 1,233.11                                  | 315.29                                    | 319.19  | 12.8                       | 2,499.73                                       |
| RE 1953-54             | 56.50                    | 1,309.06                                  | 334.95                                    | 405.29  | 15.1                       | 2,553.55                                       |
| RE 1954-55             | 23.50                    | 1,523.81                                  | 471.87                                    | 554.95  | 19.2                       | 2,899.58                                       |
| RE 1955-56             | 55.50                    | 1,994.09                                  | 595.25                                    | 711.87  | 22.4                       | 3,170.82                                       |
| RE 1956-57             | 1.00                     | 2,737.58                                  | 835.70                                    | 865.25  | 24.6                       | 3,514.10                                       |
| RE 1957-58             | —                        | 4,236.65                                  | 1,295.12                                  | 1,215.70  | 30.3                       | 4,004.64                                       |
| RE 1958-59             | —                        | —   | —   | 1,275.12  | 27.9                       | 4,592.89                                       |
| BE 1959-60             | —                        | —   | —   | 1,535.12  | 30.3                       | 5,073.71                                       |

It is evident that the percentage of floating debt to the total internal debt of the Government has increased more than four times since 1939-40 and its outstand-

ing during the same period more than 28 times. At the end of the year 1939-40 the percentage of floating loans to the total internal debt was 6.6 whereas it increased

in 1939-40 (B.E.) to more than 30. The outstanding of floating debts which amounted in 1939-40 to Rs. 54.70 crores increased to Rs. 264.70 crores in 1942-43, Rs. 373.33 crores in 1948-49, Rs. 869.25 crores in 1956-57 and Rs. 1,535.12 crores in 1959-60 (B.E.). The substantial increases in the outstanding during the war and the later plan years indicate that there has been a significant growth in the Government's dependence on anticipatory borrowings in view of receipts from War taxes and development loans.

Another noticeable feature is that in the Government of India's floating debt structure outstandings of Treasury Bills have been occupying a dominating place because, on the one hand, the Government did hardly resort to ways and means advances in the immediate post-war years in view of the large cash balances accumulated during the Second World War, and on the other, most of the budget deficits in the later Post-War years could more conveniently be financed by selling Treasury Bills in favour of the Reserve Bank. The closing cash balance of the Government increased from Rs. 16.12 crores at the end of 1939-40 to Rs. 83.66 crores, Rs. 266.28 crores and Rs. 529.53 crores at the end of 1943-44, 1944-45 and 1945-46 respectively. Although, since 1946-47 it began to decline but before 1954-55 it hardly reached the scarcity surface. It amounted to Rs. 417.95 crores, Rs. 159.62 crores, Rs. 162.23 crores, Rs. 149.43 crores, Rs. 169.94 crores, Rs. 162.69 crores and Rs. 99.4 crores at the end of 1946-47, 1947-48, 1948-49, 1949-50, 1950-51, 1951-52 and 1952-53, respectively. This regular and substantial decline in the cash balances in the late post-war years was compensated by selling on an increasing scale the "ad hoc" Treasury Bills to the Reserve Bank rather than resorting to ways and means advance.

#### IV

Although, the Indian Treasury Bill is a child of war-time financial needs, its issue has been almost regularly practised particularly during the period of downward business spirals. It was first issued

in 1917 for meeting the Government's disbursements on behalf of the British War Office. During the period between the two World Wars sales of Treasury Bills were made only in the slack season when funds for short-term investments were plentiful and discontinued in the busy season. They were more or less regularly issued by tender till December, 1949 and as stated earlier, a few scheduled banks have generally been the main holders. From December 1949 the public auction of Treasury Bills remained suspended owing to the tight money market conditions. The issue to the public was, however, resumed in September, 1952. It was again suspended from April 20, 1954 to November 20, 1954, since then it is issued regularly.

The outstandings of Treasury Bills consist of (i) Treasury Bills held by the public, (ii) Treasury Bills held by the State Governments and other approved bodies, (iii) "ad hocs" created in 1948-49 for holding in the Reserve Bank's Issue Department to replace sterling securities transferred to the U. K. Government in terms of the Sterling Balances Agreement of July, 1948 and (iv) "ad hocs" created in 1954-55 and held in the Issue Department for replenishing the Centre's Cash balances. The outstanding of Treasury Bills increased from Rs. 54.71 crores in 1939-40 to Rs. 264.70 crores in 1942-43, Rs. 358.02 crores in 1950-51, Rs. 595.25 crores in 1955-56 and Rs. 1,295.12 crores in 1957-58.

In connection with the purchase of sterling annuities and defence stores and installations under the items (iii) above, "ad hoc" bills amounting to Rs. 292 crores were created (Rs. 284 crores in August 1948 and Rs. 8 crores in March 1949). They were to be cancelled in gradual instalments. Their issue had no monetary impact as they were in no way connected with the Government deficits. No "ad hocs" were issued in the years 1949-50 to 1953-54 because the Government during these years had still enough cash balances to meet her temporary financial needs in anticipation of revenue and loans. In the subsequent years on account of large overall deficits, the cash position of Govern-

ment rapidly shrunk and the Government had to approach the Reserve Bank for temporary accommodations. During the last five years the over-all deficits of the Government ranged as Rs. 159.87 crores in 1957-58, Rs. 184.75 Crores in 1956-57, Rs. 458.58 crores in 1959-60 (B.E.). These deficits were mostly financed by selling Treasury Bills in favour of the Reserve Bank which substantially inflated the outstanding position of Treasury Bills and considerably affected the money supply. The amount of Treasury Bills sold to the public during the war years showed a marked rise but in the post-war years it sharply declined because the market stringencies did not permit its regular sale.

### V

The short-term borrowings through the issue of Treasury Bills have thus gradually occupied a significant place in the debt structure of the Government of India. It has played an important role in the proper placement of over-flowing funds during the slack seasons and in meeting the temporary revenue imbalance of the Government. The intention of the Government also appears to make the issue of floating loans a regular feature of the money market and even to finance the long-term needs by such issues through the renewal and funding processes. The receipts from the floating debts by issuing Treasury Bills in favour of the Reserve Bank during the Second Five-Year Plan period have been placed at Rs. 1,200 Crores. A great authority on Banking has rightly suggested that keeping in view the appe-

tite of the money market large floating funds can be directed to remain permanently employed to finance long-term needs of the public authorities. The regularity of rise in the floating debts by providing the Government securities capable of absorbing the short-term banking funds on a fairly increasing scale has also considerably compensated the traditional absence of a well-developed money market in India.

But the frequent disturbances in the public issues indicate that in India large short-term banking funds are not permanently available and Treasury bills are often more in the nature of an avenue through which banks may temporarily employ their funds than a positive aid to the Government for permanent borrowing. In the U. K. Treasury bills are floated all through the year because of the continued availability of large amount of floating funds for which Treasury Bills provide very suitable form of investment. Banks, discount houses, as well as foreign governments have large balances which remain invested in the Treasury bills. The problem is, therefore, to broaden the market for bills, not only by inducing as usual, the major Indian 'scheduled' banks and average banks to evince greater and continuing interest in holding Treasury bills in their portfolio but also by bringing in non-bank institutions such as the large business corporations and thereby render the Treasury Bill an effective money market instrument, at the same time securing for the exchequer larger funds through their medium.



## THE 4TH OF JULY IN AMERICAN HISTORY

### A Legend and A Symbol

By SUDHANSU MOHAN BANERJEE, M.A., LL.B., I.A.A.S. (Retd.)

I just happened to be at Washington on the 4th of July, last year. We were lucky that we were there at the time negotiating a loan with the World Bank. Round this day has grown a legend and by itself it has developed into a symbol. The whole of American History from the days of the "Mayflower" and the Pilgrim Fathers, its colonial character and its pioneer outlook seems converged on this day and it became symbolic also of a new thought, a new era and a new collective, creative and co-operative effort. The declaration of Independence drafted by Thomas Jefferson was adopted by the Second Continental Congress on July 4, 1776 as "the unanimous declaration of the thirteen United States of America." It restated almost in academic terms certain fundamentals about human relations in a socio-politic unit—"truths which the framers declared were self-evident."

- "(1) That all men are created equal.
- 2) That they are endowed by their creator with certain unalienable right, that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.
- 3) That to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed.
- (4) That whenever any form of Government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or abolish it and to institute new Government laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to affect their safety and happiness."

Being basically a student of history, I had almost developed a subconscious veneration for this day. All the more so because I was re-reading the night before a

small chronicle of American History, to refresh my memory about facts and figures. From my room in the Sheraton Park Hotel where I was sumptuously lodged I could see the dome of the capitol at the distance and the Washington Memorial which stared me in the face every morning on waking, with the distant line of the Potomac in the horizon and the green belt below. In those silent hours when the city was just dozing to a sleep one could get in a flash not merely an analysis of the broad facts of life but also a faint picture of a deeper synthesis. That was the pointer of history which I brought with me. I could hear the varied carols with Walt Whitman. I could hear America singing. It is claimed that the United States of America is a teeming Nation of Nations. One author states that "the richness and variety of the regional texture, each section with its own ethnic combination, constitutes one of the strengths of the United States. The consciousness of this extent and variety give a kind of continental confidence, perhaps even a brashness and boastfulness to the American Character." The whole of Europe and in the Pacific coast even a sprinkling of the China, Japan, Polynesia and others rushed here and built a nation out of a vast wilderness with a spirit of ruggedness and doggedness. Many say that U.S.A. has been the greatest single achievement of European civilisation. It is a statement correct up to a point. But America is not merely a repetition or projection of Europe or its civilisation. Its model of life, its thought pattern, its national character were conditioned by certain other factors, the greatest of which was the geographical impact of a vast uncharted continent with its untold natural resources and secondly the interplay of various racial groups that had immigrated. There was a spirit of individualism, there

was a spirit of adventure, there was a touch of puritanic thought, there was an escape from the ordinary bounds of life, even from law and justice, there was avarice and greed, there was raw life. Search for gold and search of soul met together in the same platform and combined into a new social pattern as a search for ego and life. 'I go west' was a real cry. Here was a curious admixture from the days of the Pilgrim Fathers, Boston Brahmins, the Cabots and the Lodges to the wild westerners on the banks of the Sacramento, to the Utah Mormons, New York bosses, Chicago bootleggers, St. Barbara or Beverly Hill's film stars. Years ago F—Scott Fitzgerald—wrote: France was a land, England was a people but America was still an idea. Yes, it still is, in the bigger sense.

The day wore on—a gay one but a little cloudy. There was a nip of the monsoon in the air. Washington could be as bad as Calcutta and as sweltering. Immediately after lunch we started for the main scene of the celebrations—the grounds near the Lincoln Memorial in Washington D.C., overlooking the distant Pentagon on the other side of the Potomac. Big limousines struggled with those on foot like us. It was a huge 'melee' of human heads. Men, women, children in their gayest dresses, of different races, climes and classes of all denominations even foreigners like us, joined to pay homage to a day which is symbolic of a grand chapter in human history. We walked in the grounds and in the gardens. We walked up the stairs, we stood in reverence before the

outsized statue of Abraham Lincoln seated in that giant chair. Somehow or other my memory leapt back to the days of "Uncle Tom's Cabin" and from "Log Cabin to White House" which I had read with avidity in my school days. Like a Rip Van Winkle I awoke. We did read again the extracts of Lincoln's famous words inscribed there and saw the loving homage that the nation had paid to him. "In this temple as in the hearts of the people for whom he saved the Union, the memory of Abraham Lincoln is enshrined for ever" and the words that still ring in our ears are echoed and reechoed here that "Government of the people, by the people, for the people shall not perish from the earth."

We sat in the porch facing the river. Thousands sat with us gay, good and debonair. It was a fraternizing set. It was a society electric with thought and gaiety and loaded to the brim with passion. Multi-coloured lights sprang up. Bands and music brought up memories as well as melodies. Fireworks were silhouetted in the sky. It was the story of a nation, of life with a promise. The gong chimed ten. It was drizzling. It was time to disperse. We hurried. Street cars were all full. Hi, ho, we had imbibed from the folks something of a grand drama. It was not the rock and roll, not the sex and sensation, not the stories of Reno or Las Vegas, not of juvenile delinquencies or adult cruelties, its broadways and lithe ways, hotels or motels, not of the mighty dollar or the sky-scrapers, of down-town as well as uptown, but of 'life within life' as the poet Melville puts it.



## BILINGUAL BOMBAY STATE AND BORDER DISPUTE

By D. V. REGE, I.C.S. (Retd.)

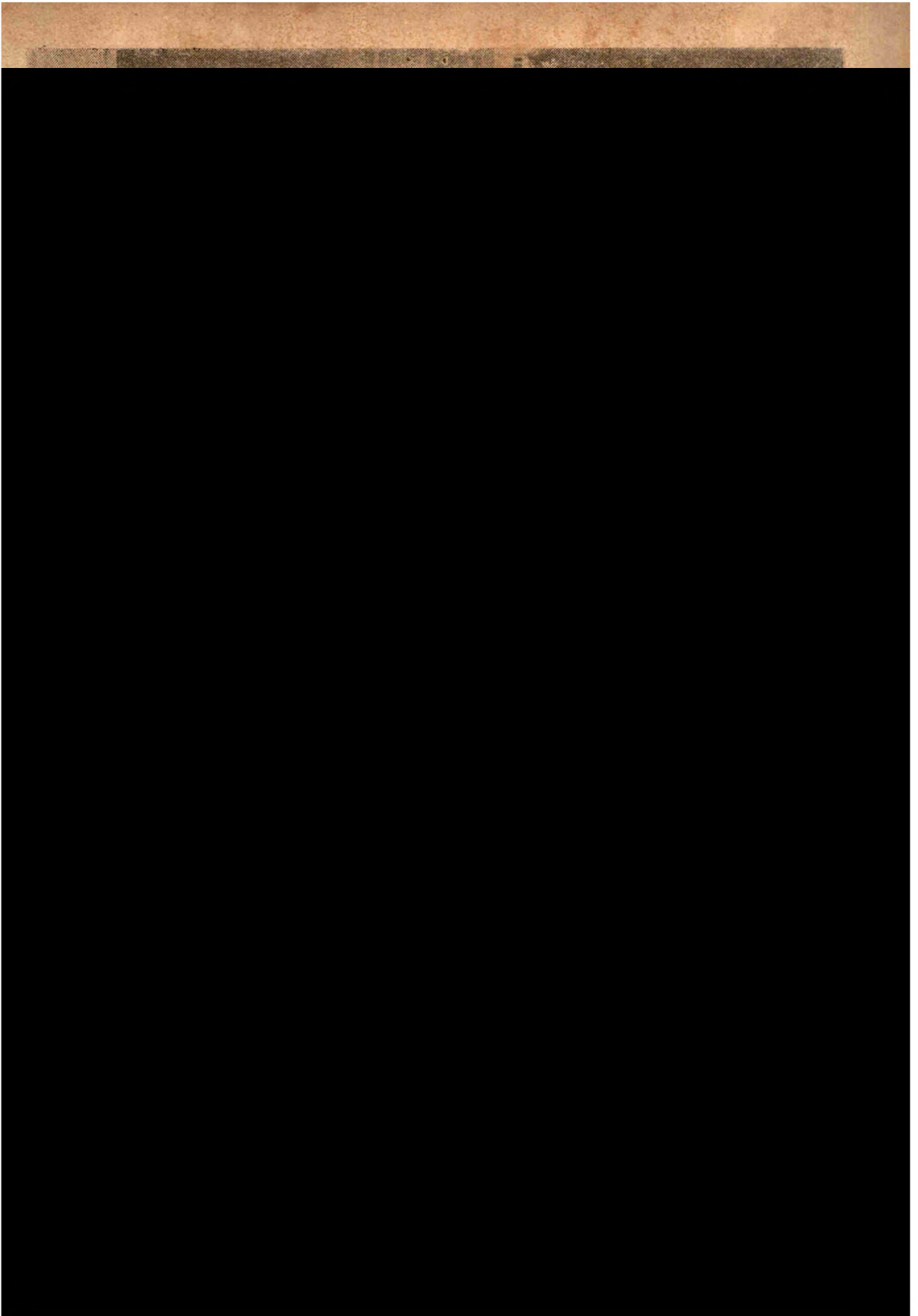
THE Marathi people have been agitating to have a linguistic State of their own and to have the predominantly Marathi border areas which have been unjustly included in the Mysore State incorporated in the Bombay State. People outside Maharashtra do not, however, seem to be well acquainted with the merits of the Maharashtrian case and are inclined to believe that the Marathi people are prone to unnecessary quarrelling and agitation. The Maharashtrians, too, relying on the justice of their case, have not taken sufficient care to educate the non-Maharashtrians in the matter. An attempt is, therefore, made here to set out the facts of the case briefly in the hope that the agitation will be viewed by outsiders in its proper perspective.

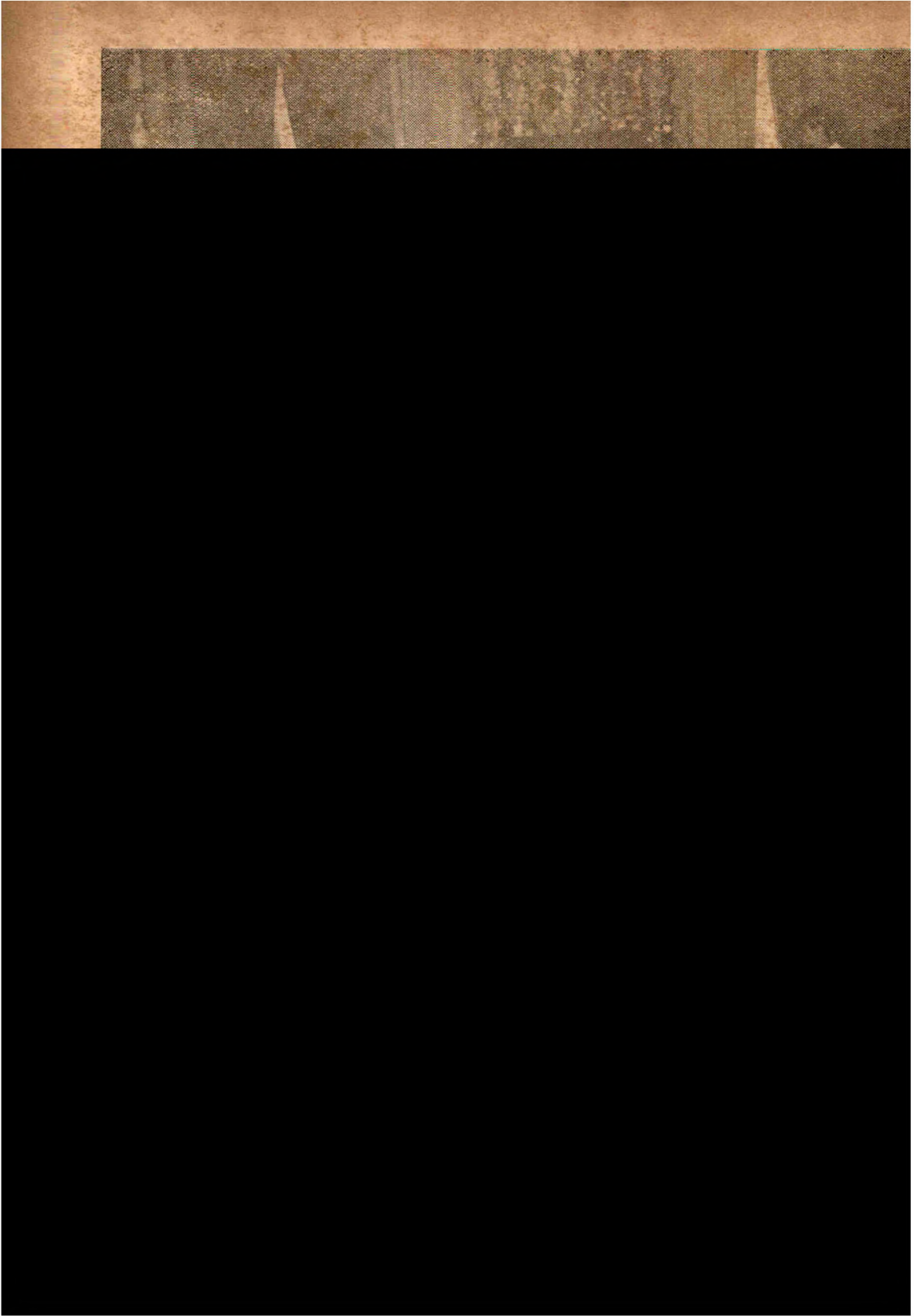
The resolution about reorganising the British Indian Provinces (many of which were products of historical accidents) on linguistic basis was a hardy annual in the Congress Plenary Sessions since the mid-twenties. Though the Congress Party lost much of its enthusiasm on this point after independence, Government announced its intention to form the Andhra Pradesh, following the disturbances that took place after the self-immolation of Pottu Shriramulu on this issue. After this, it was not possible to shelve the question of linguistic States and Government appointed the States Reorganisation Commission to report on it. States were already unilingual in the north and east of India, and the Commission recommended unilingual States of Kerala (which is only nearly 15,000 sq. miles in area), Madras, (Tamil), Andhra Pradesh (Telugu) and Mysore (Kannad), but denied the same privilege to the Marathi and Gujarati-speaking people who were clubbed together in the bilingual Bombay State. Though the Marathi population is  $3\frac{1}{2}$  crores, i.e., the same as Telugu people, a separate State of the Marathi-speaking people of Vidarbha consisting of eight districts was recommended with a view to making the bilingual Bombay State 'balanced' as be-

tween the Marathi and Gujarati people. These recommendations evoked a storm of protest in Maharashtra which led the Congress High Command to put forward various alternative proposals, the underlying idea in all of them being to separate the Bombay City from Maharashtra. When this attempt was foiled by the martyrdom of 105 people who were shot down in the blood bath that took place in Bombay in 1956, a bigger bilingual State was ultimately formed, including Vidarbha.

Both the Marathi, and to a lesser extent, the Gujarati people are nursing a sense of gross injustice and bitterness as they alone, of all people in India, have been deprived of their unilingual State. The advantages of a unilingual State need no stressing. In bilingual States, there is always suspicion and bitterness that one language area is being favoured at the expense of the other; whereas in a unilingual State, people feel one with Government as the administration, Assembly proceedings and education in schools are carried on in their language. It is clear that the only reason why a separate Samyukta Maharashtra State is not conceded is the Bombay City. Bombay is surrounded on three sides by Marathi-speaking areas and by sea on the fourth (west) side. It is no doubt a cosmopolitan city, but so are Calcutta, Madras and other big cities. The Marathi-speaking people form about 49 per cent of the population, while Gujaratis form only 18 per cent. Though the development of Bombay owed a good deal to non-Maharashtrians such as the British, Parsis, Gujaratis, etc., the Marathi people have also contributed to its development in the shape of labour, which is not the case in Calcutta where the capital and labour are contributed by non-Bengalis. The fear that if Bombay is included in Maharashtra, the State Government will discriminate against the non-Maharashtrian capitalists is imaginary, as apart from the control of the Union Government, the Maharashtrians will not like to ruin their city which is







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the nerve-centre of Maharashtra. Again, even in the heart of Maharashtra today, most of the millionaires are Gujaratis and Marwaris and nobody has molested them.

In this connection, it is interesting to note the views of two members of the States Reorganisation Commission which were expressed after the publication of their report. While addressing the Annual General Meeting of the Servants of India Society in Poona, Shri H. N. Kunzru declared that Bombay city belonged to Maharashtra. Sardar Panikkar stated in a public speech in Calcutta that Bombay City belonged to Maharashtra and that the Commission's intention in recommending the bilingual Bombay State was to allow for the development of Kandla Port before forming the two unilingual States of Maha-Gujarat and Samyukta Maharashtra with Bombay as its capital.

The Maharashtra case for a State of their own, though strong and just, has suffered due to the following five reasons: (i) Absence of a strong leader of all-India stature. The leadership of Maharashtra proved totally weak and had no courage to oppose the Congress High Command. (ii) Maharashtra has no English paper of their own and their case did not get an all-India publicity. Most of the English newspapers published in Maharashtra are owned by capitalists who are opposed to the inclusion of Bombay in Maharashtra. (iii) There is prejudice against the Maharashtrais due to historical reasons and it has been intensified by Mahatma's assassination by a Maharashtrai. (iv) Failure of the Maharashtrais to educate the people outside Maharashtra on the merits of their case. And (v) propaganda done against Maharashtrais by powerful persons and vested interests. They have been labelled as goondas, though every community has its share of goondas and though common people everywhere take to non-violence to show their resentment against gross injustice done to them as was noticed in Gujarat, Andhra Pradesh and elsewhere. Allegations about molestation of Gujarati women during the Bombay disturbances were found to be false. It was even alleged that the Marathi people want their State to revive 'Maratha imperialism'. The American author, Alexander

turbances, has stated in his book that a Chief Minister (one can easily locate him) told that the Maharashtrais were like wolves and deserved to be shot. Shri Morarji Desai, then Chief Minister of Bombay, told T. Dean, an American student who interviewed him that Shivaji who killed Afzal Khan 'treachery' could be praised only by the Marathi who were votaries of violence. All that Marathi people who have served their country in times of peril want is justice and fairness and they firmly believe that truth will ultimately prevail and injustice cannot endure.

Even those who appreciate the Maharashtra stand on the Samyukta Maharashtra issue are sometimes bewildered by their agitation for the border areas which have been justly included in the Mysore State, and consider this to be a minor issue which can be postponed until the major objective is achieved. The border dispute is not such a minor issue as it appears. It has become a life and death question for the ten lacs of Marathi-speaking people who are affected by it. They have been agitating for their inclusion in Maharashtra ever since the question of reorganising States on linguistic basis was broached. The agitation started by them in 1956 was withered on the assurance given by the Union Minister, Shri G. B. Pant, that he would take steps to solve the dispute through the Western Zonal Council or otherwise. The Prime Minister, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, told a delegation of the Marathi-speaking people from the border area who waited on him when the States Reorganisation Bill was being discussed in Parliament that they had a strong case and that he would reconsider their case in a quiet atmosphere after the major issues were settled. As no steps were taken to implement these assurances for over two years, the people concerned started peaceful agitation in which more than 10,000 people courted imprisonment and which has now taken the form of non-payment of land revenue in the 148 villages selected for this purpose. The Government policy that the dispute should be amicably settled by negotiation between the two Chief Ministers concerned has failed and is not likely to succeed in view of the intransigent attitude

adopted by Shri B. D. Jatti, Chief Minister of Mysore. There is no reason why the Pataskar formula which has been evolved by an eminent Congressman and which has been accepted by two other Congress States for solving their border dispute should not be applied to this dispute also. The Mysore game appears to be to take an obstinate attitude to gain time and meanwhile to discourage the use of Marathi as much as possible and to manipulate the next census to decrease the percentage of Marathi people in the disputed area. Belgaum's case is exactly like that of Bellary which was given to Mysore against the recommendation of the States Reorganisation Commission and Mysore Government cannot have it both ways. The Marathi population in Belgaum town (including cantonment) is 57 per cent, while the Kannadigas form only 21 per cent, Urdu-speaking being 14 per cent and the rest 8 per cent. The Belgaum Municipality which recently completed 100 years of its existence has throughout this period carried on its administration in Marathi. The proportion of its Marathi members has always been above two-thirds. The Karwar issue is sought to be clouded by wrongly urging that Konkani spoken in that area is not a dialect of Marathi. Tulu spoken in South Kanara ((Kanara means a convert in Portuguese) may have many Kanarese words, but this is not the case with the Konkani spoken in Karwar and Goa. The insistence on Karwar is largely motivated by the desire to put a claim to Goa when it comes

to India, though the regional language there is Marathi and though very few Kannadigas, if any, have taken part in the Goa freedom struggle.

There will be, of course, linguistic minorities in most of the States, but statesmanship lies in reducing the size of the minority problem as much as possible by following a just and uniform policy, as safeguards for the culture and language of the minorities do not help in actual practice. There is no point in forcing a people against their will to live in another language area when they can be easily amalgamated with their own language people. The agitation has been started by the people concerned themselves. No external stimulus can start such an agitation, and even if it does, it cannot continue so long. It is widely believed that the Belgaum-Karwar area was given as a bribe to the Kannadigas to secure their support in the old Bombay Assembly for the bilingual Bombay State. In a sense, the border dispute is more urgent and difficult than the splitting of the bilingual Bombay State which is not likely to continue beyond a year or two as an appreciable section of Gujaratis themselves want Maha-Gujarat and do not naturally wish to remain a permanent minority in the State. In view of the intransigence of the Mysore Government, it is the duty of the Union Government to find a just solution of the dispute which is an off-shoot of the reorganisation of States, as the delay in settling it is unnecessarily causing much hardship, frustration and bitterness.



## KERALA: A TALE OF LOST OPPORTUNITIES

By S. G. MUNAGEKAR

BELLS in temples and churches of Kerala rang when the first Communist Ministry in India assumed office on the 5th of April, 1957. Bells rang again, with the joy of 'liberation,' on 31st of July, 1959, when the President of India dismissed the Communist Ministry and suspended the State's autonomy.

The first Red Government was ushered in amidst loudly expressed good wishes—and not in Kerala alone. The Keralite masses were disgusted with a decade's unstable and inefficient administration. During these ten years there had been no fewer than seven ministries, six of Congress and one of the Praja Socialist Party (PSP), with two periods of President's rule, in between. Keralite people expected that the Communist Party, which alone was a coherent and purposeful political organisation in the State, with a large cadre of youthful and efficient workers, would provide them a stable and clean administration. Their expectations were not too high.

Nor did the Communists promise any revolutionary measures. All they aimed at, (to quote from a recent article in the party organ, *The New Age*, by Communist Chief Minister Mr. E. M. S. Namboodiripad), were "those socio-economic transformations for which the Congress itself stands, but which the Congress was unable to carry out because of its inherent weaknesses". They promised to remove what they called the 'sickening contrast' between Congress professions and performance. Their pieces of progressive legislation, including the most controversial ones, the Education Act and the Agrarian Relations Bill, were finally, if not initially, within the limits set by the Congress, the Constitution and the Planning Commission. They were careful not to commit, by legislative or administrative action, any open breach of the Constitution.

But the crisis in Kerala arose out of agrarian disputes. Here, too, the chief beneficiaries which did not involve the breach of Constitution. In the last two years, large sections of the people there nursed a strong feel-

ing of unfair dealing by the Government, and a layer upon layer of that had come up. These complaints started piling up a few months after the Communist Ministry began its career. Later they grew in number and seriousness, and culminated into the charge-sheet movement, which, together with the school closure movement and other campaigns against the Government, snowballed into the 'people's upsurge'. The charge-sheet accuses the Communists of three major crimes:

1. The Constitutional Government of the State became a mere facade behind which the Communist Party established effective cell administration.

2. Communists tried to 'monopolise the strings of rural economy' by starting new types of co-operatives and infiltrating the established ones.

3. They aimed at indoctrination and regimentation.

The first charge has its origin in the new policy on industrial and agrarian disputes, which the Government adopted late in 1957. They decided not to allow the Police machinery and the various sections of the Indian Penal Code and the Criminal Procedure Code to be used against the rights of workers and peasants for collective bargaining and direct action. Two corollaries followed. Firstly, criminal prosecutions arising out of such disputes were withdrawn in cases where the disputes themselves were settled. There were 688 cases of such withdrawals in the first 18 months of the government's tenure. Most of the beneficiaries were alleged to be Communists or their sympathisers. Secondly, there were large-scale commutations and remittance of sentences and fines, again in cases relating to industrial and agrarian disputes. Here, too, the chief beneficiaries were alleged to be party-men or sympathisers. Government justified these measures as necessary for the "restoration of harmonious

atmosphere". Actually it created a sense of before; their children are attending schools, insecurity amongst the propertied classes. While formerly they had to hanker after odd

In the confusion that followed this new jobs for supplementing the family earnings. The policy towards labour disputes, local Communist cells grew powerful and aggressive. Gradually they usurped the power which formerly the police were using in such disputes. As Acharya J. B. Kripalani, the PSP leader, pointed out, "Interference by party-men is a set policy in all Communist countries." The Kerala Comrades followed it, and in doing so they felt they were doing their duty. They had no sad conscience about it. Opposition charges about 'cell administration' may be exaggerated.

But the massive interference in, and domination over, the governmental machinery by the Party have certainly resulted in discrimination against non-Communists in all walks of life.

The second charge centres around Communist government's activities in the field of co-operatives. Two new types of Societies, the Toddy Tappers Co-operatives and the Labour Contract Co-operatives, are the chief target of attack. In Kerala, a natural palm-land, toddy tapping is a big rural industry. Formerly a few hundred private contractors used to get licences, by public auctions, for tapping and vending toddy, which is a popular drink of the village-folk. These contractors employed the tappers, all belonging to the backward Ezhva Community, at pitifully low wages, and took away the cream of profits in the business. Communists have been working amongst these tappers for many years. When they came to power, they decided to remove the middlemen, the contractors, from this business and hand it over to Tappers Societies. They were provided with finance and other facilities to form the co-operatives. Party workers assumed leadership and about a dozen big co-operatives with a membership of 15,000, were quickly established. Each society was given, at bargained fee, the monopoly of tapping and vending toddy in a big area, generally a taluq. These co-operatives today control about half of the toddy business in the State. Their turnover is over four crores of rupees. Some of the societies are like big industrial establishments. There is no doubt that these co-operatives have improved the lot of the tappers. They now have regular and about 50 per cent bigger incomes than

The Labour Contract Societies are also a new creation of the Communists. Under the National Extension Scheme of the Government of India, large building and construction programme is undertaken, mainly in rural areas. Half of Kerala is now under this N. E. S. The Communists Government decided to entrust building contracts, costing less than Rs. 25,000/- to co-operative societies of labourers. For each Taluq under the N. E. S., one co-operative society was formed. Here, too, the societies were organised by Communists. Others complained that the societies came into existence long before they knew about the Scheme. They accuse the Government of deliberately suppressing publicity of this Scheme. These societies have been provided with finance by Government; they have monopoly of small and medium construction works. Labourers' wages have risen by 30 to 40 per cent. These societies, too, are attacked by the opposition for being 'packed' with Communists, and for making illicit profits which find their way to Party's coffers.

In the coir and fishing industry, the opposition alleges that the Communists tried infiltration with the help of powers vested in the Government by the Co-operatives Act. (These two industries are controlled by non-Communist co-operatives). The charge-sheet has described all these activities of the Communists in the co-operative field as 'wily manoeuvres to monopolise the strings of rural economy.'

The third charge against the Communists relates to education. In Kerala, the Private Sector has an entrenched position in education. The Catholic Church was the pioneer in this field. The Arch-Bishop of Trivandrum Rev.

Ben. Mar Gregorios told me, with obvious and justified pride, that the first school in Kerala was opened by the Catholics, "seventy-five years before Government opened its first school". He claimed that the Catholics were the first to bring education to the untouchables, for whom Government schools were closed for a long time. Other Communities and institutions later followed the Catholics and started their own schools. Today out of the 11,000 schools in Kerala, 7000 are under private management, 2,100 of them being under Christian control.

To the Christians, particularly the Catholics, their educational institutions are a pillar of strength of the Church. They resisted successfully, in 1946 and again in 1950-51, Government attempts to establish some sort of control over their schools. This time the Communists tried to do a thorough job of it. Characteristically, the Church fought back with all its might.

Friction in this field began when Government nationalised the text-books for 1958-59. Cries of 'indoctrination' were raised. A committee of enquiry appointed by the Government opined that some of the material "tends to offend social, religious and political sentiments," and "certain lessons and passages tend to create in the pupils impressions favourable to Communist ideas". (Government did not publish this report. These quotations are from an unofficial copy of the report, widely circulated in Kerala).

When the Communists framed their Education Bill, the Catholics decided to give a last ditch battle. The Bill was discussed in great detail in the Press, on the platform and in the Legislature before it was subjected to a close scrutiny by the Law and Education Ministries of Government of India; later it was referred to the Supreme Court and finally received the President's assent. The Communists made substantial concessions all along the line to remove "any elements of totalitarianism or political bias." But they did not yield on the points on which the Catholics had based their total rejection of the Bill. When the Act was placed on the Statute Book, the Catholic Bishops decided to counter it by the School

Closure Movement, which touched off the great upsurge.

Pandit Nehru has expressed amazement at the "sweep" of the movement, the like of which, he said was not seen in India before. He attributed the Communists' 'astonishing failure' to their mistake of not doing their own thinking. Acharya Kripalani has condemned the Reds for having "copied Chinese and Russian methods in administration." The P.S.P. leader has said that the Communists invited their downfall because, in their zeal to establish party dictatorship, they forgot that Kerala was not an independent State, but a State, with strictly limited autonomy.

The Communist Government did attempt to implement some socialistic measures. The various kinds of co-operative societies, and the Agrarian Relations Bill (which prescribes land ceilings), if implemented, would definitely register a marked shift in the income groups in Kerala. There was the first Government in Kerala, free from casteist or communal bias. They put down caste tyranny in the services. All these are certainly big achievements. But somehow the Reds' experiment mis-carried. Three factors worked against them.

Firstly, the Communist government's conduct was discriminatory and partisan. Even in measures aimed at benefiting the working classes, Communist groups were singled out for special favours. "No succour without subservience" became the rule. The general strike of June 29, called by all non-Communist trade unions, was primarily a protest against this discriminatory treatment.

Secondly, Communists ignored the fact that Keralite masses are more caste- and community conscious than class-conscious. Swami Vivekanand once remarked that Kerala was a mad house of casteists and communalists. The situation is very much unchanged today. The Communists did not realise that the reaction to their socialistic measures would be basically communal. In Kerala, the toiling masses belong mainly to the Ezhva community, whom the caste Hindus regarded as practically untouchables till a generation ago. Ezhvas are the single largest community



numbering 4 million. With government assistance, they are fast coming up in the services and in other fields. The caste Hindus, especially the Nairs, who had a monopoly in services, and who enjoyed caste superiority, are finding it difficult to adjust themselves in the social change. The fisherfolk, another exploited class, have derived benefits from Communists' measures. Yet they sided with the agitationists, because they are completely under the influence of the Catholics. The Muslims had no grievances against the Communist Ministry. Yet their organisation, the League, participated in the agitation, with the object of gaining Congress recognition for itself as a respectable party.

The third factor that worked against the Communists was the stagnant economy of the State. Kerala has no big industry; its density of population (1000 per sq. mile) and annual rate of birth (3 p.c.) are among the highest in the world. Rice-eating Kerala produces only half the rice it needs. There is no more land to put under the plough. During the last two years, price of rice rose by about 50 p.c., largely wiping out the relief government measures might have brought to poorer classes. Unemployment, and the politically explosive substance, the educated unemployment, is on the increase. Capitalists went on strike when Communists came to power. Mr. A. V. George, a big plantation owner and industrialist in Kottayam, told me how, he with the help of a few capitalists from Madras, had finalised plans to set up a 5-crore rubber factory in Kerala. But when the Communists won the elections, he said, his colleagues from Madras backed out and the scheme collapsed. Mr. Namboodiripad's government signed, last year, an agreement with Mr. G. D. Birla for opening a 4-crore rayon factory in Kerala. Mr. Birla got substantial concessions assuring him freedom from labour trouble. But later his enthusiasm seems to have disappeared.

All this "totality of circumstances" might have thrown the Communists out of power in the 1962 elections; it will prob-

ably reduce them to a minority in the elections due in the next few months. But did it justify the dismissal of the Ministry? Neither the President's proclamation, nor the Prime Minister's later pronouncements have mentioned specifically the reasons for Central intervention. Mr. Nehru has said that neither the charge-sheet, nor the peoples' upsurge weighed in the Centre's decision. In his Press Conference of August 7, he said: "The totality of circumstances was such that everyone concerned . . . wanted this to be done." In a speech in the Congress Parliamentary Party's meeting, where he had to face unprecedentedly critical speeches for three successive days, Mr. Nehru is reported to have described Central intervention as a "formula of disengagement," which became absolutely essential to separate the two groups to avoid imminent blood-shed.

That might have been true in the ultimate stage. But critics are unanimous on the point that Congress could have, with firmness and a little foresight, kept the Kerala crisis under control, and could have avoided the extreme step about which it now seems to have a bad conscience. There were two crucial moments when Congress could have retained the initiative. The first one was some time in the latter half of May, when Kerala Congressmen were allowed to participate individually in the School Closure Movement. This was the thin end of the wedge. When the agitation started, Kerala Congress fully plunged itself into it. It became impossible to extricate it from the agitation, which was controlled by others. The second opportunity for Congress came when the Communists accepted Mr. Nehru's suggestion of holding negotiations with the opposition groups on various disputes. This was around June 25. The Communists did actually make some important concessions to facilitate talks; they agreed to make the negotiations unrestricted; and finally they accepted to be guided by Mr. Nehru's advice in unresolved matters.

Had Mr. Nehru thrown his full weight in favour of this approach, negotiations

would have come off. But he also suggested, what he later described as a parallel approach, that elections could be the best way out of the crisis. When the Catholics, the P.S.P. and the Nair leaders found that Mr. Nehru himself did not press for the approach of negotiations, they openly rejected it. The Kerala Congress had to follow suit. And the Congress High Command had to accept it as a fait accompli. The weakness of Kerala Congress, and the equivocation and vacillation of the Congress High Command clinched the issue.

Why did the opposition reject Mr. Nehru's suggestion of talks? Mr. Nehru has now said that this rejection was a mistake. The reason the opposition publicly gave was that their demand for the removal of the government was not negotiable. In private, opposition leaders admitted two other reasons—in fact the real ones. Firstly, they feared that negotiations would remove the cementing force that brought them together. Various groups in the opposition had conflicting interests in the issues involved. Talks would have exposed them to dividing influences. The second reason was the opposition's fear that Communists would make substantial concessions, then parade as 'good boys' for the rest of the tenure of their office, and further entrench themselves. Mr. P. Govind Menon, the strong man of Kerala Congress, and a former Chief Minister of Travancore-Cochin explained to me this point. He said: "What has come to our rescue is the Communists' misdeed. Frankly, we are not willing to provide them an opportunity to make amends."

Many non-party observers, and a few Congress leaders had hoped that the crisis would be resolved by negotiations. This could have avoided what Mr. C. Rajagopalachari called the 'bad precedent' of Central intervention. It could have established sound democratic conventions. The fact is that with their success in Kerala, the Communists had inherited a vested interest in the Constitution. In Kerala it was the Communists who exhorted the opposi-

tion, particularly Congress, to give up agitation and return to "the path of constitutionalism." A negotiated settlement could have strengthened the Communists' interest in democratic ways.

Of course, to the Communists the essential principles of the Constitution are the State's autonomy and, its corollary, the existence of governments formed by different parties. This is obvious. After Kerala they hoped to capture power in a few more States like West Bengal. So they were anxious to find a solution to the "problems of how to work Parliamentary Democracy in the concrete conditions of today, when the problem of different parties forming governments in different States has been posed in a realistic manner." Communists were anxious to evolve a code of conduct for political parties and the government. They wanted to remove the threat of Central intervention, "hanging like a sword over the Kerala government." But now that they are convinced that Congress has no 'qualms in violating the Constitution by manoeuvring to maintain one party rule,' they are not keen about such a code at all. They have decided not to resort to retaliatory agitations in Congress-governed States. That is because they fear that such agitation would completely isolate them. But they do have in mind some substitute action as is evident from the resolutions of the Central Committee of CPI.

What is in store for Kerala, which has foisted a big disturbance on the Indian political scene? If the non-Communists overcome their personal and communal rivalry, and forge an effective electoral alliance, the Communists will be reduced to a minority in the next elections. Last time, at the height of popularity, the Communists got 35 per cent of votes and only 60 seats in a house of 127. (They had the support of 5 independents.)

But Kerala Congress cannot hope to have a majority either. Its strength in the dissolved legislature was 45. It may claim a few more seats from the 'divisible pool' of seats which the Communists are likely

to lose. But they will not be enough to give it a majority. In fact the Kerala FSP leader Mr. Pattom Thanu Pillai told me that Congress can never hope to have power by itself in Kerala.

There will have to be a coalition of some sort—a coalition without a strong leader, and without any common programme. It is bound to be dominated by

casteists and communalists. In fact the interplay of these forces has already begun. The incongruence and incoherence of these groups rules out any genuinely socialistic programme. The truth is that it will be more difficult to make this coalition adopt socialistic measures, than it was to make the Communists conform to the spirit of democracy.

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## SAMKARA—THE GREAT PHILOSOPHER

BY DR. ANIMA SEN GUPTA, M.A. Ph.D.,  
*Patna University*

Sree Samkaracharyya, one of the great sons of our motherland, was born in South India. He lived only up to the age of thirty-two. This short span of his life was exceptionally brilliant because it was full of penetrative thought, rare wisdom and creative activity. The rich and varied experiences of Samkara ennobled and purified the spiritual atmosphere of India at a time when it was full of religious strife and philosophical controversies. It was the fullness of his insight and emotion that had won for Samkara a unique prestige and position in the history of Indian philosophy and religion.

Samkara was born in an age when there was a keen rivalry between Vedic and anti-vedic schools of philosophy. From the 2nd century A.D. up to the 9th century A.D., Buddhism was a very powerful religious force in India and during this period all orthodox schools of Indian philosophy used to struggle hard to defeat Buddhism.

### Buddistic Philosophy

Buddistic philosophy, as we all know, found its full development in the writings of Jogachara and Madhyamika schools. Both the schools hold that this world of experience is "asat," non-substantial and consequently devoid of value and meaning. The word "asat" used to be interpreted at that time in the sense of "pure negation." For Yogachara Buddhism, the world of external objects is nothing but a projection of varied cognitions of human mind. We should admit the reality of cognition alone with its

multifarious characters and forms. Since an object can never be perceived, the object is nothing but a form of cognition. The world that we see and feel, appreciate and admire does not actually exist in the form in which it presents itself to us. Its physicality, independence and extra organic existence are only appearances and illusions.

The Madhyamika school goes a step further than the Yogacharas when it denies the reality of cognition also. The cardinal principle of this school is "sarvam sunyam." All things of the world including consciousness and self are subject to the laws of change, relativity and mutual dependence. This mutual dependence of things is a mark of their unreality and non-substantiality. Both physical and psychical things do not exist with any essence in them. They exist only as causal relations: there being certain phenomena: there happens to be certain others. As there is no substantive basis of the world apart from an ever-changing and ever-flowing stream of becoming, the world is devoid of significance and value. It is as valueless as the worlds of dream and magic.

### Opposition and Protest

Against this type of teaching of the Buddistic philosophy, the realistic schools of N-V and S-Y raised their voice of protest and opposition. As the maxim "sarvam sunyam" was repugnant to them, they tried hard to establish the reality of the external world on logical grounds. To them the world is such that we can see, feel and

touch it in our every-day life. How can we, they ask, deny the existence of this world? Patanjali, for example, has said: "Vastusamya chittabadat tayoh vibhaktapantha:" (i.e., as the ideas become different even though the object remains the same, their ways of being are different). Vachaspati, too, has said that of two things, if one does not change and the other differs, they cannot be identical. The same object is perceived differently by different persons and hence the object is not identical with the different ideas. The Nyaya school also holds that the positive and concrete things of the world are continuously and forcefully stimulating the intellect of human beings and that they are being thought of and reflected by different individuals in all ages, in all places and at all times. These facts, they maintain, prove the reality of the external world which is the constant object of our intellectual apprehension and consideration. An "asat", object like the hare's horn can never become an object of intellectual consideration.

#### Samkara as a Saviour

Both the views regarding the status and significance of the world used to be preached simultaneously in our country when Samkara was born. The constant strife between Buddhism and Vedic schools of thought kept the philosophical atmosphere of India in a state of instability and mental unrest. It was at such a critical moment of Indian history that Samkara appeared as a prophet and saviour and delivered to the people of our country a new message of philosophy and religion. His "jagat mithya hva vada," as I understand it, is nothing but a reconciliation or synthesis between the two opposite views of "jagat satvad and jagat asatvad." The synthetic approach of Sree Samkara in the field of philosophy and religion seems to be the most outstanding contribution of this great leader. The world, for him, is not of permanent metaphysical value: yet its value from the practical and ethical standpoints has been strongly emphasised by him. The world is not wholly non-existent or "asat" like the sky-flower. It is also not wholly real or "sat" as it is not permanent and

independent. The world is neither real nor unreal. It is neither 'sat' nor 'asat' nor both. It is "asat" as it cannot continue to manifest itself in all times and it is also "sat" as it forcefully manifests itself to all persons so long as ignorance exists in them. This relative and conditional character of the world is described by him as "anirvachaniya." We clearly experience its reality and unreality under two different conditions of bondage and liberation, but we have no word at our disposal by which we can express its character in a more precise and definite manner. To assert that the world is wholly "asat" is as false as to say that the world is wholly "sat." The world occupies an intermediate position between "satdravya" and "asatdravya." For ordinary men of the world who have not been able to attain true knowledge, the world is real and meaningful and all worldly arrangements are concrete, positive and significant. It should not, therefore, be dismissed as something totally worthless. The world is necessary for moral preparation which is essential for liberation. Still, the world should not be regarded as wholly real. Although, it is placed on a substantive basis, yet it is not eternal. Its multi-coloured forms are the effects of "avidya" and are, therefore, not lasting. Even though the world is so near and dear to us—so charming and so enticing—still we cannot claim for its ultimate reality and eternal value. Thus Samkara has made a synthesis between realism of "Vaidika" schools and nihilism of the "Avaidika" schools and has been able to bring together the two rival camps by the magic touch of his "anirvachaniya-vada." This synthetic approach in philosophy has also helped Samkara to make an effective compromise between "saivism" and "vaisnavism" in the field of religion. Samkara has preached that supreme reality is one and due to different "upadhis" one reality appears in the forms of different gods and plays different roles. Siva, Vishnu, Saraswati, Lakshmi, etc., are nothing but the different incarnations of one God. Different religions are not really opposed to each other; they are only different tributaries flowing into one vast sea of divinity.

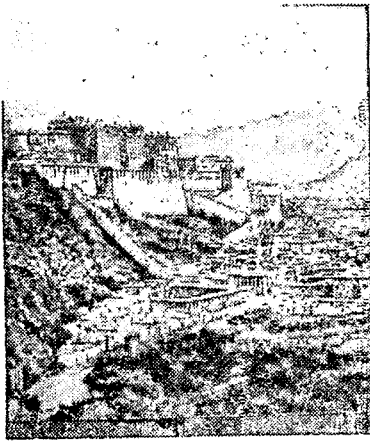
## TIBET: THE ROOF OF THE WORLD

By S. H. HUSAIN, B.A.

IN Central Asia beyond the towering walls of social and agrarian reforms. The clergy, however, saw the doom of their religion and culture in these reforms. Therefore, they became critical of the Chinese intentions and opposed their activities. The growing anti-Communist sentiments took the shape of open rebellion. Leaving their monasteries and prayer wheels, the Lamas and the laymen took up swords against the Chinese.

Tibet has always preferred to slumber in obscurity and isolation rather than to become a cock-pit of international politics.

On October 7, 1950, the Chinese troops marched into Tibet claiming it to be a part of Chira. The Red invasion rudely awakened the Land of the Lamas from its peaceful slumber. The ill-equipped Tibetan forces tried in vain to stem the advance of the invading armies and the Tibetan Government was forced to conclude a treaty with the Chinese on May, 23, 1951.



The magnificent Potala Palace, residence of Dalai Lama at Lasha

The treaty conditions gave the control of the foreign affairs and defence to the Chinese but secured the internal administration of the country to Dalai Lama and guaranteed the freedom of worship and respect of religion. During the course of time the Chinese began to take more and more interest in the internal affairs of the country and attempted to enforce many

Chinese interest in Tibet dates from 650 A.D. when for the first time their expeditionary force entered Lhasa. In 1209 Tibet was conquered by Genghis Khan, and in 1270 his grandson, Kublai Khan, became a convert to Lamaism and set up the rule of priest-kings.

The veil of mystery shrouds the ancient history of the country. The accounts of the period prior to the 7th Century, A.D., which have reached us through the contemporary Chinese historians, are mostly mythical and legendary. Tibetans believe that they are the descendants of Chen-re-si, the 'Lord of Mercy', the patron deity of Tibet. The most notable legendary King was Nga-tri-tsanpo, said to be a son of King Prasenajit of Kosala, the first royal patron of Buddha. It was during the reign of Song-tsan-Gampo the Great (7th Century) that Tibet stepped into the light of history. A great conqueror and religious reformer, he prescribed a Code of Civil and Criminal Law, and formulated the present Tibetan alphabet on the pattern of Devanagari characters. He got many Sanskrit and Pali works on Buddhism translated in Tibetan language. As a result of the translations of the Indian Buddhist classics, the country's literature rapidly increased in volume.

King Song-tsan-Gampo married Princess Wen Cheng, daughter of the contemporary Emperor of China, whom he had defeated. A devout Buddhist, she firmly established her religion throughout her new country of residence although Buddhism had already reached Tibet from India some two hundred years earlier.

The form of Buddhism practised in Tibet is an amalgam of Shamanism cult (Nature worship), *Tantric* mysticism and Buddhist

faith, and is commonly known as Lamaism. According to Lamaism a number of gods, saints, demons and evil spirits guide the destiny of man and control the universe. Buddha is regarded as the chief god.

Certain Brahmanical gods also find a place in the galaxy of these superhuman beings.

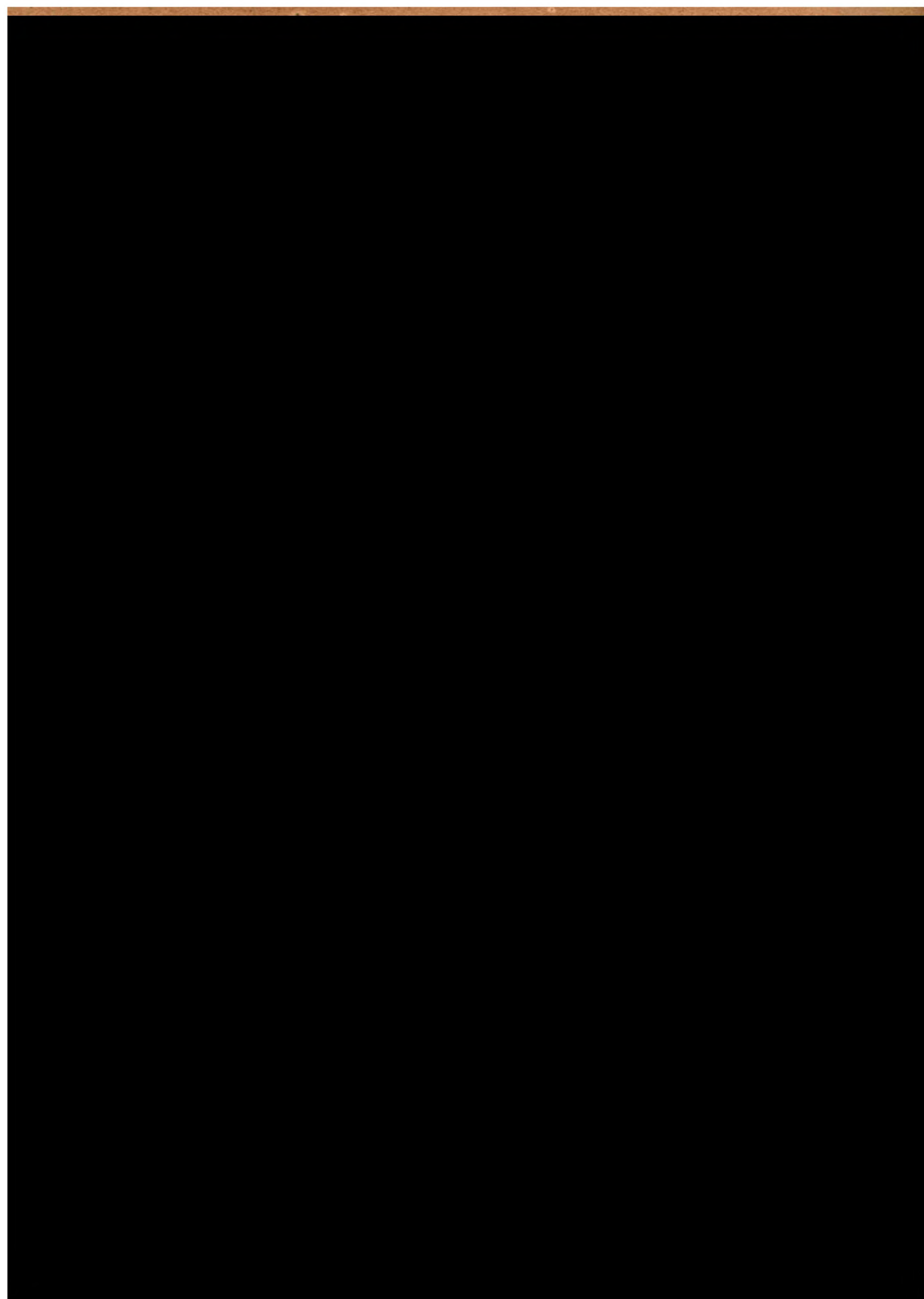
*Om Mani Padme Hum* meaning "Glory to the Jewel in the Lotus" or "Glory to God in our Hearts", is the most sacred *mantra* of Tibetans and is ever on their lips. About one fourth of the total male population are Lamas who take their abode in gompas or monasteries. Some three thousand monasteries, both big and small, are spread all over the country.

selection of high incarnations, or in the search for the incarnations, of a deceased Dalai Lama.

Extremely courteous and hospitable, the Tibetans have a strange way of welcoming the visitors. They put out their tongues, smile and hiss. Whether rich or poor they invariably offer tea, their most popular beverage, to the strangers and friends alike. They add salt instead of sugar to the tea and butter instead of milk. This salty beverage is served in small wooden cups inlaid with a thin silver-sheet. Whenever two Tibetans meet, they exchange scarves as a gesture of goodwill.

birds, but the main many flowers grow. To add colour to its









any more. Painting a mural is a lot of moving and climbing around all over the thing." A good mural, he feels, "must have a world of depth into which you can move."



marking the "independence and opening of the West."

In 1951, Benton remarked "my pictures have been out of fashion for 15 years now." And it is true that his stubborn adherence to an objective, realistic approach—indeed his scorn for any other—has meant that his easel paintings are now seldom seen. But with his mural painting, he now seems to be regaining something of the eminence he experienced in the 1930's, when he was a leader in the "Regionalism" movement of the time.

Early in his art career, Thomas Hart Benton was a super esthete, of the type he now detests. He was born in the mid-Western State of Missouri, in 1889. His father was a lawyer and his great-uncle, of the same name, was Missouri's first Senator and a distinguished figure in American history. The stage was set for young Benton to follow the family tradition of the law.

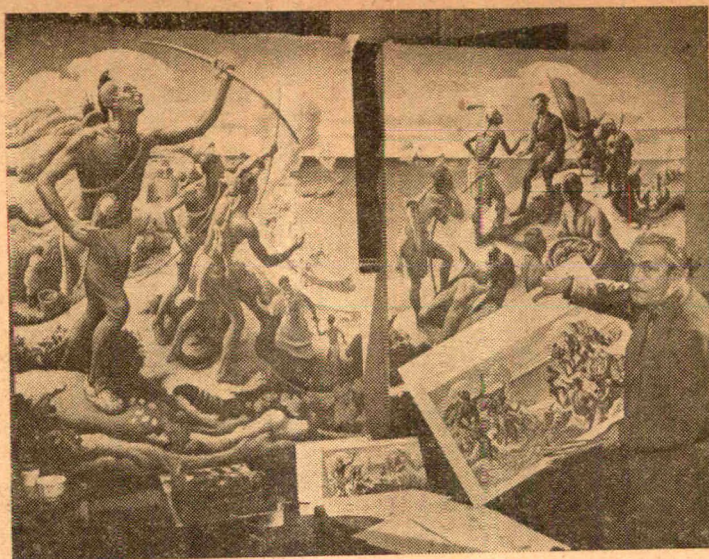
Such a prospect seemed to him the height of boredom. He early decided to be an artist. At 17 he went to the Art Institute of Chicago, but after two years

during World War I. "This was the most important event in my development as an artist. I was forced to observe the character of things—buildings, airplanes, dredges and ships—things so interesting that I forgot my esthetic drivelings and morbid self-concerns. I left once for all my little world of 'art for art's sake'."

The world Benton embraced instead was that of his own country and the

ing the ways and beliefs of the American people. . . . . I sought for as realistic a representation as possible. When things were ludicrous or ugly, I made them as such. When they were funny, I made them that way; when they were beautiful, I tried as best I could to capture that quality. Always in this artistic adventure, the subject came first."





Against a background of the completed murals Benton holds one of the preliminary easel paintings he did





Benton handles the tiny figures to simulate the dimensional effect he seeks for the final product

"I'm going to take all the time I can get to finish these," he says of the Truman murals. "But I'll deliver them all right." —USIS.

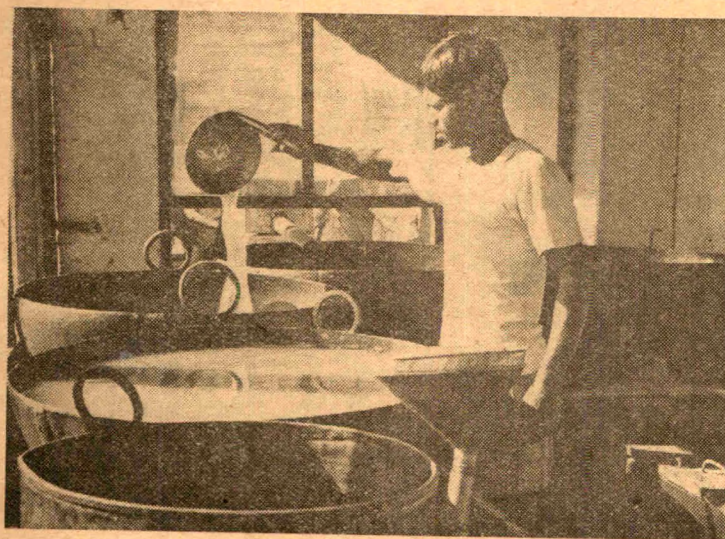
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### PROTECTION AGAINST ADULTERATION IN GHEE

How pure is ghee sold loose in open containers in urban areas? How easily can consumers be persuaded to accept adulterated ghee as genuine?

but almost all these had developed a rancid flavour.

Ghee can be so skilfully adulterated with cheaper substitutes that "ad hoc" checking by taste, smell or appearance cannot really help in detecting the admixture.



Properly graded ghee is being boiled before being put into Agmark-labelled tins

As part of the measures undertaken by the Government for affording protection against adulteration, and for ensuring supply of pre-tested ghee, grading of ghee under Agmark has been introduced. Specifications for ghee have been statutorily laid down. The physical and chemical characteristics of ghee depend upon a number of factors such as breed of the animal, the feed on which it is maintained, the stage of lactation and climatic conditions. These factors have been taken into account

A sample survey conducted by the Directorate of Marketing and Inspection of the Ministry of Food and Agriculture based on 84 samples from 34 towns located in different parts of the country showed that 56 of these were adulterated with vegetable fat and 21 were of doubtful purity. Only eight were found free from adulteration,


while prescribing Agmark standards for various areas.

#### Ensuring Quality and Purity

Grading can be done only by persons authorised by the Directorate of Marketing and Inspection. Each tin of "Kachha" ghee brought by a producer to an authorised dealer is subjected to preliminary tests by



qualified chemists and only those tins which are satisfactory in all respects are taken for processing. This is done by heating the ghee to make it homogeneous through retailers. A further check on the quality of graded ghee is exercised by collecting samples from such ghee offered for sale in consuming centres by the Central and State marketing staff.



### Agmark Competition

Grading of Ghee has made considerable progress in recent years. While only 92,000 maunds of ghee was graded in 1952, the quantity rose to 1.5 lakh maunds in 1956.

An Agmark ghee competition was introduced in 1954 to create a healthy

spirit of rivalry amongst the authorised packers. It has since become a yearly feature and two gold medals are annually awarded to the winners. The medals for the last competition were presented by Shri M. V. Krishnappa, Union Deputy Minister for Agriculture, recently to a Porbander firm and a Co-operative Union in Shikohabad (U.P.).—PIB

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## THERMONUCLEAR ENERGY. A New Horizon

By ASHOKE MUKHOPADHYAY

SCIENCE and Technology are advancing in long strides. Scientists are causing wonders in the laboratory. It is only a hundred or a hundred and a fifty years ago that coal was the only industrial fuel known to man. But in course of time newer fuels such as Petroleum and Hydro-electricity came to the scene.

### Atomic Energy

But the most recent and the most striking resource has been discovered only a few decades back. The destructive genie dwelling in the atomic bombs that burst upon Hiroshima and Nagasaki has now been trapped. With it has emerged a new era, i.e., the 'Atomic-Age.' Nuclear Energy has been controlled by scientists to do peaceful work. 'Atomic Reactors' or 'Atomic Piles,' as they are called, are in progress in many countries. Some of them have already started operating. Uranium is being 'burnt' there to produce heat and electricity. This has reduced to a great extent the apprehension of the death of our industrial civilization as a consequence of the probable exhaustion of coal and mineral oil in not very distant future.

### Transformation of Element

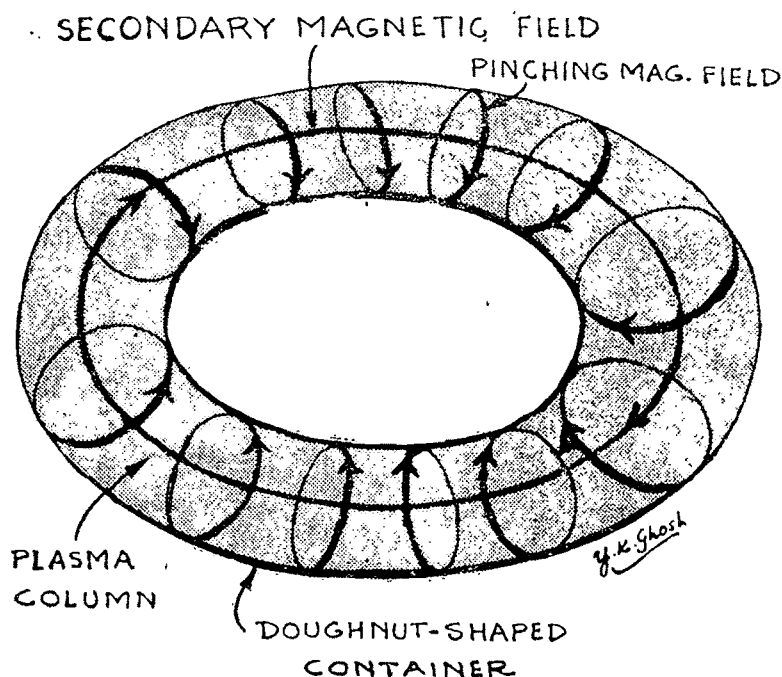
In the middle ages, there were some people known as Alchemists in the East as well as in the West. Their main ob-

jective was to find out the so-called 'Philosopher's stone' which could turn 'Base Metals' like iron to 'Noble-Metals' like gold. It is quite superfluous to mention that all their efforts proved to be failures. For it is as clear as day-light today that the secret of converting one element into another lies nowhere but in its nucleus. In fact the chemical properties of matter are dependent on the structure of its atom. To change these properties, there must be a corresponding change in the nucleus. In short we have to bring about some Nuclear Transformation of the element.

### Fission and Fusion

Modern Science has discovered the key to that problem. Scientists have found out that this transformation can be made in two ways, namely, fission and fusion.

In fission, the nucleus of a heavy element is disintegrated into nuclei of lighter elements whereas in fusion nuclei of lighter elements unite to give rise to the nucleus of a heavier element. In both the process a part of the mass is transformed into energy, the amount of which can be obtained from a special law of Einstein's Theory of Relativity. According to that when matter is converted into energy or energy into matter, the relation is given by  $E=MC^2$ , where E stands for the quantity of



energy,  $M$  for the mass concerned, and  $C$  for the velocity of light.

We can well imagine that a huge amount of energy is liberated by the conversion even of a very small amount of matter. It is estimated that the energy released by the nuclear disintegration of one pound of Uranium is equivalent to that obtained from the complete burning of 20 million pounds of coal.

In Atomic Bombs, fission takes place as a result of which the nucleus of Uranium is broken into the nuclei of Barium-137 and Krypton-82. The rest of the matter turns into energy and is released as heat and various radioactive rays. In Hydrogen Bombs, the process is altogether reversed as has been mentioned before. There the fusion of Heavy Hydrogen or Deuterium takes place and the products of this fusion are Helium-nuclei and Neutrons or Protons followed by the emission of tremendous amount of energy.

### Fission Vs Fusion

Fission which is at the root of Atomic Power has been tamed successfully. But this has many drawbacks some of which are as follows:

(1) Uranium is a rare element. Besides, the 235 isotope of the element can only be advantageously employed as fuel in Uranium Reactors. The percentage of Uranium-235 in naturally available Uranium is practically very small. Although the total quantity of Uranium and Thorium scattered in nature is equivalent to ten to hundred times the amount of coal yet deposited underneath, we have to keep in mind that the demand for power is increasing day by day. After some time it would be more than can be imagined and in that case it may happen that the Fission Reactors will eat away all the Uranium and Thorium within a very short time.

(2) Fission Reactors involve the disposal of large quantities of radioactive waste which are harmful to humanity. It has been calculated that if the power-need of U.S.A. alone were met with by atomic energy, then in fifty years time, the authority would have to face the problem of disposing of annually volume of Radioactive ashes equal to the resulting from the explosion of 200,000 Atomic Bombs.

(3) In the process of Fission streams of fast neutrons are emitted which, if not checked efficiently, would prove fatal. This demand

the erection of stout 'shielding' which is very expensive.

In fusion, on the contrary, the above difficulties do not creep in. Here the fuel is some light element preferably Heavy Hydrogen.

Not only that Deuterium is plentiful in nature but also this is a fact that Fusion is capable of producing energy eight times more than Fission by the 'burning' of the same quantity of fuel. This consideration also pushes Fusion ahead of Fission.

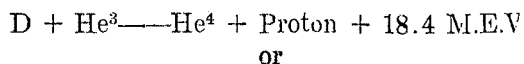
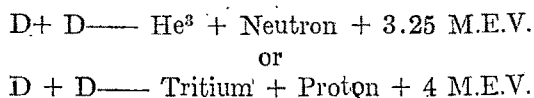
### Fuel in Fusion Process

As stated earlier, all the light elements are capable of producing energy by Fusion of their nuclei. But the use of Deuterium as fuel has got a large number of advantages over the others. It is present in all the compounds of Hydrogen including sea-water which is, to speak loosely, immeasurable. With every 6000 atoms of ordinary hydrogen is mixed one atom of heavy hydrogen. Deuterium is available commercially as 'Heavy Water' in some countries. In Canada heavy water is sold at the rate of \$60 a pound and in U.S.A. it can be obtained under special conditions from the U.S. Atomic Energy Commission at the meagre cost of \$28 a pound.

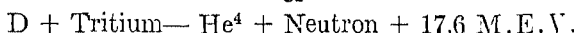
### Principle of Thermonuclear Energy

A Deuterium atom consists of a Proton and a Neutron in its Nucleus. When the Nuclei of two Deuterium Atoms coalesce, a Nucleus of either Helium-3 or Tritium (which is a heavier isotope of Hydrogen having Atomic Wt.-3) is formed, both the chances being equal. In the second stage another Deuterium Nucleus collides with the Helium-3 Nucleus or the Tritium Nucleus to form Helium-4 and a huge amount of energy is liberated.

1st Stage.



or



(M.E.V. denotes Million Electron Volt Energy).

The gases which are evolved in the above reactions are inert and naturally not so harmful.

### Condition for Starting Fusion

It has been clear that limitless energy is hidden in a volume of apparently innocent hydrogen gas. Let us now see what are the conditions necessary to initiate the process.

The nucleus of all atoms carries positive electric charge. Again, like charges repel each other. Hence in order to overcome the mutual repulsion, the individual nuclei are to be accelerated to a velocity high enough to bring about collision between them. This requires millions of degrees of initial temperature. In case of Hydrogen Bombs, the required temperature is supplied by the explosion of an Atomic Bomb. But this cannot be possible when controlled fusion is to be achieved. Success has to be sought in some other way.

Many scientists have drawn an analogy between 'Fusion' and ordinary 'burning'. In 'burning' heat is to be supplied from external source to start the chemical reaction between the atoms concerned. This chemical reaction in turn expresses itself as heat. In fusion on the other hand, nuclei fuse together if accelerated to required velocity by initial heating and the process liberates an enormous amount of energy which is the revelation of the nuclear re-action going inside. As the latter process necessitates heating to an extremely high temperature to be 'self-sustaining,' it is called thermonuclear reaction. The minimum temperature which starts fusion is termed 'Ignition temperature' and it is different for different elements. For the nuclei to have the chance of colliding with each other the fuel must be first of all brought to a stage known as *Plasma*.

### Plasma

If a volume of enclosed gas be heated, its temperature goes on increasing. At  $5000^{\circ}\text{C}$ . all its molecules are disintegrated into constituent atoms. At hundred thousand degrees centigrade, the electrons are stripped off from their parent atoms and the gas turns into an electrically neutral mixture of positively and negatively charged ions. In this stage, the electrons move within the vessel at an average speed of 10 million miles per hour. But it is not until one million degree centigrade is reached that any fusion takes place. Even then an insignificant portion of the desired energy consumed by the fuel to be heated to the temperature will be given back. According to Sir John Cockroft, the eminent British scientist, if the temperature can be raised to 25 million degrees centigrade, the energy obtained will be one millionth part of the energy consumed and the two will be balancing when the temperature is lifted to 100 million degrees centigrade. If we want to tap power in a profitable manner, fusion temperature is to be of the order of 400 million degrees centigrade using Deuterium as the fuel.

### Container for the Heated Plasma

All known materials will vaporise long before reaching the high temperature of the Plasma. But perhaps, this is not the main problem to be solved. Although the temperature will be many million degrees, the total heat-content of the Plasma will not be appreciably great in view of its reduced density. What is deemed as the greatest difficulty is, however, the sudden fall in temperature of the Plasma as soon as it comes in contact with the container-wall and the consequent collapse of the fusion process.

The problem has been tackled efficiently by the scientists. They have come to the conclusion that the Plasma is to be enclosed in some container whose walls will not be allowed to be touched. This seems paradoxical to common sense, but success has been attained in this sphere also by employing the peculiar behaviour of charged particles in a magnetic field.

Gas particles under ordinary circumstances travel in straight lines until they collide with each other or with the wall of the vessel. But as soon as some magnetic influence comes in, the particles are disturbed in their straight-line motion and they are deflected away by the magnetic lines of force and pushed in helical or spiral paths. As a result they do not touch the container-wall and remain squeezed within the magnetic-envelope.

If we look to a glowing Neon-tube, it will be seen that the gas particles are crowded in a column detached from the walls of the tube with its axis coincident with the tube axis. The effect was first observed by E. Northrup in 1907 when he was carrying experiments with the effect of electric-discharge in mercury-filled glass tubes. The cause behind the particles being constricted within such a narrow column is a mysterious electrical phenomenon known as 'Pinch effect'.

We know that two metallic wires carrying current in the same direction experience a mutual attraction. The same principle lies at the root of this phenomenon also. In 1946 Dr. J.A.R. Samson and Dr. R.E. Vollrath of the University of S. California reported to the American Physical Society: "The use of this pinch effect is to form a column of hot electrified gas that maintained itself in position without the glass walls of the tube." It cast a new ray of light on the way to the solution of the containing problem, and scientists went on carrying vigorous experiments. An insulated tube was filled with gas at very low pressure and through it was passed electric current at high potential. The gas particles ionised and became conductors of electricity. The temperature of the gas jumped higher and higher. Finally the gas reached the plasmic stage and circular lines of force appeared round it accompanied by its pinch effect. One disadvantage was that the pinch lived only for one millionth of a second. After that the outward pressure of the Plasma reigned over the inward pressure of the magnetic lines of force and the particles leaked out of the pinch.

### Magnetic Bottle

So the problem stands as how to produce a stable pinch at least for a minimum period in

order that the thermonuclear reaction may be self-sustaining. For this, the scientists concluded, a secondary internal magnetic field is to be created parallel to the axis of the tube in addition to the pinching magnetic field around the Plasma. This requires an electric current of millions of amperage. To have an invisible magnetic bottle whose walls will be formed by the magnetic lines of force, a pinching field of one lakh Gauss intensity is required. This is not beyond the power of scientists. As early as 1927, the Russian scientist Capitza obtained an intensity as high as 4 lakh Gauss.

### Zeta: Achievement of British Scientists

Under a veil of official secrecy research in the field of taming thermonuclear energy is being led in many countries. But very little is published and the details are not known.

The U.K. Atomic Energy Authority raised a surprise only a few days ago when they announced some of the results of their research in the Harwell Centre. The British scientists have developed an apparatus named Zeta (Zero Energy Thermonuclear Assembly) which comprises a Dough-nut shaped Plasma-container and a magnetic field of strong intensity. It has been known that the maximum temperature attained in this apparatus is 5 million degree centigrade and the duration of the pinch is from 3 to 5 thousandth of a second. The British scientists claim to have

obtained thermonuclear neutrons which testify that thermonuclear fusion has taken place. Of course it is not yet confirmed that the fusion has occurred due to temperature and not due to the unstable electric discharge. Deeper research work will give us the correct answer.

From the very name of the apparatus, it is obvious that no net gain in energy has yet been achieved in Zeta. But it is quite reasonable to hope that in near future with higher temperature and stabler Magnetic Bottle, more and more energy will be obtained. Ultimate success is still a long way off. But it is there and man is sure to reach it because the journey has started.

Sir John Cockroft ventured to predict, "I have no doubt that within a year, Zeta, with some modification, will far surpass the central temperature of the sun."

But that is not the goal. The aim of the scientists is the total conquering of the Hydrogen Bomb and thus to make man possessor of limitless power.

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## SANTINIKETAN

By SURESH CH. SEN GUPTA

A spot of beauty—

Of the blue above and the green on earth,  
Where the stars whisper their secrets unto

the eager flowers.

By the mortals unheard,

But there lived here one who had the whisper

heard, and carried it in his heart to  
breathe it out in his words,

'Hear, O hear the word,'

he sang in his soft melodies immortal,

And it was a word of love

A love that unites heaven and earth.

## ON NATIONALISM

By PROF. SISIR KANTI BHATTACHARJEE, M.A.

THE invention of H-Bomb has so thoroughly shaken the minds of thinkers of the world that we should try to think about old subjects and problems from new angles and with deeper conviction. Political philosophers in the past have given their valued opinions on nationalism regarding its effect on man and his civilisation. Though the history of the theory of nationalism is not so old as that of the other theories of Political Science such as liberty, democracy, etc., it is nevertheless one of the most vital factors that have influenced man's activities in the world. It has been called the religion of modern times inasmuch as in the name of religion people can sacrifice everything near and dear to them. Today for the sake of the nation citizens offer themselves gladly to be butchered in the field of battle. They do not like to question the virtue of any issue. Their reason becomes paralysed and they are reduced to the category of automatons, of machines having no conscience and rationality.

It is true that nationalism is not merely a destructive force. It did something very laudable in the past and would repeat the same in future. This force of nationalism ultimately gave the people of Poland their cherished freedom. Similar are the cases of Italy and of Germany. In the case of India nationalism has been a tremendous necessity. In a country like India where diversity is to be found in almost every sphere of life, viz., language, dress, culture, ways of life, etc., the sentiment of nationalism is the only unifying force. The need of nationalism in the formative period of a nation-state can hardly be over-estimated. The domination of a foreign Government over a country for a long period brings certain changes in the psychological make-up of a people. They lose their strength of character, resoluteness and tenacity. Slavish mentality begins to creep in gradually. The urge for self-determination is the only remedy against these vices. The concept of nationalism can ennoble the character of men inducing them to sacri-

fice their self-interest and even their dearest lives for some common cause. It cures men of such vices as fear, cowardice and selfishness. It must be differentiated from the militant or perverted type of nationalism. This nationalism has no design for territorial aggrandisement or dynastic ambition. It fosters self-respect.

To deny the right of self-determination to a people is to dwarf and cramp its personality. For the larger interest of humanity and civilisation no one should be forcefully subjugated. A people cannot contribute something in a creative way towards the enrichment of civilisation unless its political personality is freed from bondage. The comparative achievement of India under alien rule during the first half of this century and her material achievement during the past ten years can be a pointer to this. To quote a great thinker, "When a race wins political independence its art and science contribute to the general progress of civilisation." Sometimes, therefore, it is not only expedient but is also just to regard the forces of nationalism as great. To quote Mill, "It is in general a necessary condition of free institutions that the boundaries of Governments should coincide in the main with those of nationalities." Some political thinkers and historians have criticised this "One nation, one State" principle of Mill. In Lord Acton's view this theory of one nation, one State, "is more absurd and more criminal than the theory of socialism." And in the opinion of others this theory is the main barrier to international understanding. But whenever we are criticising the dictum of Mill we should remember that a State may be composed of diverse nationalities only by voluntary consent. If force is applied nothing can be established. One has only to look at the result of the British policy in America in the 18th century and in Ireland in the 20th century. By force the spirit of nationalism cannot be suppressed for all times.

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Though we can theoretically accept the contention of President Wilson that the spirit of nationalism "is an imperative principle of action, which statesmen will henceforth ignore at their peril," nevertheless, Lord Curzon was right when he sounded a note of warning that it is a double-edged sword and can be respected with some limitations only. The contribution of nationalism towards Italian and German unification is really admirable. "Nationalism," as one writer puts it, "progressed by the appeal to common sentiments among people who had been divided by arbitrary governments."

✓ But the history of the 20th century world has seen both the fairest and the ugliest manifestations of nationalism. Though it is true that the spirit of nationalism is, perhaps, the most vital factor regarding the emancipation of various dependent peoples of Asia and Africa, we cannot deny the fact that the world wars are mainly the outcome of the clash of militant nationalisms. The possibility of the third global war haunts the people of the world night and day. Our world today is menacingly divided into two antagonistic blocs each threatening the other with ghastly and deadly weapons like the A-Bomb and the H-Bomb. In my opinion, the present crisis in world politics and the probability of the third world war are not due to the conflict of ideologies between the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. as argued by some. Rather it is the result of the expanding nature of the nationalism of Russia and America. It is not true to argue that Russia has sympathy for the independence of dependent peoples. Because if we accept that Communist Russia has sympathy for their liberation, we cannot explain fully one of the most heinous treaties signed by Molotov and Ribbentrop just before the Second World War. Though to Marxist thinkers nationalism is a bourgeois sentiment, strangely enough in Russia attempt is being made, of late, to glorify the past of Russia in the same manner and degree as the so-called bourgeois countries did or do. This will be substantiated later.

If mankind is to be saved the impulse of nationalism must be held in check. Nationalism has a great tendency to move to extreme ends. People become altogether intoxicated and lose all perspectives of any issue regarding right and wrong. The statesmen do not hesitate to commit the vilest of crimes in the name of and for the sake of the nation. There seems to be a double standard of morality in this. The statesman whose foreign policy can exploit the foreign countries and peoples in a shameless and reckless way is hailed by his people as the hero of his country. This strange behaviour of human psychology is always enigmistic. If we see in our street that an enemy spy is being brutally murdered or beaten to death we sometimes feel pity and think whether he could be punished in some other more humane manner. But strangely enough we are delighted at a news in the paper that our army has become victorious killing ten thousand enemy soldiers or that our air force has destroyed the towns and villages of the enemy. In the former case, the death of a single man saddened us but in the latter case the massacre of thousands of men pleased us! In the former case we reacted because we were hurt at the sight of the cruel extermination of one who belonged to the greater family of Man to which we also belong. But in the second case we acted as mere automatons or slaves who are controlled by the great master spirit called nationalism. (This idea of nationalism has exalted a great many brutalities we shudder to think of. There appears to be no standard of morality in the life of a nation. Acts that would have been considered absolutely heinous in the private life of an individual are considered quite just when committed in the name of the nation. It is interesting to quote here the words of a famous statesman of the 19th century, Cavour, "What rascals we would be if we did for ourselves what we do for our country." Nothing is unjust, nothing is immoral, nothing is dishonest if it is done for the sake of the nation. It sounds almost Machiavellian. Nationalism, therefore, leads to a negation of morality and a "narrowing of political outlook." It very often forces people to subscribe to the view of living at the cost of others and not the principle of 'live and let live.' Exploitation, whether militaristic or economic becomes the dominant creed. War becomes holy and divinely ordained. War, the greatest enemy of man, is glorified and thousands of young men are butchered in the field of battle like so many

cats and dogs without any protest. They are taught that death in a war waged in the name of the nation is the death of a martyr. They are given no scope or education to judge the virtue of a case for which a war has been declared. If a man honestly and rationally denounces a so-called national war he is at once condemned either as a traitor or a coward who is afraid to die for the country. People's reason and personality are wilfully and deliberately paralysed. There are many writers who can find many justifications of war. The arguments of some are based more or less on rational ground but of others on mere sentiment. Treitschke did not hesitate to condemn the small state which was "a sin against the Holy Ghost." He supported most shamelessly the establishment of big states through war. In his opinion, "The essence of the state is, firstly power; secondly power; thirdly power." He believed, only in the state "can there be developed that genuine national pride which is the sign of the moral efficiency of a nation." This glorification of the state in the name of national pride directly leads to despotism within the state. It denies liberty and democracy. The people of a state which has become great by snatching away the right or forcefully annexing the territory of another people cannot enjoy their own liberty also in the long run. "It is fundamental," as Burke insisted in his Speeches of Warren Hastings, "that the denial of right abroad means, sooner or later, the denial of right at home." And Laski has rightly said, "Men cannot discipline themselves in injustice to strangers without, ultimately, denying the duty of justice to their brothers." It cannot be denied that the doctrine of state absolutism derives its main support from the fanatical type of nationalism.

One of the ugly sides of nationalism is to be found in the advocacy of race superiority. It is argued by some that certain races are superior to others in every aspect—material or moral—and therefore, it is right and just that the superior shall always rule the inferior. A superior nation has no right, it is argued, to enjoy its qualities in a selfish manner, rather it has a sacred duty to elevate the condition of the so-called inferior nations by bringing them under its domain. It has got, so to say, a world

mission. This sort of arguments were put forward by many writers regarding the "low-cultured" peoples of Africa, and Asia. The so-called superior nation was simply accepting the 'white man's burden.' Viewed from this angle imperialism becomes more a duty than a right "decreed by some law of the development of civilisation." Giddings in his book *Democracy and Empire* cherishes not the slightest doubt in concluding that the emergence of U.S.A. as a colonial power towards the close of the 19th century was anything but "a matter of destiny." He further argues that the "stupendous" reserve of energy initiative, effort and vigour of American nation was "gaining a natural outlet." And hence to check the expansion of American colonialism was to engage in "idle contention against cosmic law." In this context both colonialism and war lose their demerits. And war becomes a dutiful right. 'War,' said Coker, 'is the natural instrumentality of national expansion and its outcome is the test of the right to expand.' And Bagehot was right when he asserted that "It is war that makes nations." It has been put forward by many that "Efficiency, inventiveness and orderliness are indispensable factors of military strength, so that the most military nations have been essentially the most progressive nations—industrially, culturally and politically." "The appeal to arms," said the staunch nationalist professor Treitschke, "will be valid until the end of history." War, it is argued, is a vital element of national solidarity. Civilisation can spread from one nation to another by war only. There is hardly any other school of thinkers in politics apart from the nationalist school who most shamelessly argues like Treitschke that "The grandeur of history lies in the perpetual conflict of nations." There are writers who support like Corrado Gini "that the virile men of a victoriously invading army improve the stock of the people of a conquered territory by the 'large progeny' the invading soldiers leave behind in the regions they temporarily occupy." The greatest difficulty is that killing, murder, rape, plunder and destruction are supported on moral and cultural grounds for nationalism. Definitely these are steps historically retrograde in character.

The theory of race superiority is

surely then one of the greatest enemies of mankind. This theory got its greatest manifestation in modern Germany. Fichte had no doubt about the superiority of the Germans. In his opinion the Germans are "the pioneers and models for the rest of mankind; to have character and to be a German undoubtedly mean the same." The Nazis were strongly influenced by the theory of the Nordic Race or the chosen race of God sent to rule this world and its ugliest manifestation can be seen in their effort to exterminate systematically the Jews from Germany. "It is estimated that there are about five millions fewer Jews than there were before the Nazi persecution." The Jews were murdered to keep the German blood pure. The Jews were considered inferior. But we should not forget that the greatest scientist of all times namely Einstein was a Jew and not a so-called Nordic being. (The concept of race superiority is no doubt an aspect of staunch nationalism. All sorts of atrocities were committed on the ground of better rule by higher culture and civilisation. Thus Bertrand Russel says that in "fifteen years this enlightened monarch (King Leopold II), a pillar of the church, and an ardent self-proclaimed philanthropist, reduced the population of his African kingdom approximately from 20 millions to 9 millions!")

The evils of nationalism can also be found in the distortion of history by a thousand pseudo-professors of history. Almost in every country history is being distorted and coloured. New facts are manufactured and truth shamelessly and deliberately suppressed to uphold national prestige. Innocent young children from the very beginning are supplied with lies and when facts are told they are coloured in such a way that the reader can have no access to the reality. In India, for example, during our struggles for liberation, the revolt of 1857 was described as the first national revolt against the alien rule. It was done perhaps not with eyes to historical facts but to historical necessity at that time. We wanted some sort of impetus and any incident could do. Many

eminent historians like Dr. R. C. Mazumdar and Dr. S. N. Sen are not willing to give the 1857 revolt such a great name as the first war of Independence. Their views have not yet been seriously challenged. This is nothing peculiar in case of one country only. We are told "Modern Russia has perhaps carried this process further than it has ever been carried before. We learn that Copernicus was a Russian; that it was not Vasco da Gama, but a Russian, who discovered the cape route to India; that the law of gravitation was not discovered by Newton but by a supporter of Ivan the Terrible; and that Darwin's ideas came from Russian source which he carefully concealed." (B. Russel). Instances can also be quoted from British or French history. Bertrand Russel himself an Englishman states that "No English school-boy is allowed to know Wellington's comment on the battle (Waterloo): 'It was a damned nice thing,' or Napoleon's comment: 'In war, the English always lose except the last.'" It is the nature of every country to declare that truth is on their side and their own side is sure of victory and it, therefore, stirs men's desire for war and they lose all their rational qualities to judge every issue on its merit dispassionately. In this regard Rabindranath Tagore strongly criticises this system of education and civilisation. He says, "Where the spirit of Western nationalism prevails, the whole people are being taught from boyhood to foster hatred and ambitions of all kinds of means—by the manufacture of half-truths in history by persistent misrepresentation of other races and other cultures of unfavourable sentiment towards them, by setting up memorials of events, very often false, which for the sake of humanity should be speedily forgotten.... It is holding up gigantic selfishness as the universal religion for all nations of the world." Bertrand Russel has no hesitation in arguing "Nationalism is in our day the chief obstacle to the extension of social cohesion beyond national boundaries. It is, therefore, the chief force making for the extermination of the human race. Everybody is agreed that the nationalism of other

countries is absurd, but the nationalism of one's own country is noble and splendid and any man who does not uphold it is a life-livered cur."

In some dictatorial countries like Nazi Germany, Italy and other countries where nationalism played or is playing the dominant role, no scope is given to the liberty of thought and expression and by this means the freedom of will is completely destroyed.

If we accept the fact that <sup>(1935)</sup> salvation of mankind lies in the creation of an atmosphere of fraternity and friendship throughout the world, we can hardly support this sort of misrepresentation of facts and perversion of education. From the very beginning the minds of men are poisoned to create in them an idea of hatred and blind obedience, which become the main motto of the nationalist state. The distinction between a liberal and a nationalist education cannot be better expressed as it is to be found in the prescription of Fichte. In his opinion, "The new education must consist essentially in this that it completely destroys freedom of will in the soul which it undertakes to cultivate, and produces on the contrary strict necessity in the decisions of the will, the opposite being impossible. Such a will can henceforth be relied on with confidence and certainty."

The people who play with nationalism, really speaking, play with fire. The instrument, on many occasions, becomes the master and the master along with the entire nation has to pay heavily for it. Both in the case of Napoleon I and Bismarck nationalism became the support of military despotism. This is the result within the State but outside the state it is true that through impetus of nationalism the French army of Napoleon and Hitler could achieve astounding success, nevertheless it is exactly the same force which ultimately gave rise to the nationalist feelings in various parts of Europe that led to the defeat, destruction, humiliation of Napoleon's France and Hitler's Germany. Germany had to pay the dearest price for her sons' hot-headed nationalism. In this

regard Rabindranath Tagore was perfectly right when he asserted, "The nation is the greatest enemy of nation." And that is why we can say that this international wars are the outcome of conflict of various aggressive national interests.

Earlier it has been argued that for the sake of nation people can stoop to any meanness and commit the vilest of crimes without being ashamed. Rabindranath Tagore was deeply moved by seeing this sort of degeneration of man. Though in his time India was inspired by nationalist ideas and fighting to throw off the foreign yoke yet he had the courage to state through one of the characters of his famous book *Home and Abroad*. "It, indeed, pains me and I can hardly console myself when you deify country, and in its name and for its sake want to sacrifice truth, justice and humanity."

Rabindranath like Gandhi was never willing to separate ethics from politics. He believed that the realisation of the unity of man is the goal of history. To the Poet it does not matter whether geographically speaking I am born in India or in America or in Russia. The fundamental factor is that I as a human being belong to the great family of Man whose interest I should serve first of all. There is no end if we continue this "bull fight" among nations. Nations have thriven "long upon mutilated humanity." The Poet was aggrieved to find that men, fairest creatures of God, come out of national manufactory in huge numbers as war-making and money-making machines, ludicrously vain of their pitiful perfection of mechanism. Though the wounds of World War II which took away for ever millions of young smiling faces are not yet healed, there is the talk of a third conflagration in the air. (This is mainly because the soul of man is in bondage and is not in a position to assert itself due to the impact of nationalist sentiments. Tagore was aware of it and he had sounded a great note of warning to the bigotted nationalists in Japan long before the Second World War. "Nations," he said, "who sedulously cultivate moral blindness

as the cult of patriotism will end their existence in a sudden and violent death." And in case of Japan how brutally it came to be true.

This sort of nationalism shows no regard to the finer virtues of man. It can do anything and everything without the slightest hesitation. It appears almost unbelievable to us when we see the news in the press that the surplus wheat stocks were burned in Canada, milk and apples were dumped into rivers in the U.S.A. and coffee stocks thrown in the sea in Brazil while millions were hovering between life and death due to starvation in other parts of the world.

The only way by which we can cure the malady of this mad world, gone astray through the cultivation of extreme nationalism, is to create an impression in the individual's mind that "the real unit of allegiance," as Laski pointed out, "is the world." It is to the total interest of humanity that we shall sacrifice everything near and dear to us. Nationalism, it is true, is the result of a long historical process and since it is instinctive it cannot be easily undone. But our main concern is how to control it in such a way that it can serve the interest of a particular country without jeopardising the interest of mankind in general. That is why Laski pointed out that "the problem, then, is the equation of nationalism with right," with the right of all people of the world. And if it is not possible for us to create an atmosphere of mutual trust and co-operation, progress and civilisation will be doomed. In a world threatened with A-bomb and H-bomb where a few of them is quite sufficient to exterminate all lives on our beautiful planet and to bring the peace of the grave we cannot but find an echo in our heart of what Laski said long ago, "Logically, the foundation of an approach to the common problem of civilisation is either international or it is worthless." In this regard it may be interesting to quote a few words of the father of modern nationalism in Italy, Mazzini. In his opinion, "Life.....was given you by God so that you might use it for the benefit of

humanity." In addition to the duties of man to his family and to his country he should have duties to humanity. Laski advised his countrymen to be "apostles of this faith, apostles of brotherhood, of nations and of the unity of human race." Every one should be given such education and training from childhood that he may realise that he is a man first before he is a citizen. "Citizenship" said MacLure "is not the only duty of man." Children should be taught the lesson of interdependence among nations and groups and find out the folly of conflict in the atomic age. Centuries ago the poet put down:

The mind is its own place, and in itself  
Can make a Heav'n of Hell, a Hell of  
Heav'n

The bad effects of the perverted nationalist sentiment can be checkmated if people try to train the younger generation in the light of universal brotherhood without poisoning their minds with false vanities. Thus in the preamble to the constitution of the Unesco it has been rightly said, "Since war begins in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men that the defences of peace must be constructed." The Unesco and the U.N.O. started with the hypothesis that the worst enemy of peace is the national ego to be found in the minds of men and hence it must be replaced by the universal ego. We should not lose faith in man and get frustrated on account of the failures in the past. Due to the development of communication our world has already shrunk considerably in size and we have begun to feel for each other. The news of a devastating flood in India bring sincere words of sympathy and material help from non-living thousands of miles away in the remotest corner of the world. This is of no mean significance. Man has the instinct in him to become great, it only needs proper cultivation. Thus Shakespeare's Hamlet says, "What a piece of work is man! how noble in reason! how infinite in faculty! In the form and moving how express and admirable! in action how like an angel!

in apprehension how like a God!" If a deliberate and determined effort is made to reshape man's mind, I think, Wendell Will-

kie's one world will not remain an Utopian concept for ever and nationalism will gradually cease to be a menace to civilisation.

## THE CULT OF NILA AND HIS ALTAR

### A Festival Custom of Bengal

By SUSHIL KUMAR DEB

In popular nomenclature, Nila means Shiva, the primeval god of the Hindu pantheon. Literally, Nila means 'blue,' the divinity who obtained this name because of his supernatural powers. At some aeonic time out of memory, when the Kalakuta poison churned out of the ocean stuck in the throat of Shiva he came to be known as the blue-throated Immortal, who saved all creatures without discriminating the gods from the demons by drinking this deadly drink. He is surnamed Nila-lohita, dark blue and red. This name positively suits his complexion: blackened by poison, he is actually flame-coloured, bright yellow. In the Sanskrit lexicon "shabdakalpadruma," the exposition of this appellation incorporates details of the pertinent rite being performed through fasting, sacramental meal-taking and the delights of festive proceeding on into the last day of the month of Chaitra (the closing month of the Bengali year, corresponding to a part of March and of April). Celebrations start off from the first day of the month that heralds the summer season.

Out of an uncomeatable, sequestered spot where it remained or was deposited for the major part of the year, an emblem of Nila is brought to the gaze of the common humanity only during the festival. Probably this emblem is no more than a locust platform, a sacred altar, from where the god reigns in the hearts of his worshippers, and accepts their homage amid a medley of musical airs. Apart from the song of chorus on the occasion of his installation or enthronement, a conservatory of music includes in its repertory a

number of arias appropriate to ritual bathing and robing, burning incense, and cooking, etc.

Shell-cutting invests this cult with the aura of art-in-industry. It is the minstrels' obligation to focus the activities of shell-cutters, the artisans whose birth-right it is to put into service the bracelets made of the sea conch, cut out with fine saws into thin circular pieces joined end to end. Some of these arm-bands or rings are white, while others, dyed with lac, yield a crimson colour in the ornaments that arouse deep religious sentiments among the married womanhood of Bengal. There is no bar to the shell-cutters' playing the minstrels' role. The latter are artists alike in locution and gestures.

As is the custom in some parts of Bengal, four or five minstrel-singers would chant homely hymns, that is, a set of favourite strains in public worship, make gestures, and cut shells. On the designated day at the turn of the month, a shed or temple outside the perimeter of the homestead is fabricated. At night, burnt fish, bhang, ganja, wine, and a variety of delectable food are offered to the deity. On the morrow, a shell-cutter goes the round of the houses, impersonating the ascetic-god Shiva and his spouse Gauri. Villagers whack him with the shoots of hemp that supplies the god, leading a cynobitic life, his usual narcotic drug. Gauri, too, is credited with drubbing him with the same hemp. It seems a sore grief to all that Shiva should remain an incurable bhang-addict. To free community life of the stigma of worldly-mindedness stoic

worshippers, for the span of a full month, desist from eating either fish or meat, and are reconciled to a vegetarian diet. By no means until the thirtieth day of the festivities arrive would Nila partake of the consecrated fish. Not till then, with an otherwise absorbed, indifferent god to shepherd them along, the worshippers are permitted to feed on the fish diet.

One needs in this context to remember Faridpur's folkways bearing on an engrossing travelogue. Strolling players, i.e., theatrical parties, here, visit the houses and give currency to the countryside's wandering refrains. They would dance with obvious native virtuosity. They might mimic Hara (Shiva in a conspicuous mood) and also Gauri, his spouse, or Kali, the goddess of eternity. Even so, they might act as mimers very earnestly. Ultimately, they come tramping back, laden with rice, discarded garments, and cash money—spoils of their many days' continual hunt. In this way, the display of Bengali arts and craftsmanship fits into the pattern of an annual village function.

Below is an English transcript—a prose comment or paraphrase—of a Bengali lyrical ballad of the Festival. The lines in Bengali show versification with irregular metre. The rhapsode apparently did not abstain from reciting or writing disjointedly. Thus, one might imagine, was accorded a place to composed or impromptu tunes in folk art. "Gauri Gets Her Bracelets" is riddled with vernacularism. The leitmotif for delineation of the scene of Gauri's wearing armlets is to stress the excellence—as has been brought into the light by tradition—of the Bengali Hindu wife's privilege to be honoured at home with gifts of jewellery of sorts, presumably since an early period of civilization. The convolutions of the story describe, first and foremost, Shiva's masquerading as a nimble-witted shell-cutter and peddler of jewellery. The main question for the fabulist or the rhythmist is: Will Gauri, born in the purple, tolerate a slant on earthly glory? Shiva, the wonder-worker was fain to profess he was poorest in worldly goods.

Hence some part of the dialogue savours a trifle of an ostensible conflict and declamation as usual. Yet perhaps the whole choral work has produced a synthesis of so much diversity, found in the rights and wrongs of the disputed issues.

#### Gauri Gets Her Bracelets

Gauri longed to get what her heart bid. It was not just a quaint fancy. With folded hands, she exhorted Shiva: "Be sure, you give me the bracelets. Can a wife subscribe allegiance to her lord without such?"

"Dearest!" rejoined Shiva, "I know not where can I have riches to buy bracelets with. Your father and other near kinsmen are quite well-off. Aye, they have enough and to spare. Go up to them. Behold I have nothing to give."

Thus was Gauri counselled and sent adrift—while Shiva turned the matter over in his mind. He was set athinking lest any harm befell her as she went up the mountainous highway—a perilous journey far to the glacial North. Forthwith the mysterious god found wisdom, and resolved upon outpointing Gauri by setting a snare.

Leaving on silent feet his hermitage of the woodlands, Shiva made his way across the cliffs of rocks to a region which Gauri would surely have to pass. And, to be proceeded at once to cross her path.

He mused: "Go where she may in quest of the invaluable shell-ornaments, she, with her proven sagacity, must not pass me by."

Then, looking the very picture of a dealer in shellware he shouted out promotional slogans, "Bracelets on sale, bracelets on sale!" and attracted her attention.

Without the least cause for feeling any misgivings about the reality of the merchandise Gauri greeted him, and made answer: "Ah, indeed! Have you bracelets to sell?"

The merchant man's voice called out again: "If you only care for such of the precious stuff I have in stock! Pray, come forth, and choose yourself."

However, Gauri had no intent to fall into needless sundry conversations. She



extended one of her arms promptly towards him; she would certainly try the bracelets, and make a bargain.

The merchant man now uttered a platitude: "These ornaments in truth are unsurpassed for their marvellous beauty in all the three worlds." And he begged her to try them on. He had, as it were, the decorative artist's instinct to ensure that she did not have to trouble at all to wear those fine offerings.

"I am still such a distance away from my father's realm in the mountain fastnesses," she explained her circumstances, and pleaded with the decorator to set the bracelets on the wrists expeditiously. "Time has slipped away. It bodes ill for me to wait here."

Yet the merchant man smiled, as he performed his allotted task. A murmurous complaint smote his mind: "But she would not be discomfited even in an unequal contest!"

Aloud, he repeatedly praised the deft art of the ornament's construction, inasmuch as they were perfect to the minutest detail, saying: "Mine is the indisputable right of being their maker. None else could claim that right. Signs are there for all to see: subjected to strain and stress they will never crumple, fold or be broken."

"Pray, do not stay me from my routine packing programme," he continued solemnly. "Time flies past." And so he wanted to be paid the price.

"Listen, merchant man," Gauri demanded. "Follow me as far as my father's mansion-house. Right off you will obtain compensation there."

This request astonished the merchantman who met it with a straight refusal. "Can I have misjudged you, do you think?" he cried. "Woe to such a customer! I tell you what, take this chance of doing right. Clear the dues—if you are not lacking in pride in your family."

Thus blew the blast of an argument, which slandered Gauri's conscience.

Ruefully she declared: "What is the sense of taunting me, merchant man?"

None too practical a salesman appeared Shiva. It came about that, before long mortified and humbled, he craved her pardon.

Meanwhile, the goddess hastened to draw out the enchanted bracelets from her wrists, but failed. "Take these back," said she.

With baffled indignation, she struck hard at the bracelets. She then dealt them a blow with a scimitar, which splintered. Next moment, she hit them with a club, which became simply match-wood.

On the other hand, the almighty god could not help laughing to think that he must now calm her fears by telling her that she could fetch him the price at that spot on the following day,—that the jewellery, of course, belonged to her, as she set her heart on it.

Gauri was so impressed with the challenger's change of mind and quiet grace, both, that she asked: "Who—who are you?"

"My home is in Kailas," came the cryptic reply.

Unvanquished, Gauri smiled and said with some temerity: "If this hostile campaigning on your part was a deception and anathema, why take to it?"

"Ah, with all the simplicity of your unpretentious nature, you have passed the tests," replied Shiva impartially. She had convinced him: Not that he was the least belittled or any more slighted.

Carrying the present—as though a trophy of victory, a symbol of her faith and dedication—once more, the goddess trekked through the icy vale with a cheerful message for her ageing father, the King of the Mountains.

The God's parting words rang in her ears: "Gauri! Be unswerving in your devotion to the eternal things. And remember me—ever more."\*

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\*Based on the archives of the Bangiya Loka Sanskriti Parishat (the Bengal Folk Culture Society), "Natore House," Lansdowne Road, Calcutta.



# Book Reviews



Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But Reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

EDITOR, *The Modern Review*

## ENGLISH

**GREAT THOUGHTS OF GREAT MEN OR IDEAS AND IDEALS:** *By Sain Das. With a foreword by Dr. Diwan Chand, Ex-Vice-Chancellor, Agra University. Vishveshvarananda Institute Publications, Hoshiarpur. 1958. Pp. 208. Price Rs. 3.50.*

This fine work, as we learn from the short life-sketch in the appreciative Foreword, is the last intellectual testament of the gifted author who seems to have passed his whole life in devoted service without thought of self-aggrandisement. Containing the author's musings on the higher life after his retirement from thirty years' active service (1901-1931) as professor and latterly as Principal of the D.A.V. College, Lahore, it has been brought out posthumously by one of his former pupils and foremost admirers and included aptly enough in a series dedicated to the memory of a great saint, Svami Sarvanand (1859-1942). The work is divided into five sections bearing the titles *Spiritual Realization, Outlook on Life and Death, Art of Living, Happiness, Education, and Social and National Wellbeing*. It covers as such a wide variety of topics bearing on individual and collective good—from self-realization to the uplift of the Society and the State. It reveals evidence of the author's deep thinking born of a high intellectual, moral and spiritual fervour. The value of the work is considerably enhanced by appropriate quotations not only from the religious classics of India and their modern exponents, but also from the writings of the great saints and thinkers of our country as well as of Europe and America in recent times. It is distinguished throughout by practical approach to the

problems handled by the author as well as the clear and effective style in which he has offered his solutions. The author himself, a Cambridge University graduate in Chemistry, has done well in pointing out the limitations of science in the scale of human values. Altogether we think that this monograph deserves wide reading in this country as a corrective to the prevailing craze even in its highest quarters for the advance of science and technology at all costs.

U. N. GHOSHIA

**NIAMATULLAH'S HISTORY OF THE AFGHANS** (*Makhzan-i- Afghani*): *Translated with variorum notes by Nirod Bhushan Roy. M.A. Published by the Visva-Bharati University, Santiniketan, West Bengal. Pp. Lv+211. Price Rs. 10.*

The book under review bears the title of Niamatullah's History of the Afghans; but it is much more than that. It is, in fact, a compendium of the source materials of the Lodi Sultans of Delhi. This is clearly evidenced in the structure of the volume which is divided into four chapters: 2nd, 3rd and 4th chapter bearing on the three Lodi Sultans and the introductory (1st chapter) describing the Afghan origins. The sections in the different chapters offer Niamatullah's narrative in English translation; but the sub-sections in each chapter collect relevant unknown materials from rare Persian sources such as the MSS of *Waqiat-i-Mushtaqi* (British Museum MSS), *Tarikh-i-Daudi* (Sir Jadunath Sarkar's MS, and of Allahabad University MS), *Tarikh-i-Salatani-i-Afghina* (Bihar Library MS), and the Persian text of *Tarikh-i-Ferishta*. For instance in the last section of Chapter II such

topics are described: (i) Bahlol's character as sketched in the *Tarikh-i-Daudi*, (ii) Bahlol's tactics in the Sharqi war (from *Tarikh-i-Ferishta*) and (iii) Bahlol's Islamism (from *Waqiat-i-Mushtaqi*). Similarly in the last section of Sultan Sikandar's reign are described, among others, such episodes as (a) Anecdote of Sultan Sikandar's meeting Babur Qalandar (from *Tarikh-i-Daudi*), (b) Some of the Emirs of Sikandar's reign, (c) Anecdotes of selfless love (from *Waqiat-i-Mushtaqi*) and (d) *Why Sikandar has gone down in history as bigot*. Appendices include the history of (a) the "Bhata" (Bhatgoran) Kinzdom, (b) the first Battle of Panipat, (c) Kabir and Sultan Sikandar Lodi.

The other noteworthy feature is that the English translation is based on a text edited by the author after consulting and studying MSS of the Calcutta Asiatic Society, of Lucknow and Aligarh University, Udaipur Saraswati Library, British Museum Library and a personal MS. of Professor Sayyid Hasan Askari. The pains taken by the author in preparing an authentic edition were considerable; but the Persian text has not yet been published, for want of financial assistance. It appears from the Preface that the author derived material support in the preparation of this work from the late Sir Jadunath Sarkar, and Dr Raghunath Sinha, D.Litt., M.P. who caused certain MSS to be copied and photostated for his use.

The introduction is a fairly long one. The author gives here an outline history of the Lodi period and modifies our prevailing assumptions about the Lodi Sultans. Read for instance the author's estimate of Sultan Bahlol. "These chiefs (Afghan chiefs previous to Bahlol's accession) were not successful captains of war, dependent and subservient on the sultans of Delhi. The assumption of royalty by the Afghans was a prospect that could not be dreamt of by any member of the Afghan race. It was therefore a signal achievement of Malik Bahlol to raise his clansmen who excelled only in fighting and banditry, to the status of the rulers of Hindustan."

Read again the remarks on Sultan Sikandar Lodi: "As a sovereign he combined in his character qualities of contrast and antithesis. Outwardly deferential to the Ulama and the law, he paid scant regard to the laws of Islam in his private life and did not let his public policy be

always swayed by them. He was thus more free of religious prejudice and narrowness than Sher Shah. . . . He could speak with facility in Persian and composed odes in that language. He listened to the recitation of Persian poetry and took part in philosophical debates. He had thus a range of culture and geniality of temper far exceeding that of the son of the Jagirdar of Sassarem."

Note again the remarks on Sultan Ibrahim:

"It has been said that Sultan Ibrahim, by his capricious tyranny and pharaonic cruelty, alienated the great body of noblemen and soldiers, yet despite the initial reverses, he assembled, on the field of Panipat an army estimated at one lakh of men. . . . How could such a large number of men and officers be mobilised, unless Sultan Ibrahim commanded a considerable measure of support among the Afghan chiefs? How, in spite of the week-long halt at Panipat, there occurred no desertion from the Afghan camp? And how could the Afghans cheerfully lay down their lives on the field, unless they were attracted by the personal magnetism of the Sultan?"

In the extensive annotations the author has corrected slips and inaccuracies, made in standard historical writings, such as the Cambridge History of India, English translation of *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*. In the latter, p. 361 B. De writes the name of a place "Madmaunakal," in Persian text the corresponding word is "Madmautakal". It is amended into "Matimau-ta-kol" (from Motimau to Koil) on the authority of the Lucknow University MS. where the name occurs as "Madiu." The note on stone-idols of Mathura being pounded and turned into measuring weights is very illuminating. Here the author shows how two other chronicles refer to the "Idols of Nagarkot" having been reduced to such weighing stones, while a third refers to the "idol of the temple of Kumbhalmir" in Chitor state having been so reduced, the reader is left to draw his own inference.

The volume, therefore, is a notable contribution to the history of the Lodi period and will perhaps rank as a finished product of research. The Visva-Bharati is to be congratulated for bringing out this work of mature scholarship. It bears extensive quotations in Persian, in Hindi and

Sanskrit, yet the price is remarkably cheap.

B. QANUNGO

**THE MIRAGE OF A CLASSLESS SOCIETY:** By M. V. Patwardhan. Published by Chetana Ltd., 34, Rampart Row, Bombay-1. Price Rs. 12.50.

This book is a very bold study in Marxian theory of class struggle. According to Marx, one of the conditions for the emergence of a classless society was that all the surrounding societies should be classless. The author believes that every functioning society must be divided into four parts, at least, to assume the functions of the brain, the strength (for defence?), the activity (commercial?) and organs with which to carry out its work (service?) and that without these no action of any kind was possible. Since classless society implied a negation of such division of society into functional components, it is clear to the author that classless society could not exist as a functioning unit. Only a crowd can be classless, but a society, which is always a functioning unit, can never be so. According to the author, "All the classes are still at war with one another for supremacy, and no one can yet say, how the process will end. But one thing is certain: the end will not be a classless society, because the presence of four classes is essential to the very existence of society. The supreme goal will only be achieved when all classes are perfectly balanced and power and wealth are distributed in such a manner that each gets an equal share of both. No Western society, not even Communism, has been able to strike this balance as yet. But the social problem will not be solved until this is effected. Our energies, therefore, must be directed to finding a social structure in which the Brahmans, Kshatriyas, Vaishyas and Sudras, will have equal political and economic power as a minimum basic condition and in which these advantages will be so distributed that one class will not overpower the others. Such will be the ideal society . . . In the history of mankind only one society, so far, has approximated to this ideal and that too about 2500 years ago. This was the Hindu Social Structure formulated by Manu."

The reasons put forward are logical and arguments cogent. The book will provide ample food for thought to an unbiassed open mind in search of a formula for the establishment of a happy social structure.

**SLUMS OF OLD DELHI:** Report of the Socio-Economic Survey of the Slum-Dwellers of Old Delhi City conducted by the Delhi Pradesh Bharat Sevak Samaj. Published by Atma Ram and Sons, Delhi-6. Price Rs. 5 (Popular Edition) and Rs. 7.50 (Library Edition).

Slums, by and large a product of the modern urban civilisation, are one of the serious problems of our times. The glamour of our cities—metropolitan and otherwise—very often blind us to the squalor of the slums which are a regular feature of each and every one of them. If Calcutta has its *bustees* and Bombay and Ahmedabad their *chawls*, Delhi has its *katras* and *bustees*. These underworlds suffer from either a total absence or an utter inadequacy of the basic amenities of life. Men and women live in sub-human conditions and together with beasts in not a few cases. Environments brutalise them. It is not a mere coincidence that many of the slums are the happy hunting grounds of anti-social elements. Slum-dwellers constitute a fair proportion of a city's habitual criminals.

It is, indeed, a happy sign that "we have at last become conscious of slum areas" and the survey report under review is a proof of this consciousness.

Congratulations are due to the Delhi Pradesh Bharat Sevak Samaj and their collaborators for a thorough and exhaustive report on the slums and the slum-dwellers of old Delhi. And what a lurid picture the report reveals! According to the report, Old Delhi has 1787 slums with a population of 225,000 (about 22 per cent of the city's total population). This vast humanity has to live perforce in physically disagreeable and spiritually degrading conditions. The report candidly admits: "We are face to face with a most pernicious evil of staggering dimensions." But the challenge must be accepted and a practical solution is certainly not impossible. "For this, however, it is imperative that we discard the old methods followed by the Improvement Trusts . . . we must adopt what may be called the 'human approach'." (P. 33).

Real improvement, we believe, can be achieved only with the co-operation of the slum-dwellers themselves. No pains should therefore, be spared to interest them, "to educate them and to rely upon their help."

SUDHANSU BIMAL MOOKHERJEE

**VOTING-BEHAVIOUR IN AN INDIAN VILLAGE:** By Dr. A. H. Sanjee, Ph.D.

London), Dept. of Political Science. M. S. University of Baroda, Baroda. Pages 64. Price. 25n.

This is a political survey of the village airani during the Second General Election (Maran, 1957). This village is 27 miles north-west of Baroda and has a population of about 600, spread over a radius of four miles. The investigators under Dr. Sanjee had a difficult task in carrying out their duties among sample voters fairly big, illiterate and suspicious about outsiders. To interview women samples was no easy problem with the investigators. Dr. Sanjee is of opinion at the conclusion of the survey that a village leader, who is not necessarily a caste leader, not only exercises considerable influence on the village electorate but also helps to remove the externality of the general election by acting as a liaison between the world of the villager and the remote and impersonal electing of a candidate at the time of general election. Students of political science who have to undertake sample survey will find this book an interesting and illuminating study.

A. B. DUTTA

#### SANSKRIT

**PRABANDHAPARIJATAH:** By Sri Ramarajendra Samskrita Mahapathsala-Adhyakshinilaya. Bangalore-2. Price Re. 1.

**BHARATIYA-SVATANTRYA SAMGRAMASYA ITIHASAH:** By Pandit Pandharinathacharya Galagali. Madhuravani office, Gadag. Price Re. 1.

**SVADHINA-BHARATAM:** By Prof. Ramakrishna Simha, M.A. Publisher: Chaitanya Sadan, Samarth, P.O. Kalyanpur, Darbhanga, Bihar. Price Rs. 2.

We have here three interesting books in Sanskrit dealing with modern topics. They seek to demonstrate how Sanskrit which is supposed to be a dead language can be successfully used for all purposes. The *Prabandhaparijatah* is a collection of essays written in Sanskrit mainly by the student inmates of the Sri Ramarajendra Sanskrit College Hostel of Bangalore. The essays cover a wide range of topics e.g., U.N.O., Birth control, economic problems, electricity, etc. The *Bharatiya-svatantrya Samgramasya Itihasah* presents an account of the fight for independence that swept over different parts of India in the year 1857. Brief references are made to earlier incidents that prepared the ground for the fight.

The book closes with short life-sketches of a number of revolutionaries who worked at a later period. The author whose biography of Tilak was noticed in these pages (April 1957) intends to complete the account in a subsequent volume and bring it down to its latest phase ending in the winning of freedom in 1947. *Svadhina-Bharatam* is a metrical work which in 14 chapters describes briefly the history of India through the ages. The first four chapters pertain to the old and medieval periods laying special stress on the cultural condition of the country. The remaining ten chapters deal with the modern period beginning with the advent of the Europeans. These chapters are concerned with giving a chronological but short account of the struggle for independence. The last two chapters criticise the present system of Government and the working of the Five-Year Plans and appear to be rather irrelevant. The author's statement in his Foreword that 'except a small book written in Sanskrit by the late Pandit Ramavatar Sharma in 1912, no book in Sanskrit on Indian History has been written for the last about eight centuries' is far from correct as quite a number of works on particular aspects are known and at least one entitled *Laghubharatam* by Govinda Kanta Vidyabhushana giving a more or less detailed account and covering different periods has been written and published in modern times. Abundance of printing mistakes and inaccuracies, both factual and linguistic, may not unlikely defeat, to some extent, the purpose for which the books have been written.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

#### BENGALI

**PUSPARANI:** By Bhaktiteertha Umesh Chandra Chakravarti. To be had of Suresh Chandra Chakravarti, Shri Shri Anandamayee Kali Mandir, "Bhaktiteertha", 85, Dwarik-Jangal Road, P.O. Bhadrakali (Hooghly) and leading publishers in Calcutta. Pp. 112. Rs. 3.50.

*Pusparani* is a collection of one hundred and sixteen poems written at different periods by Shri Umesh Chandra Chakravarti, who has already to his credit the authorship of a number of books. He has won the affection of devotees by editing a volume of *Shree Shree Chandi* and by translating the Vedic *Trisandhya*. The poems show the author as intensely patriotic and devotional. Many of the poems are imbued with deep philosophical appreciation. The great simplicity of the language however makes

them easily understandable to all. Those who feel some affinity towards religion and philosophy would find the book, the proceeds of which are to be utilised in the construction of a temple for the goddess Kali, quite interesting.

SUBHASH CHANDRA SARKER

#### HINDI

**SUSAMVAD:** Compiled by Nilkanth I. Mashruwala. 1956. Pp. 69. Price As. 9.

**SHEELA AUR SADACHAR:** Compiled by Mukulbhai Kalarthi. 1956. Pp. 134. Price As. 5.

Both available from Navajivan Prakashan Mandir, Ahmedabad.

*Susamvad* is a record of the instructive and illuminating conversations the compiler had years ago on various problems and patterns of life with Shri Kedarnathji,—a radiant and robust rationalist. *Sheela and Sadachar* is an anthology of seventeen anecdotes from the lives

of great men illustrating highest human character and conduct.

G. M.

#### GUJARATI

(1) **REESHI RAJNAN PADO:** B. Madhan Chowdhari. Pp. 64. Price 4 annas.

(2) **MIRANBAI NAN BHAJANO:** With a Foreword by Justice H. V. Divalia. With an attractive picture in colours of Miranbai and Krishna. Pp. 80. Price 12 annas.

Both published by the Society for the Encouragement of Cheap Literature. Published at its own printing press, Ahmedabad. 1951.

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# Indian Periodicals

R. D. Ranade

Professor George B. Burch writes in *The Aryan Path*:

Ramachandra Dattatraya Ranade was born in 1886 at Jamkhindi, given a *man a* by a *guru* named Bhausahib at the age of fourteen and educated at Deccan College. He acquired only a distaste for Philosophy here, where the Professor of Philosophy assigned no reading except Aristotle's *Ethics*, Wallace's *Kant*, Mill's *Logic*, and Martineau's *Ethical Theory*, and lectured from the same notes for twenty years. But in other fields he got a fine education. He specialized in mathematics, studied English with Clark and learned Sanskrit from Patek. He learned the techniques of scholarly research from Rawlinson, to whom he taught Urdu in exchange for tutoring in Greek. His most influential teacher was F. V. Bain, later Professor of Economics at All Souls' College, an Englishman with a deep appreciation of Hinduism, whose beautiful stories of the Rajput era, written in the form of pretended translations from Indian originals, evoke visions of India even by their titles (*A Digit of the Moon*, *A Finger of the Dawn*, *In the Great God's Hair The Ashes of a God*). When Bain left Deccan College, a spokesman for the students said, in a public eulogy, that they had learned more philosophy from him than from the Professor of Philosophy and more literature than from the Professor of Literature. It was from Bain that Ranade received a vision of eternal beauty and truth.

While in college he began his lifelong habit of devoting three hours a day to meditation (even during examination periods, as one awed disciple told me without really expecting me believe it). In 1908, the year he received his B.A. from the University of Poona, he began having the mystical experiences which continued throughout his life. At first he found these experiences confusing. He went to Banaras to discuss them with the well-known

Annie Besant, of the Theosophical Society, and she assured him that they were real.

He became a fellow of Deccan College after graduating, was appointed curator of manuscripts in 1912, and received the M.A. in 1914. During this period he became interested in philosophy, first of all in Aristotle's philosophy. With his command of Greek, he undertook the ambitious project of making an exhaustive commentary on Aristotle's *Metaphysics*. This project did not get very far, but it made a good start. The *Metaphysics* begins with a critique of the pre-Socratics, and the beginning of the proposed commentary produced a series of articles, eventually published separately, on various pre-Socratic philosophers. These studies had a considerable influence on his later thought.

In 1914 he was appointed Professor of Philosophy at the quasi-monastic Fergusson College in Poona. In 1916, when his friend the philanthropist Pratap Seth founded the Indian Institute of Philosophy at Amalner, Ranade gave technical advice and selected the books for the library. Academically this was the happiest period of his life. He later recalled with pleasure his intimate association with the excellent students at Fergusson College. Personally it was a tragic period. The great influenza epidemic of 1918 took his mother and his wife, and left him in a state of poor health from which he never completely recovered, and which compelled his retirement six years later.

Bhausahib died in 1914, and was succeeded as *guru* by Ranade's fellow disciple Amburao, who in 1921 established an *ashrama* in the jungle near the small village of Nimbai. (This is some thirty miles north of Bijapur, a city which Ranade urged me to visit, not only to accept an invitation from one of his disciples but also to see the Gol Gumbuz, a building he considered "sublime," whereas the Taj Mahal was merely "beautiful.") When Amburao died, Ranade was persuaded, reluctantly, to undertake the res-



possibilities of the *guruship*. He moved to the *ashrama* in 1924, assumed the spiritual guidance of his former fellow disciples, and also began initiating disciples himself. I was told in 1954 that he then had about 2,000 disciples, living in various parts of India. For them he was their *gurudeva*, their teacher, to be revered like a god. His three years at Nimbal were fruitful not only spiritually but also scholastically. Besides the works on the pre-Socratics, he published a comparative study of Greek and Sanskrit, an edition of Carlyle's essays, two books on Indian philosophy, a four-volume *Source Book of Maharashtra Saints* in Marathi, a monumental *Constructive Survey of Upanishadic Philosophy* and a volume on *The Creative Period* for a proposed eight-volume history of Indian philosophy.

His health somewhat improved; he accepted an appointment as Professor of Philosophy in the University of Allahabad in 1927. He stayed there, as professor and sometimes dean, for nineteen years, but he never enjoyed teaching there as well as he had enjoyed teaching at Poona. He lived in a big rambling bungalow in the suburbs. When I went to Allahabad for the Kumbha Mela in 1954, although Ranade was not there, I stayed in this house as Pratap Seth's guest, browsed in his fine philosophical library (with its complete set of *Mind*), and met some philosophy students living there. Ranade's book on *Mysticism in Maharashtra*, based on the earlier *Source Book*, was published in 1933, and he continued his research in the field of popular mysticism by extending it to the oral tradition in Hindi. Whenever he met anyone, in any walk of life, he would ask him if he knew any song, and if he got in reply a song with any spiritual significance, he would write it down. In this way he gathered material for his book on Hindi mysticism, published in 1954 under the title *Pathway to God in Hindi Literature*. Eventually he added a volume on Kannada mystics, thus completing a trilogy on the mystical traditions in the three vernaculars with which he was acquainted.

He retired from teaching at sixty, but stayed at Allahabad another year as Vice-Chancellor of the University. After 1947 he resided at the Nimbal *ashrama* but usually returned to his Allahabad home

for the cold season. His personal life became extremely ascetic. I was told that he gave up eating entirely, except for drinking tea with milk and sugar. He devoted his time to meditation, scholarly research and writing and the spiritual direction of his disciples. It was at Nimbal that I met him in 1954.

When I went to India to study Vedanta, several persons spoke to me of Ranade as the best teacher of mystical philosophy. This was not my chief interest, but I became curious about the man personally. A physics professor described him as the most advanced person he knew, and refused to express an opinion as to whether he was a *jivan-mukta*. I was warned not to try to visit him at the *ashrama*, where the life was too austere for a Westerner. I did have doubts about wanting to visit him, but on very different grounds. Hindu *gurus* as a class have a mixed reputation, sometimes seeming (at least to a Westerner) to be arrogant, pompous or conceited. I had heard of *gurus*, including quite famous ones, who kept themselves in seclusion, refusing to see their own disciples, let alone visitors. But I took a chance, wrote Ranade a letter asking permission to visit him and was invited to come.

The man I met was the opposite of what I had expected. Small, slight and frail, a mere wisp of a man whom you would expect the slightest breeze to blow away, he was nevertheless vigorous not only spiritually and intellectually but also physically. His brisk, sprightly step was characteristic of his whole lively personality. Pomposity or unction would be impossible in this animated person. Hypocrisy would be impossible in this humble man, who kept his perspective and sense of humour even though surrounded by disciples for whom he was divine. He was frank and friendly, eager to talk with me, to learn as well as to teach, to discuss both his intellectual interests and mine. After telling me about his education, he asked me to tell him about mine. Rapport was established when we discovered a common interest in the pre-Socratics, and we exchanged offprints in this field. We became close friends immediately. I did not get the impression, however, that this was anything special about me. I believe that he was that way with everybody. But, for

all his humility, a visitor at Nimbai could never be mistaken as to which man was the *guru*. Ranade's spirituality shone clearly through every look, word and act. He did not have to pretend to be a saint, because he obviously was one.

The *ashrama* was a group of five small stone buildings. The only neighbours were a "criminal-caste" group living in eight mud huts—fine, dignified people who, as I found, would do favours for me but would not take *baksheesh*. Near-by were a miraculous never-failing well which Ranade had dug on a spot revealed in a vision after the old well did fail, and a ten-foot pit into which Ranade used to go for his meditation on days when the *ashrama* was crowded. Living in the *ashrama* were Ranade, his second wife, his daughter, his two small grandchildren and about fifteen disciples. They came from different social backgrounds: a young *raja*, a retired Postmaster General, college professors, doctors (one of whom, Ranade's physician, was trying to get him to supplement his tea with orange juice), lawyers, business men, clerks, the local station-master, a Harijan (who, coming to Ranade in distress when his children were starving on his forty-rupee school-teacher's salary, was assisted by him to get a hundred-rupee social worker's position). They had been drawn to religion by various influences—one, a Madras doctor, through the frustrations of bureaucratic regulations; another, a lawyer with an international practice, through the company of saintly men he met during three years in jail. This lawyer, said Ranade, had instructed him to see that I did not starve. Actually they went to considerable trouble for me. Obtaining canned food they thought I would prefer to their usual fare and other conveniences for my comfort. While I neither requested nor especially wanted this special attention, I was touched by and appreciative of this hospitality toward a self-invited guest.

The day began at six, when the disciples assembled for devotions, chanting a hymn to the *guru*. We were expected to imitate the *guru's* practice by meditating together for three hours, but actually began leaving after about an hour. In mid-afternoon a bell, indicating that Ranade had finished his own spiritual exercises,

summoned us to his presence for readings and discussion, followed by the ceremonial burning of camphor, inhaling the smoke and distribution, of *prasad*. Each evening someone gave a talk, and there was a final chant before retiring. The hymn to the *guru* ("Jai Guru Jai Guru Jai Guru Jai"), accompanied by cymbals, was chanted before photographs of Amburao, Bhausaheb and the latter's *guru's* tomb (no photograph of him being available). In their own homes, at least those I visited, the disciples also had photographs of Ranade. I am sure they had him principally in mind when singing "Jai Guru," but there was no picture of him, nor was he himself present at these devotions. If anyone ever made any gesture of veneration in his presence, I did not observe it.

Interesting and edifying as these spiritual exercises were, my philosophical conversations with Ranade were more so. His philosophy, which he called "Beatificism," meaning the search for Beatitude as Self-realization, was a mystical philosophy in the tradition of Vishishtadvaita and *Bhakti-marga*. He rejected Advaita and *Jnana-marga* as dangerous teachings opposed to mysticism. One day a disciple recited a humorous poem on "Ten Great Saints," in which the eulogy of each saint was qualified by a statement of the defect in his sanctity. The ten saints were Prahlada, Dhruva, Narada, Vyasa, Shuka, Bhishma, Arjuna, Valmiki, Hanuman and Uddhava; in the case of Shuka the defect was that he was an Advaitin. All speculative philosophy, according to Ranade, is uncertain; all we can know of metaphysics is that all things come from God and tend to return to God. What we can know is the Self.

The means to Self-realization are fourfold. First, moral behaviour—both the prerequisite for, and the evidence of, true mysticism. Second, the company of good people—hence the importance of life in the *ashrayana*. Third, a *guru*. Ranade rejected the theory, often advanced, that the *guru* chooses the disciple, and maintained that the disciple must seek and choose his *guru*. (When he told me this, a sudden emotion swept over me. Had not Providence, or *Karma*, brought me to this venerable man, probably the most spiritually advanced person I shall ever know, to whom I was already bound by ties of mutual affection,

in order that he should be my spiritual preceptor? Should I not ask him then and there to give me initiation? I rejected this impulse, however, and in retrospect am sure that I was right. He could only have been embarrassed by so intemperate a suggestion, since initiation doubtless requires a preliminary discipline, while from my point of view I, as a Christian, already have my *saiguru* in Christ). Fourth, meditation—intellectual, moral and mystical. The all-important thing is love of God, which is a response to his love for us, and this is attracted by the moral goodness resulting from our own efforts. This, I take it, is the “monkey theory” of salvation: to be saved we at least have to hang on. It is by devotion, not deeds or knowledge, that we are united with God. When, after returning to America, I was asked to give a lecture on contemporary Indian teachers, I spoke of Vinoba as teaching the way of action, Malkani as teaching the way of knowledge and Ranade as teaching the way of love.

To love your family and your friends and, above all, God, was Ranade’s doctrine and Ranade’s life. Spiritual meditation and mystical contemplation were the central activity of his daily life. He was a mystic in the perennial tradition of the mystic saints. Did he then attain their final goal of mystical union with God? The answer must be, No, unless it was after I knew him. He told me that he had never yet enjoyed the “unitive experience” described by the great mystics. To me that frank and humble statement was far more impressive than the exaggerated claims to extraordinary experiences made by some *gurus* and holy men.

Ranade saw me off at the station with expressions of friendship and devotion and an invitation to return, bringing my family, the next time we were in India, but that time never came. He ended his long life full of fame and favour. A seventieth-birthday celebration in his home town Jamkhindi was observed with typical Hindu ceremony: a civic address, a portrait unveiled, a volume of articles published, congratulatory letters and cable-

grams. The invitations described him as “world-renowned philosopher-mystic.” I do not believe that he enjoyed that sort of adulation, merited though it was. When he died in 1957, Shrimati Ranade received letters of sympathy from the President and Vice-President of India, *rajahs*, governors, Union and State ministers, institutions and individuals in India and abroad.

Much as I appreciate Ranade’s spiritual and intellectual achievements, it is his loving personality which I remember best. Surely for many, as for me, he was a friend never to be forgotten. For his disciples he was much more. For India he was one of her great men. In India, as also in other countries, there are many great scholars engaged in various researches, many great philosophers with deep insights into reality, many great mystics with ineffable visions, many great teachers who inspire their pupils, many great souls whose integrity and personality are radiant. But we seldom see one person who is all of these at once. Such a one was Shri Ranade, one of those rare spirits who show us how fine human nature can be.

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# FOREIGN PERIODICALS

## Bhutan, Kham and the Upper Assam Line

The following are some of the excerpts from an article by A. R. Field, Fellow in History at the University of Pennsylvania, in *Crisis*, a Quarterly Journal of world affairs:

To some Indian statesmen looking northward toward their Himalayan frontiers Mao Tse-tung must appear as the perennial "abominable snowman." Ever since the People's Liberation Army started its march south from Mukden in 1948, New Delhi has been evolving its own military answer: a sealing off along the line of the Himalayas and Upper Assam. This is a prodigious task, for the Himalayas rarely have acted as the barrier which small-scale maps and popular notions may have led many to believe. More than anything else, these mountains have acted as a giant sieve. There are literally thousands of passes which have never been charted on any map.

In recent years, Indian Prime Minister Nehru has established himself as a seasoned Himalayan traveller. Mr. Nehru's most recent trek, accomplished on pony, mule and yak, was undertaken to reach the Thunderbolt Kingdom of Bhutan. On his arrival at Paro, Bhutan's traditional winter capital, Nehru addressed a public meeting. He spoke of the friendly and equal relations existing between India and Bhutan. He did not neglect to tell his audience that their very way of life came to them from India through the vehicle of the teachings of Lord Buddha. Nehru reminded his listeners that the world was fast changing: "Bhutan could not remain isolated, but any change Bhutan underwent would be in accordance with its own will and not because of pressure of other countries." The Indian statesman's words might have had a familiar ring to some of these Himalayan people. In the past, Mr. Nehru had also advised the Nepalese, prior to their revolution, that the world was fast changing and Nepal would have to change, else "there might be some pushing about later."

Government official spent the next two days discussing technical aid, the need for the development of road communications between India and Bhutan, plus the "International situation." Indian officials were well prepared to discuss road communications, for a preliminary survey of an all-weather road leading from Jainti, the railway terminus in Alipur Duars, to Tashichetong on the Bhutanese border had already been completed. This road also connects with the North Trunk road from Bengal. A second major road is contemplated to run from Garubhata in Assam to Hatisar on the border.

The strategic importance of Bhutan, from the standpoint of India's political geography, cannot be overstressed. Bhutan is the pivot for the defense of India's north-eastern frontier. An unfriendly or Chinese-dominated Bhutan would flank India's unstable position in Upper Assam. Indian independence and partition have left India proper with only a very narrow access corridor (the Assam rail-link) leading into the state of Assam. It is not unlikely that these are some of the factors that influenced Mr. Nehru's trip to Bhutan.

Mr. Nehru returned to New Delhi on October 2, 1958, and stated that "obviously conditions in Tibet are not fully normal." This, of course, was pure understatement. Even before the revolt erupted in Lhasa during March 1959, there had been persistent newspaper reports of sporadic fighting on the borderlands of Eastern Tibet, in an area called Kham. Much of this fighting had taken place east of Chamdo, in the Tengko-Batang-Litang triangle, although it was subsequently to spread westward to the Tibetan capital.

The Khamba people differ in dress, dialect and physical characteristics from the people of Tibet proper, but they do have strong religious ties with the Lhasa Pontiff. The men who traditionally make up the Dalai Lama's bodyguard are giant sevenfoot Khamba monks. The most important all-Khamba monastery is located at Chamdo. Thus, this village has played

a key role in the Chinese Communist administration of the Kham-Western Sikang area. The Chinese Communist government, to placate the Khambas, sanctioned funds for the rebuilding of Khamba monasteries which were placed under air bombardment during the Khamba revolt of 1957. The reason for this communist concession to religion is clear. To reach Chamdo the Chinese must traverse the strategic triangle area which covers the fork of the Chinese-Tibetan highway leading west to Chamdo and northwest to Jyekundo. Jyekundo is astride the "primary" Chinese-Tibetan highway which extends from the railroad at Lanchow, through Sinning, Chalaping, and then southwestward to Lhasa. The Katang-Chamdo-Lhasa road, although shorter, is the more difficult and considered to be the "secondary" Chinese-Tibetan high-road to Lhasa.

About the same time that hostilities opened in Korea, Rapga Rangda, a widely known and respected leader of the Khamba people of the Upper Yangtze area, arrived at Chamdo. He initiated discussions with representatives of the Lhasa authorities leading toward the formation of a common front against the approaching elements of the People's Liberation Army.

The Khambas have waged a protracted and sporadic guerrilla war for the past eight years, and have been slowly pushed westward by the Chinese from the Kham-Western Sikang area toward less desirable lands. As early as 1955, the Peking government started to transport young Chinese pioneers to "borderland" areas to set up colonies. Large numbers of Chinese have been moved into the Kham region in the hopes of displacing these troublesome peoples. By mid-year 1958, a policy of displacement was superseded by a policy of extermination. On July 20, 1958, 'Kalpana,' an influential Nepalese newspaper published in Kathmandu, reported large numbers of Khamba people entering Nepalese territory. Eastern Nepal is about 900 road miles from the focus of past Khamba guerrilla activity. Little credence, therefore, was given at the time to these initial reports of Khambas fleeing the long distance to Nepal. A severely harrassed people would presumably escape southwest across the Assam or Bhutan borders.

The Khamba exodus has continued to the present. By last December, "fairly

large numbers" were crossing the Himalayan snows and entering the Nepalese border district of Sola Khumbu, an area inhabited by the Sharpa people of Mt. Everest fame. It is significant that the Nepalese Sharpa people claim Kham as their traditional homeland and place of origin. In the Tibetan language, Sharpa means "people of the East." Of the ten tribes which constitute the Sharpa peoples of Nepal, one tribe is still called Kharnbadje. This ethnic affinity, in part, would account for the Khambas' long march westward to Nepal rather than directly south to the closer borders of Upper Assam and Bhutan. The Nepalese government, claimed that it is impossible to maintain winter frontier checkpoints in the areas where the Khambas are said to be entering Nepal.

Total estimates of dead and wounded resulting from past Khamba-Chinese clashes have been placed as high as 65,000. By the first of this year, Chinese Nationalist intelligence sources stated that Tibetan borderland slaughters "surpass the 1956 Hungarian revolt in intensity." Fighting had occurred in the Mongolian People's Republic and along the Sinkiang-Tibet frontier in the northwest as well. Indian authorities affirmed that there was wide-scale Khamba activity but rejected the contention that this activity was comparable to Hungary. New Delhi publicly considered Taipeh reports "to be products of wishful thinking by Chinese Nationalists"—until serious fighting erupted in Lhasa and world attention was drawn to this sensitive area.

It is difficult to evaluate the magnitude and reliability of the Chinese Nationalist intelligence organization in Tibet. After the Lhasa rising, Nehru stated that he had been informed by a "knowledgeable person" that there were "more spies in Kalimpong than the rest of the inhabitants." The Indian Prime Minister was quick to deny, however, that Kalimpong was the "command center of the Tibetan rebellion."

Throughout Mr. Nehru's trip to and from Bhutan, there were reports of Chinese Communist troop mobilization along sections of the Tibetan border. The Prime Minister scoffed at reports that the communist troops were present to prevent his being kidnapped. It is not unlikely

the Chinese troop elements were busily engaged in interdicting Khambas seeking a southern asylum.

Indian statesmen are especially apprehensive of the fact that Chinese Communist maps continue to show India's northeastern frontier, a block of about 33,000 square miles in Upper Assam, inside Chinese territory. These maps also show portions of Nepal, Sikkim and Bhutan under Chinese jurisdiction. In 1951, the Indian government first officially acknowledged the existence of these maps, which were filtering into India through Kalimpong. Mr. Nehru, however, was careful not to challenge Peking. He assured the Indian people, in a press conference, that the Chinese merely were using old maps. "We were told by the Chinese Government not to pay the slightest attention to these maps." The Peking government, according to Nehru, had not up-dated old atlases because it was "much too busy doing other things." Presumably, the maps in question were similar to the series contained in the New Atlas of China, first published in Shanghai in July of 1948.

Two years after the Chinese government had given assurances to the Indian government, the Chinese Communists published a new series of maps, entitled "The Atlas of Chinese People's Republic, 1953." This time the Indian assumed that the Chinese were now using old map plates, for Upper Assam was once again included within the Chinese frontier. This was an optimistic assumption, for a detailed examination of contingent areas indicated that some remarkable cartographical changes had been made. Significantly, the Soviet *Atlas Mira*, published under the imprimature of the M.D.V. in 1954, reaffirmed the Chinese claim to Upper Assam. The Russians obviously were not using old Chinese map plates.

Regarding Upper Assam, it is difficult to determine why the Chinese waited from 1953 to November 1958 to broach directly a subject which they had begun to hint at as early as 1951. One month after Mr. Nehru's return from Bhutan, the Peking government officially proposed to the Indian government that "a re-drawing of the two countries' boundaries after sur-

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veys and talks with neighbouring countries" be undertaken. Officials in New Delhi stated on December 2 that India's international border is well known and "will not be subject to negotiations." This statement was tempered by an Indian assurance that minor border adjustments will always be open to consideration and negotiation. The precedent for minor border adjustments was established in 1950, when India retroceded a small parcel of land from the south-eastern corner of Jammu to Western Tibetan jurisdiction.

In October 1913, under pressure of the British Indian government, a tri-partite conference was convened at Simla to discuss boundary question. These talks among India, Tibet, and the Chinese Republic broke down "on one point only," namely the establishment of a boundary between China and Tibet. The Tibetan government agreed to a British proposal for delimitation of their southern boundary with India. The "quid pro quo" was a promise of British support against the Chinese. Thus it was that, in early February 1914, the Tibeto-Indian frontier was fixed to run from "Isu Razi Pass to the Bhutan boundary." Two maps were exchanged showing the boundary marked in red; these maps have never been made public. Isu Razi La derives its name from Pomtang Razi, a 15,151-foot peak in the Kachin State of North Burma. It is located southeast of Rima, midway between the Taron Wang valley and the Alang Chi. The British, by fixing the boundary on the point of Isu Razi La, realized that a line drawn due north from this point would coincide with the upper reaches of the Yangtze river at Tengko. From the standpoint of a prominent natural terrain feature, the Yangtze river would be considered the maximal Chinese boundary between Outer and Inner Tibet acceptable to the British. Thus, Chinese influence would be excluded from all of Upper Assam and India's northeastern frontier would be secured.

The British representative, Sir Henry McMahon, having attained his main objective, was prepared to concede minor points to the Tibetans.

The Chinese representative, Mr. Ivan Chen, continued to press for a boundary line running through Gyam-da, a few stages east of Lhasa. This would place the

Chinese within striking distance of the Tibetan capital and would extend a Chinese-controlled southern border over more than half of eastern Upper Asia.

At this point, Sir Henry McMahon suggested a "compromise" solution to the boundary problem. Tibet would be divided into "Inner" and "Outer" portions. The whole of Tibet would be recognized as being under Chinese suzerainty, but the Chinese were to accord autonomy to Outer Tibet. The British were using the precedent of the Russo-Chinese accord signed on November 5, 1913, in which Russia recognized Chinese "suzerainty" over Outer Mongolia while China agreed to grant Outer Mongolian "autonomy." The eastern boundary of Outer Tibet was to be established along the line of the 1737 treaty. This agreement, known as the Simla Convention of 1914, although initiated by Mr. Chen, was never ratified by the Chinese Republic.

The Simla Convention is sometimes pointed to as establishing the current Sino-Indian boundary. This is incorrect in the eyes of the Peking government. Nor does Peking consider itself bound by the notes and maps exchanged between British India and Tibet.

On May 23, 1951, the Chinese Communists signed an agreement with the "Local Government" of Tibet which completed the "peaceful liberation" of the country. Article 14 of this agreement is significant because it contains the genesis of the Panch Shila agreement, later signed by India in April 1954: "There will be peaceful co-existence with neighboring countries and establishment and development of fair commercial and trade relations with them on the 'basis of equality, mutual benefit, and mutual respect' for territory and sovereignty." In the eyes of the Chinese, the Sino-Indian agreement affirms that any exchanges between the Tibetan authorities and the British-Indian government have been illegal and therefore non-existent. Mao Tse-tung is bent on picking up the reins of Tibetan "suzerainty" which a Manchu emperor had dropped forty-three years before.

From the point of view of the Chinese Communist government, the only delimitation of the Sino-Indian boundary that has force of law was provisionally laid down in the Panch Shila agreement of 1954.



Article IV states: "Traders and pilgrims of both countries may travel by the following passes and route: (1) Shipki La, (2) Mana pass, (3) Niti pass, (4) Kungri Bigrigri pass, (5) Darma pass, (6) Lipu La Chu pass." Therefore, the only Himalayan boundary recognized by the Chinese Communist government runs from the south-east corner of Jammu to the north-west boundary of Nepal. The northern boundaries of Nepal, Sikim, Bhutan and Upper Assam are still to be negotiated. China has made this amply clear in her request of November 1958 for the re-drawing of the two countries' boundaries after surveys and talks with neighboring countries.

If India's foreign policies seem to exhibit certain puzzling tendencies to the West, it is well to remember that India is experiencing pressures along every point of her frontier.

The smoldering rebellion in Lhasa, the Tibetan capital, has only served to underscore India's vulnerability along the Himalayas.

### Wuhan—China's Rising Steel Centre

*China Today*, July, 1959 writes editorially:

Construction of the giant Wuhan integrated iron and steel enterprise is proceeding rapidly in the mid-Yangtse River port city of Wuhan, central China.

This enterprise is one of the two largest iron and steel projects being built by China during the current Second Five-Year Plan, the other being in Paotow, north China.

Together with Anshan, now the country's leading steel centre, the trio will form the backbone of China's iron and steel industry.

Two years ago, when construction of the Wuhan enterprise started, only a power station and clusters of electric excavators were there. Now blocks of spacious workshops, high chimney stacks and housing estates have been completed.

Railway spur-lines extend deep into the construction site which occupies an area of 30 square kilometres. The Wuhan Iron and Steel Company is already a city in itself, complete with living quarters, streets, shops, book-stores, recreational centres and other amenities serving the needs of the workers.

One of the giant blast furnaces of the company, originally scheduled to be completed

on July 1, this year, was actually put into operation last September. A second and even bigger one also went into operation recently.

A labyrinth of scaffolding and thousands of building machines surrounding the new projects show the tremendous scale of the work now going on. The major projects include two big open-hearth furnaces, and a series of subsidiary plants for ore sintering and dressing, and making coke, refractory materials and other things required by a modern iron and steel enterprise.

Upon completion, the plant will have eight huge open-hearth furnaces each with a charging capacity of more than 500 tons.

These and all its blast furnaces will rank among the world's biggest. Each blast furnace will have a daily capacity of more than 2,000 tons of pig iron. When turned into steel, these are enough to make 100,000 double-wheeled, double-bladed ploughs for the Chinese peasants.

Its rolling mills will turn big steel ingots, each weighing upto 15 tons, into plates, tubes and structural shapes for the manufacture of ships, boilers, tractors, rolling stocks and the building of bridges and factories. The projects will be supplied to central, south, east and southwest China.

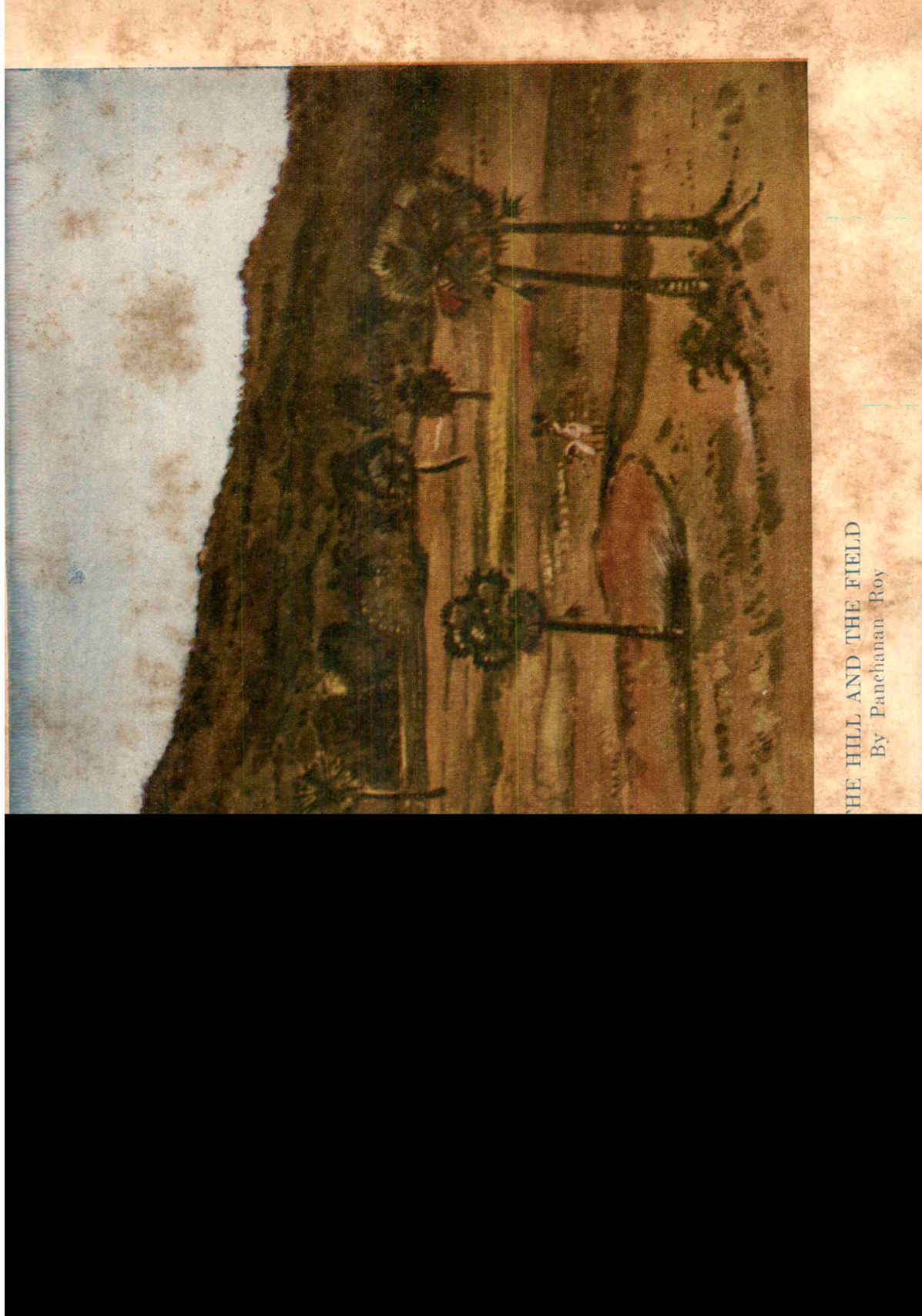
Builders of the Wuhan Iron and Steel Company, whose motto is "quality, speed and economy," have kept improving their work methods to ensure maximum effect. Last year, they set a national record by pouring 1,790 cubic metres of concrete at the foundation of the No. 1. Blast Furnace in 27 hours. In building the second blast furnace this year, they improved their own record by pouring over 1,800 cubic metres of concrete in 16 hours.

The company planned to build three air blast heating stoves, all towering more than 40 metres above the ground, in 15 days. But when the plan was handed to the workers for discussion, they said that it could be finished in seven days.

Altogether 336 suggestions were made by the workers to facilitate the work and raise labour efficiency. In fact, the furnaces were completed in four days and 19 hours. The quality of the work was better than the standards laid down by the state.

The rapidity with which the Wuhan Iron and Steel Company is being built signalises the advance of the iron and steel industry in new China.





THE HILL AND THE FIELD  
By Panchanan Roy

# THE MODERN REVIEW

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## NOTES

### The Two Faces of World-Communism

Mr. Khrushchev has paid a thirteen day visit to the United States, where he has had a fairly good welcome. He had long talks with President Eisenhower, and issued a joint statement. On his way back home he radioed a very friendly farewell message and his speech on arrival at Moscow was also friendly.

The general effect of this visit has been a distinct lowering of the tension over West Berlin, and perhaps a slight thaw in the Cold War. This is thus a distinct gain in the cause of World Peace. But to our people and particularly to our Super-brahmins of the *Ahimsa* cult, the main factor that has led to this change in the political weather, will be lost. That factor is the near-equality in war-like strength—that is power of destruction—of the nations of the visitor and the host. There is no question but that it is that that has led to the recognition, on both sides, that a major conflict between the two would not only bring them both very near annihilation, but is likely to put an end to all civilization, as known to-day.

But the position is quite different where 'People's China,' the other major partner in World-Communism is concerned. There the same phase that led to the Stalinist era of infiltration, disruption and extinction of weaker neighbours is just beginning. The moves are almost identical, as we are told by those who have suffered from the terrible impacts of Stalinist expansionism.

It is idle therefore to regard this lull on the northern frontiers of India, as being a mere lapse through anger at our espousing the cause of the Dalai Lama—as some of our arm-chair diplomats have stated. We think that a mere re-assessment of the chess-board is being made prior to another aggressive move. It may be

that the failure of their agents to achieve more in the way of disruption has called for a halt, or it may be that the World reaction has been more intense than was allowed for. We are not in a position really to assign any reason for the lull, only we cannot in any case attribute it to either a change of heart or to any humane consideration like the Panch Sheel.

Under these circumstances, India's request to the United Nations, to accord recognition to People's China, would certainly seem to be reminiscent of the knightly fervour of Don Quixote, of cherished memory, to the world at large—and likewise to many of us. We agree with our Mr. Krishna Menon, who thanked those who voluntarily accused People's China of aggression against us, and at the same time pointed that the same body had tacitly approved of another major act of aggression on India by a country that is a member of the major Parties Camp. But all the same, we regret that we are unable to see any logical reason for putting forward China's case for inclusion in the U.N., since we ourselves have not been able to obtain relief in that particular appeal that was pigeon-holed.

The peoples of the Union of India have reacted strongly to the Chinese threat. This is certainly a hopeful sign. But at the same time we cannot take an ostrich-like attitude to all the disruptive elements amongst our midst.

There are irresponsible men who are out for personal gain, in power or in more concrete terms, to whom the nation's trials mean little or nothing. There are, likewise others who are sapping the country's morale and means through the operation of corrupt tactics like bribery and jobbery or through black-markets and the anti-social tactics of creating artificial shortages. There is corruption in high places, beyond

all doubt, though the consideration might not always be in terms of cash. In none of these circles the question of nationalism is even a minor consideration.

Then there is the question of money and propaganda from interested parties abroad. Recently, New Delhi had to take cognisance of large-scale distribution of propaganda material, meant to spread disaffection amongst the peoples of India, through foreign diplomatic channels. But as yet, we do not see any evidence of a check on the distribution of money, through devious channels to the disruptive elements inside the country. We admit there are plenty of young people in this country, with immature and weak intellects, who can be whipped into a frenzy by clever demagogues. But that does not explain how thousands of people can be transported from distant places and provided with the means for sustained series of demonstrations and disturbances lasting for days, which not only calls for considerable expenditure of energy, but also for the resources for physical recoupment on a large-scale.

Pandit Nehru uttered jeremiads regretting that the C.P.I. was completely devoid of nationalistic sentiments. Dr. B. C. Roy, in his refutation of the Communist Party's memorandum to the President against the Government of West Bengal, has said that the thinking apparatus of that party is situated outside the country. Both of these accusations are justified, judging by their behaviour during the Chinese campaign for the suppression of the Tibetans, when they made open statements in support of the palpable lying accusations of China against India.

Even now their leaders are siding with China on the question of the frontiers territories. There has been considerable disagreement, amongst the rank and file, over the question of the integrity of the Union's territories. But the outcome of their long discussions, held for five days in Calcutta has taken the same shape. The final resolution, stripped of all the *mumbo-jumbo* of their dialectics, is full support of the Chinese claims against India. They have requested that no insistence be given on the McMahon Line—which is tantamount to giving a directive to their followers to deny the Indian claim.

## Report on Welfare

The report of the Study Team on Social Welfare and Welfare of Backward Classes is a mine of information on the existing state of the social welfare services in India and thus enables one to take a more objective view of the problems and prospects than has so far been possible. Though the practical importance of its findings and recommendations are limited by the obvious impossibility of their implementation in the near future they are not to be minimised by any means. Some of these—particularly those dealing with ways and means of achieving administrative improvement and efficiency—should not offer any great difficulty in the process of implementation.

The report is an indirect call for the maximisation of the efforts for economic development. So much remains to be done but so inadequate are the resources! The Team in its wisdom comes upon certain ways of approach or sees a definite solution but yet cannot, as a responsible body, recommend its immediate adoption in toto because of lack of resources.

The objective of the welfare programmes, the Team rightly observes, should be the eventual integration of the backward classes and other under-privileged sections of the community into the normal community. The programme should be so formulated that it does not accentuate the differences. The difficulty with regard to a proper definition of "backwardness" has tended to expand the list of backward communities converting, as it were, backwardness into a privilege conferred by birth. The Team, therefore, suggests the adoption of an economic criterion and the introduction of a gradation in the pattern of assistance so as to ensure that a higher proportion of the benefits goes to the economically less advanced groups of persons.

No scheme of welfare service could be effective without the active participation of the general people and the voluntary agencies. The encouragement to the growth and development of voluntary agencies will thus be an important part of a well-conceived social welfare scheme. At the

same time however it is equally necessary to recall that the solution of certain problems such as beggary, prostitution, juvenile delinquency and trafficking in women cannot help being heavily reliant upon state initiative. The experience gained in the efforts to abolish untouchability has demonstrated the vulnerability of an undue reliance upon state initiative. The Team's finding is not only that the evil still exists as everybody is aware but, which is of greater significance, that the results have not been commensurate with the expenditure incurred by the Government.

The Team has suggested that all social welfare activities should be co-ordinated under the Ministry of Education, if necessary by redesigning it as the Ministry of Education and Social Welfare. The team has uttered a warning against dangers of a too rapid rush with decentralization of administration by pointing out the fact that the origin of the backward classes was primarily due to the hostile attitude of the local communities and if all effective powers are now vested in them, they may yet again turn out to be oppressors. While there is undoubtedly great weight behind this argument it should induce us to implement decentralization with safeguards rather than to abandon it altogether.

### Hindi Agitation

The decision of the Punjab Hindi Raksha Samiti to resume the "Save Hindi" agitation in Punjab, which was suspended on December 27, 1957 following the appeal of the then Congress President, Shri U. N. Dhebar, and the Union Home Minister, Sri Govind Ballabh Pant, in December next will be received with grave misgivings by all concerned. The earlier agitation which had gone on for seven months had led to the suffering of hundreds of people without contributing to anybody's happiness. What was worse the movement created great communal tension within the State.

The reasons for the call for the resumption of the agitation are far from clear.

The Raksha Samiti has referred to the delay in the publication of the report of the Goodwill Committee and has further taken objection to the statement of the Union Minister of State for Home Affairs in the Lok Sabha that the Goodwill Committee Report had nothing to do with the language problems in Punjab. While the Samiti's criticism of the delay in the publication of the report of the Goodwill Committee undoubtedly cannot be lightly dismissed, it would apparently have done better to insist upon the early publication of the report and to suggest action only upon specific points of disagreement from the recommendations in the report. Resumption of the agitation becomes all the more unsupportable because nothing has happened since its suspension to warrant such a precipitate action.

While as a matter of principle every language should be ensured of its rightful place in the country in each State the claim to uphold one language at the cost of another is utterly untenable. Every true Indian would therefore be shocked to learn that the Hindi Raksha Samiti has set up a six-man sub-committee to discuss the question of stopping the teaching of Gurmukhi in all the Aryasamaj-run schools and other educational institutions in Punjab. It betrays a dangerous intransigence and unconcern for the rights of others which is hardly likely to promote mutual understanding and tolerance. If it is not right for Gurmukhi to prosper at the cost of Hindi it is equally wrong to suggest that Hindi should be encouraged at the cost of Gurmukhi which is as much a native language of Punjab as is Hindi or Urdu. The type of overenthusiasm which has been betrayed in the resolution of the Hindi Raksha Samiti has been the greatest obstacle in the progress of the popularity of Hindi in non-Hindi-speaking regions. The atmosphere of goodwill created by Seth Govind Das's call for the unconditional withdrawal of all movements and agitations for the adoption of Hindi has been greatly shaken by the renewed belligerency of the supporters of Hindi in Punjab.



## Kashmir in India

The unanimous resolution adopted on September 13, by the General Council of the Jammu and Kashmir National Conference endorsing the recommendation of its working committee for the extension of the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court, and the Election Commission of India to the State, removes another long-felt anomaly in the relations between the Union of India and one of its principal constituent parts. Though Kashmir has all along been claimed as an integral part of India, through a queer process of reasoning the inhabitants of the State were denied the best advantages of being Indian citizens by keeping the State largely beyond the pale of the important provisions of the Constitution of India. It would appear that the anomaly of keeping Kashmir outside the operation of the Constitution of India was dictated as much by the opposition of a set of vested interests within the State which wanted to cling to power, as by any other legal or political consideration.

After the adoption of the latest resolution which would raise the status of the State judiciary to the level of those in other Indian States and would ensure free and fair elections there, the political integration of Kashmir in India may now be regarded as almost complete. It is, however, interesting, and perhaps not altogether bereft of instructiveness, to consider how this process of political integration has progressed since August 14, 1952 when an agreement had been reached between the State Government and the Central Government over the expansion of the constitutional relationship between Kashmir and the rest of India. The initiative in the matter has all along been with the State authorities who have gradually adopted measures for the application of Fundamental Rights to permanent residents of the State, extension of the appellate jurisdiction of the Supreme Court, transfer of the State's Audit and Accounts Service to the control of the Comptroller and Auditor-General of India, financial arrangements with the Union Government, abolition of the customs barrier between Kashmir and the rest of the country, the integration of the services and the abolition of the restriction on travel between Kashmir and the rest of the territory of India.

It would thus be seen that for some unaccountable reasons the integration of audit and accounts claimed a precedence in the minds of those who were charged to effect this integration over the need to assure the people of the State an able and independent judiciary or a scope for free and unrestrained choice of their own representatives. If Pakistan takes advantage of such half-heartedness on the part of Indian leaders to act boldly and consistently to launch upon an anti-Indian tirade on the international plane there is little to wonder because no country would have missed such a golden opportunity to bolster up its own stand before the nations of the world. We hope, that the Government of Bakshi Ghulam Mohammed would continue to exhibit the steadfastness and fidelity to principles through which it has succeeded in undoing much of the mischief of the past.

## Urban Education

Delhi offers an example of the accentuation of the problem of urban education in India where the populations of the cities have increased by leaps and bounds as a result of industrialisation and the operation of "push factors" through the impoverishment of the villages, while the rate of expansion of the facilities for housing, employment and education has always lagged behind. The sum-total of the situation is that in all the cities many people have to go without the benefits of the opportunity to read in schools and colleges even when they may be, relatively speaking, willing and able to pay for their education. In many places the educational institutions are run on shifts but even then the provisions are very much inadequate to meet the demand. The attitude of the University Grants Commission, which has based its policy on the logic that there is a very great danger of degeneration of standards and quality if there is no insistence upon the maintenance of a definite relationship between the demand and the supply and, therefore, in so far as it is not immediately possible to expand the facilities for education the only sane policy is to restrict education itself, has added



another complication in the already complicated situation. In Delhi 10,504 students had sought admission to various constituent and affiliated colleges of Delhi University during the last academic season but, despite the Vice-Chancellor's particularly liberal policy, no more than, 6,212 could be accommodated. Much the same picture is obtained in other cities like Bombay and Calcutta. The potential magnitude of the problem is given by the fact that the populations of these cities are increasing at a faster rate than before and unless active efforts are taken right from now on the situation may go altogether out of control.

### Temple Management

The Madras Hindu Religious and Charitable Endowments Bill which is now back in the State Legislative Assembly with the report of the Select Committee raises a few points which seem to require clarification. The object of the Bill, according to Shri M. Bhaktavatsalam, the Home Minister, is to consolidate the law relating to the administration and governance of Hindu religious and charitable institutions and endowments in the State. In actuality, however, the proposed legislation goes far beyond this professed objective and seeks to nationalize, so to say, the religious institutions and endowments. The Bill seeks to arm the Commissioner of Endowments with almost dictatorial powers and would thus render the management of Hindu religious institutions a departmental activity of the Government exposing it to the vicissitudes of party politics. True, the various temples and religious endowments are not all under ideal management, as occasional disclosures bear out, but it is doubtful whether the mere imposition of a number of bureaucrats with little or no connection with the people as managers can mean much improvement in the conduct of religious affairs. The experience with the various construction projects does not warrant such an assurance. It is not clear why the Government should seek to shoulder new responsibilities which it is patently unable to meet. The aim should

rather be the supervision and regulation of the management of temples and religious endowments through responsible public bodies. The Bill further provides for the diversion of religious funds for other purposes which may not coincide with what the donors might have had in their minds when they had made the endowment. There may again be the constitutional question whether the State could actively associate itself with the propagation of a particular religious view which also forms part of the Bill.

### Reserve Bank on Economic Developments

The Annual Report of the Central Board of Directors of the Reserve Bank for the year 1958-59 surveys the economic developments of the country during this period. The Report states that on the whole, the economic outlook of the country, which at about the beginning of the year was somewhat obscure, with doubts about the successful implementation of the revised targets of the Plan, showed a distinct improvement in the course of the year, an important contributory factor being the enlarged flow of foreign aid. The key-note of credit policy continued to be one of general restraint, with specific encouragement to sectors which stood in need of special assistance. The Bank continued to exercise restraint on credit through the selective credit controls and also through moral suasion. At the same time, the debt management policy was so operated as to absorb a substantial portion of the additional liquid reserves of the banking system. Progress was also made during the year in the spheres of expansion of commercial bank branches, co-operative credit and industrial finance.

The Report points out that during the year under review there was a marked slowing down of the rate of decline of foreign exchange reserves. The deficit in the Government budget also recorded a significant decline. A substantial increase in the output of food-grains was another feature of the year, though the food situation is still not free from anxiety. The rate of growth of industrial output, however, has been rather small, though in

the latter half of the year some improvement was discerned. The sharp decline in imports appears to have contributed to the slowing down of industrial production and investment in the Private Sector, though the rising trend of share prices suggested a revival of investors' confidence. Outlay on the Plan in the Public Sector, however, recorded a further rise. Overall economic activity, judging from such indicators as railway wagon loadings and bank debits, appears to have recorded a rise during the year.

As regards the price situation, the Report states that it continued to cause some concern during the greater part of the year. For the year as a whole, the net rise in whole-sale price index was 2.1 per cent (to 115.7 with 1952-53: base=100) as compared to a rise of 2.3 per cent in the preceding year. Referring to the rise in prices since April 1959, which is partly seasonal, the Board of Directors observes that the estimated record production of food-grains is not fully reflected in the price indices. This suggests, what is also borne out by *ad hoc* inquiries, that the flow of supplies to the markets has been affected to some extent by the announcement of introduction of State Trading in foodgrains. Bank finance has played hardly any role in this matter. Basically the output of foodgrains is insufficient for the needs of the economy and the importance of giving top priority to agricultural output in general and food output in particular cannot be over-emphasized. The Bank is making its contribution to this end by enlarging the flow of credit to the Rural Sector.

A relieving feature of the Indian economy during the year was the marked lessening of the strain on the country's balance of payments, the foreign assets of the Reserve Bank declining by only Rs. 21 crores as compared to Rs. 242 crores in 1957-58. The narrowing down of the current account deficit during the first nine months of the year under review was due entirely to the sharp reduction in private imports; export earnings were somewhat lower. In this connection, the Report states that in a developing economy, import cuts do not constitute an effective remedy for balance of payments difficulties in the long run; exports should be stepped up, which in practical terms means that the nation has to restrict consump-

tion and render exports attractive to foreigners. Referring to external assistance, the Report says that the quantum of external assistance has shown a significant increase. However, the inflow of private foreign capital has continued to remain at a low-level in relation to foreign Governmental assistance and World Bank aid. The disappointingly small inflow of private foreign capital indicates the need for further efforts for creating a better climate for investment, including simplification of procedures.

In the monetary spheres, the main feature was the substantial rise in money supply as well as bank credit. Money supply with the public expanded by Rs. 452 crores during the accounting year of the Reserve Bank (July-June) as compared to Rs. 36 crores in 1957-58. The larger expansion during the year was principally due to (i) the substantial expansion in bank credit, and (ii) a marked decline in the balance of payments deficit which had been the main neutralising factor in the preceding two years. The banking situation continued to be characterised by a state of ample liquidity though during the busy season stringent conditions re-emerged. There was an expansion of Rs. 81 crores in scheduled bank credit in contrast to a contraction of Rs. 15 crores in 1957-58. Aggregate deposit liabilities rose by Rs. 234 crores, almost the entire increase, as in the previous year, being accounted for by time liabilities. A good part of the rise in deposits, as in the preceding year, represented the accrual to the U.S. Government's balance in India of counterpart funds arising from P.L. 480 imports. The gilt-edged portfolio of scheduled banks recorded a rise of Rs. 149 crores.

During the year, the Reserve Bank's monetary and credit policy continued to be one of general restraint, bearing in mind the requirements of a developing economy. There was again no change in the Bank's lending rates. Open market operations were continuously employed to absorb the growing reserves of the banking system, and net sales of Government securities by the Reserve Bank amounted to Rs. 100 crores as compared to Rs. 70 crores in 1957-58. The selective credit control was continued in respect of advances against food-grains and sugar with suitable modification; the control was extended to cover advances

against groundnuts. The sharp expansion of credit in the busy season caused some concern, and banks were cautioned to go rather slow in the matter of credit expansion. In the last week of February, 1959, they were again asked to exercise restraint in the further expansion of credit during the current busy season and to limit to a minimum their reliance on the Reserve Bank for funds. Nevertheless, net expansion in bank credit in 1958-59 busy season was as large as Rs. 182 crores. A circular was, accordingly, issued by the Governor of the Reserve Bank on June 15, 1959 following a general discussion with bankers, drawing attention to the imperative need of effecting a significant reduction of credit in the slack season, at least of Rs. 100 crores.

The Report states that the Reserve Bank continued to operate with flexibility its selective credit controls in the light of changing conditions of demand for and supply, of the relevant essential commodities. In September, 1958 the Bank tightened somewhat the restrictions on advances against wheat following a sharp rise in bank advances against this commodity in certain areas and the continued rise in wheat prices. In December, 1958, another directive was issued, which while continuing generally the existing structure of control on advances against all foodgrains, made a change in the method of calculating the ceiling limits on advances against them. Following the introduction of a limited programme of State Trading in foodgrains by different State Governments, the Bank modified the existing directives in order to regulate credit to the trade in accordance with the differing needs of the situation obtaining in the major States and also in conformity with seasonal changes in the demand for credit.

Selective credit controls, according to the Report, are not designed to correct the general inflationary pressures within the economy nor is their success to be judged precisely by the extent to which the prices of the relevant commodities have fallen; prices are dependent on various other factors bearing on the demand and supply position of the commodities. The controls, by arresting an undue expansion of credit in the busy season and accelerating its reduction in the slack season, may be expected

to exercise only a limited, perhaps a marginal effect on prices, more particularly when banks have large liquid resources.

The selective credit control system as is exercised in this country has totally failed in its purpose. Several years ago, the Reserve Bank was much enthusiastic about this new type of credit control following the coming into force of the Banking Companies Act. It was held at that time that the general credit control system in an under-developed economy had only marginal importance in view of the abolition of the gold standard. The selective credit control system was adopted in India with the hope that by following qualitative system of credit control, the Reserve Bank would be able to control the volume of bank credit in this country. But notwithstanding resort to this weapon for the purpose of credit control, it is now well recognised that the selective credit control has belied the hopes once raised as to its efficacy. The main reason is that the volume of bank credit increases at a much faster rate than what can be controlled by the selective credit control.

The other drawback in the use of the selective credit control is that banks resort to the practice of dodging the nature of their loan operations so as to defeat the purpose of the selective credit control. Moreover, for the last several years while speculation has been widespread among the dealers and as a result prices are going up not so much due to the impact of demand but on account of the speculative price increases by dealers, the repeated use of selective credit control has failed to retrieve the position. Even the commercial banks could not be controlled in the expansion of their credit activities. Now it is quite disappointing to learn from the Central Board of Directors that the selective credit control has only limited or marginal effect on prices. The traditional weapons of credit control have now fallen into disuse because their effect on credit was regarded to be limited and marginal. But now to say the same thing about the selective credit control is to denounce the effectiveness of the selective credit control and to put it on the same category with that of the general credit control. In a backward economy where a great number of transactions takes place in non-

monetary ways, it is quite probable that any system of credit control, whether general or selective, is bound to result in a failure. But the Reserve Bank is no less responsible for such failure, in so far as it did not pursue with vigour its credit control policy. There must be some defect in the machinery of examining the accounts of the member-banks, otherwise the Reserve Bank could have detected the activities of the recalcitrant banks and disciplinary measures should have been adopted against them.

The Report refers to the emergence, in the course of the year, of a clearer prospect of the Second Plan which a year ago was rather obscure; the prospects of implementing the revised Second Plan in financial terms are now more assured. It would not seem, however, that the 25-27 per cent increase in national income that was expected on the Second Five-Year Plan is likely to be achieved. The Report, however, points out that the economy is likely to be subject to further strains and the problem of resources for the Plan continues to be a source of concern. An effort to secure even the rate of growth projected for the Second Plan would involve during the Third Plan period a high order of investment. While this conclusion seems to find ready and general acceptance, there appears to be insufficient appreciation of its implications in terms of the measure of internal effort and external assistance required for its successful accomplishment. Unless the requisite internal resources and foreign aid are forthcoming, much larger expenditure programmes are likely to jeopardise economic and monetary stability to the point of endangering their very fulfilment.

With rising national income, it should be possible to direct a progressively larger proportion of it into investment, but the task of mobilisation of resources is made difficult by the wide dispersion of new incomes of the mass of the population. Success in this task is conditioned on the one hand, by the organisational and administrative difficulties of the authorities and on the other, by the extent to which the constructive energies and enthusiasm of the people can be released and channelled into the service of development.

Even with the utmost intensification of

domestic effort and improvement of exports, the country would have to depend, for some years to come, on foreign assistance on a substantial scale, until the economy reaches the stage of self-sustaining growth. In this context the Report stresses the need for assessment from time to time, of policies and procedures with a view to stimulating the flow of private capital from abroad. The Report further observes that in the task of ensuring development with stability the keynote of the monetary policy would have to continue to be one of general restraint simultaneously with expansion of institutional facilities for provision of credit to specific sectors, in particular agriculture and small-scale industry.

India's coming need for further external monetary aid on a grand scale was stressed at the recent meeting of the Commonwealth Finance Ministers in London. The *Economist* says that 'financing India is likely to dominate Commonwealth finance and world finance still more in the sixties than it has done in the past few years.'

### New Pattern of Monetary Control

A thorough and impartial examination of the working of Britain's monetary system and of the complex issues of monetary policy has been made by the Radcliffe Committee whose report is recently published. The Committee was presided over by Lord Radcliffe. The last authoritative exposition of the monetary management was made by the Macmillan Committee in 1931. The Radcliffe Committee finds that the aims of economic policy are various and complex, but they mainly include: a high and stable level of employment, stability of currency, economic growth, a contribution to overseas development, and improvement of international reserves. It considers that none of these aims has such pre-eminence that it can be pursued in isolation from others. There is, therefore, no single aim of policy by which all monetary policy can be conditioned, and a balance may have to be struck between them. Responsibility for striking this balance must lie, in the Committee's view, with the Government of the day.

The Government must also, for similar reasons, be responsible for the choice of the measures by which to pursue the aims of policy. These measures may be of three different kinds—direct controls, fiscal measures, and monetary measures. The Committee has not considered an examination of direct controls and fiscal measures as being within its terms of reference. It however makes it clear that all these three kinds of measures have their own advantages and disadvantages.

In the monetary field, the Committee thinks that the authorities must try to work primarily through the structure of interest rate rather than by quantitative controls, either of supply of money or of particular forms of credit. The main opportunity in this direction lies, the Committee thinks, in the management of the national debt, which the Committee sees as the chief domestic task of the central bank today.

Changes in interest rates do not, in the view of the Committee, have significant short-run effects on spenders and lenders and, particularly, on financial institutions. The Committee says that "the authorities should think of rates of interest—and particularly of long rates—as relevant to the domestic economic situation. The authorities should not aim at complete stability of interest rates. . . ." The Committee, however, adds that now that the economy has returned to a more normal level of monetary supply, the general effect of interest rate changes may be greater in the 1960s than in the previous decade.

The Committee goes on to say, that "the authorities should be taking a view on long rates rather than on short, and should be using their power as managers of the national debt deliberately to forward an interest rate policy." The principle of debt management is to push the rate of interest to a level that is high enough to attract sufficient firm holders of the debt and is yet consistent with a balance between demand in the public and private sectors and available resources of the economy.

As regards the relations between external and domestic affairs, the Committee

recognises that monetary policy in the 1950s has generally been dictated by the needs of the external situation. This points to the need to keep a surplus on current balance of payments sufficiently large to enable not only a higher rate of overseas investment but also an improvement of the reserve position. It should also be the aim of United Kingdom policy to strengthen the capacity of the International Monetary Fund to perform its task. The Committee believes that convertibility of the pound sterling should have been a main aim of post-war United Kingdom policy. On the functioning of the Sterling Areas, it says that in the interest of the United Kingdom it is necessary to maintain the existing arrangements.

In reviewing the position of the Bank of England, the Committee thinks that while the choice as to a balance among the aims of economic policy must rest with the Government of the day, the advice of the Bank of England is entitled to a very great weight. The Committee believes this to be, in substance, the present position, but thinks it should be made explicit. It therefore recommends that Bank Rate changes should be announced in the name, and on the authority, of the Chancellor of the Exchequer.

The Committee also recommends that the Chancellor should look for advice on monetary questions to a standing committee on monetary policy, on which the Treasury, the Bank of England, and the Board of Trade should be represented. And the Committee sees advantage in retaining the office of part-time director of the Bank of England. The Committee also makes recommendations of a largely technical character on the working of the monetary system. As for example, it recommends that it should be an aim of policy to re-open the London Issue Market to subordinate authorities in the Commonwealth as well as to Commonwealth Governments. It further states that in financing exports, the maximum period of cover of the Export Credit Guarantee Department should not be considered as unalterable and that the Government should consider setting

up an industrial guarantee corporation to guarantee loans for the commercial development of technical innovations. In its view there is no case for retaining a qualitative capital issue control of the kind operated in the 1950s.

The Radcliffe Committee seems to have struck a new note about the apparatus of control to be exercised by the Government. With the end of gold standard, it is quite perceivable that the volume of money today has an unlimited potentiality of expansion either by credit expansion by banks or by rapidity of its circulation or by both. Under the impact of these two influences and also on account of national projects for economic expansion, the State is called upon to create money for its own needs. Thus there is practically no limit to the expansion of volume of money and both the quantitative controls and the qualitative controls have failed to exercise any effective control over the state of monetary economy in a country.

The Radcliffe Committee therefore suggests that effective control can come only through varying the cost of borrowing whether by the banks or by the public. In the post-war period this point also was suggested by the U.S. Federal Reserve System and the two Committees appointed in the U.S.A. to go through the question of devising means for exercising effective control over the monetary system of the country. It is now fully realised that the traditional methods, like, open market operations or the Discount Rate policy of the Central Bank have marginal influence in exercising control over the monetary affairs of a country. Similarly, the qualitative control or the selective credit control has failed to bring about the desired result. The experience of the authorities in India will testify that neither the quantitative nor the qualitative method provides any real answer to monetary disequilibrium caused either by a resort to a deliberate inflationary policy on the part of the Government or by the speculative deals of the banking system and the public.

The higher cost of borrowing in the short-run period is only a stop-gap

arrangement and it does not bring about a condition of long-period equilibrium. However, in order to control monetary upheavals during the short period, the Bank Rate policy still provides an effective machinery and this was shown in England by raising the Bank Rate to the high level of 8 per cent a few years ago. But the effect of a high Bank Rate can be sustained only for a short period and when the market rate comes down or the market borrowing falls, the Bank Rate must also be lowered. This system does not therefore eliminate the seasonal ups and downs in the economy of the country.

It is however certain that in a growing and developing economy, like that of India, monetary disequilibrium is bound to occur until and unless a state of comparatively full employment is reached. Therefore the suggestion of the Radcliffe Committee can be applied in India as regards the control of monetary disequilibrium in the country, but it has its own limitations. In an underdeveloped country consumer goods are in short supply owing to the rapid rise in the purchasing power of the people in the short period and as a result speculation becomes rampant and hoarding is encouraged with the help of bank credit. In an underdeveloped economy, therefore, both the cost of borrowing in the short period as well as in the long period should be higher. The excess purchasing power of the people can be channelled into investment in longperiod public debt, provided the rate of interest is much higher than the short-period rate. In India both the short-period rate and the long-period rate are almost on the same level and as a result money moves more in the short period having the benefit of liquidity as well as profitability. The Radcliffe Committee has hit the nail right by saying that through the management of public debt and its interest rate structures, the Government can wield an effective influence over the monetary system of the country.

### **Selling Justice**

An example of how the democratic processes are being lowered in the public esteem by

those who are in authority is provided by the recent amendment of the Court Fees Act by the Government of Bombay enhancing the court fees levied upon various types of civil suits and extending the scope of the operation of the law to hitherto unaffected matters such as constitutional writs, misfeasance summonses, etc. The Law Commission in its report has definitely come out against the practice of imposing court fees upon civil suits because it militates against one of the primary duties of the state which is to ensure justice and equality to all. As a measure of concession to the demand of the State Governments for revenue the Commission has suggested that if it is unavoidable in the interest of public administration to impose court fees the same should not exceed the amount which is just enough to meet the cost of judicial administration. It is common knowledge that in most States court fees levied are much in excess of this proportion. Just as the Parliament was considering the report of the Law Commission, the Bombay Government was quietly proceeding with the legislation for higher court fees. The Bombay Government's action raises the following questions among others: What is the utility of appointing national commissions of enquiry (such as the Law Commission), at the cost of the public exchequer if there is no desire to consider the formulation of national policies? If on the other hand, the formulation of a national policy is under consideration was it not wrong on the part of a State Government to take an action which contradicts the major recommendations of a national commission? The commissions of enquiry are a major democratic process to ascertain public opinion on important matters and their findings are accorded the greatest of respect in all democratic countries. The cavalier way in which major commissions and their recommendations are treated by the Central and State Governments indicate that either they do not always appoint the right men on right commissions so that the findings are inherently defective making their acceptance impossible or that while the commissions are right the Governments do not want to act upon their advice for political or economic reasons favouring the vested interests. In either case it is a dangerous attitude to take.

### Void Elections

The unseating of Shri Devakanta Barua, Speaker of the Assam Legislative Assembly, because the nomination paper of Shri Khrishram Nath, who also wanted to contest that election, had been improperly rejected focusses attention on a question which has all along been there namely, is there no way of preventing elections from being declared as void after years because of technical breaches on the part of the scrutinising authority? It is pertinent to ask why should a candidate, who has successfully contested an election at a great cost in money and physical effort, be put to the harassment of going through the process again when there has been no failure on his part? The usual answer, of course, is that the fellow who has been unfairly excluded from the contest must also have his legitimate chance. There is much weight behind this argument but it does not fully meet the question why a fellow should be punished because of another man's failure. Elections have been held in the United States of America and the United Kingdom for over a century almost at regular intervals. But cases of elections having been declared as void have been few, if at all. In India most of the cases of void elections arise out of the failure of the officials to handle the technicalities efficiently. In other words the failure is largely administrative which can be tackled by streamlining either the law or the administration or both.

### Bhakra Tragedy and After

The accident on August 21, when the joint or a wall in the hoist chamber of the right diversion tunnel at the Bhakra Dam through which the Sutlej was flowing gave away, resulting in the flooding of the hoist chamber, the galleries and the power-house where the erection of turbines and generators—the biggest of their type in Asia—was in progress, has turned out to be of a far more serious nature than had originally been thought of. The power-house remains inundated with equipment worth Rs. 2.5 crores lying submerged even twenty days after the mishap—though the experts had declared a seven-day time-limit as the safe period for



some of the highly sensitive machinery. The Union Minister for Irrigation and Power, Shri Hafiz Mohammad Ibrahim told the Lok Sabha on August 23 that the loss would not exceed Rs. 55 lakhs. He reiterated this assurance on the floor of the House again on September 2. However, apart from the direct loss caused to the Project it may also prove a set-back to the supply of about 40,000 kilowatts of electricity to Delhi from Bhakra-Nangal system between December, 1960 and March, 1961. Further, it may entail a loss of Rs. 1 lakh a day to the Nangal fertilizer factory unless the left bank power-plant is commissioned according to schedule.

Until the hoist chamber is dried up the causes of the accidents, to ascertain which an Expert Committee has been appointed, cannot be known. Meanwhile, the country is eager to be assured that no effort is being spared to get the task of repair done at the speediest and the most economical manner. The unfortunate controversy between the American expert, Mr. Harvey Slocum and the authorities has been a mystery to the lay public who fail to understand what could have led to the sudden eruption of such temperamental difference between the engineer and the Project Administration on the resolution of which much valuable time has been wasted.

It is, however, heartening to know that the Bhakra Control Board, which is vested the supreme powers for the construction of the Project, has finalised measures to restore normal conditions at the dam and satisfactory arrangements have been made for starting the "operation repair" without further delay. The measures envisage, among other things, the closure of the right diversion tunnel to achieve which foreign exchange worth Rs. 45 lakhs will be placed at the disposal of the Bhakra Dam Administration to buy essential equipment and material and the administration has been released from the obligation to follow normal procedures for making purchases, etc. The General Manager has been given wider financial powers and has also been authorized to pay bonus or cash rewards to the workmen employed on the jobs connected with the emergency. Mr. Slocum is hopeful without being complacent. Let us also hope for the best.

### **Bifurcation of Bombay**

The Indian National Congress has almost made up its mind over the division of Bombay into two States: Maharashtra and Gujarat with the city of Bombay going to Maharashtra. Some had predicted that the division would take place even before the new year the only difficulty being a consideration of the proposal for the creation of a separate State of Vidarbha with the former Madhya Pradesh areas of Bombay. Opinion is still in favour of one Maharashtra State including Vidarbha and Bombay. The unwisdom of tagging of Maharashtra and Gujarat into an enforced unity was freely commented upon at the time of reorganization of States in 1956, but the Congress leaders did not consider it necessary to pay any heed to the wise counsel of dispassionate public leaders and went on with their scheme of a united State of Gujarat and Maharashtra which in turn resulted in the spilling of much innocent blood. The increasing unpopularity of the Congress in both Gujarat and Maharashtra none of whom is happy at this unwanted union has at last forced the Congress to see reason. It is nevertheless better late than never and the bifurcation by removing an absurdity would be highly welcome to all Indians.

### **Dentists and Democracy**

The victory of the American dentists in the tussle between the American Dental Association and the Mayor (and indirectly, the State Government) of New York over the right of use of the ball-room of the Waldorf Astoria Hotel in the city on Thursday is a reaffirmation of the democratic rights of the American citizens. The American Dental Association had booked the ball-room four years in advance to hold its centennial convention there on September 17, 1959. When it was agreed that M. Khrushchev, the Soviet Prime Minister and Party leader, would come to the USA the Mayor of the City of New York decided, as was only to be expected on such occasions, to hold a reception

luncheon in honour of the Soviet dignitary. Invitation cards were issued apparently without having any consultation with either the hotel authorities or the managers of the American Dental Association. Soon it was found that the two programmes clashed. Then pressure was brought to bear upon the Association through the Mayor, the State Department and even through Vice-President Nixon to agree to shift meeting to some other place. But the Association, secure in the belief of the strength of its democratic rights no less than in consideration of the inconvenience of hundreds of its members who would be coming from all parts of the country and all of whom might not get the intimation of the change of the venue in time, refused to budge from its stand and insisted upon its right to use the ball-room. We do not see in this episode any disrespect to Mr. Khrushchev but only a rebuff to those who have taken upon themselves the task of arranging the reception for their incompetence. In India where people are put to inconvenience almost daily at one place or another for no other earthly reason than the convenience of a VIP (incredible as it may appear—the convocation of jute technology students has been held over for six years on this very ground), the conduct of the American Dental Association may appear as a revolt but it would give pleasure to all genuine democrats throughout the world as a firm rebuff to bureaucratic incompetence.

### India and China

The seriousness of the deterioration of India-China relationship came to the fore over the exchanges between the Governments of the two countries over the determination of the boundary line between them. The dispute involves about 40,000 square miles of Indian territory which China claims to be her own. This development has come as a great shock to the people of India who have all along looked upon the people of China as their friends. Legalistically speaking China may be right in claiming that she had never recognised

the MacMahon line, but as the Indian Prime Minister has so ably pointed out, China's unwillingness to ratify the Simla Convention between India, China and Tibet did not rest upon her objection to the drawing of the boundary between Tibet and India along what is known as the MacMahon line, but upon her objection to the line of demarcation between inner Tibet and outer Tibet as drawn up by the convention. Moreover the Simla Convention took place nearly forty-six years ago. During these forty-six years India has unquestionably been in possession of the territory south of MacMahon line. If China now lays a claim to the ownership of this territory it is not only against International morality but definitely smacks of an evil design. This does not mean that India should be unwilling to discuss minor adjustments of the boundary line between the two countries and we are glad to note that the Government of India has unmistakably indicated its readiness to do so.

### Chinese Cabinet Reshuffle

The Cabinet reshuffle in China which was announced on September 17, closely following upon the extended plenum of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party may have a special significance though its character is not very clear to the outsiders. The major changes affect the defence and public security forces. Marshal Peng Teh-huai, once described as the "brain" behind Chu Teh and undoubtedly one of the most remarkable generals of the People's Liberation Army of China, has been relieved of his duties as Defence Minister—the post having gone to Marshal Lin Piao, the "one-eyed" general who is stated to have never lost a battle in his career. In the other case Lo Jui-Chiang, Vice-Premier and Minister for Public Security, has been asked to take up the position of the Chief of Staff of the Chinese Army in the place of Mr. Huang Ke-Cheng. The new Minister for Public Security is Mr. Hsieh Fu-chih. That this sudden reshuffle of the Cabinet cannot be without particular reasons would be apparent if it is recalled that it was only about four months ago that the newly elected Chinese Parliament (The National Peoples' Congress) had approved

of the ministerial nominations. The communique issued at the end of the recent session of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party mentioned some criticisms about the economic affairs and the management of Communes, but there was no criticism of the army or the public security organs. The appointment of Lo Ju-ching, a top party organizer, as Chief of Army Staff is however, undoubtedly symbolic of the party's decision to tighten party control and discipline within the army.

### The Other Face of China

For some time now there has been a new and aggressive mood in China's dealings with her neighbours. *The New York Times* of August 30, had given a summary which we think would be useful to put before our readers now, and therefore, we append extracts below :

Periodically throughout the post-war era, Chinese Communist expansionist pressures have precipitated armed conflict in the Far East and raised the threat of a major war. The three principal arenas of conflict have been Korea, Vietnam, and the Taiwan Strait. In the first two, military truces brought fighting to a standstill. In the Taiwan Strait, an uneasy and undeclared truce, broken by intermittent shelling from the China mainland, has prevailed for almost a year.

Last week there were mounting signs that the Communists were planning new probing ventures—and possibly aggressions—at widely scattered points in Asia. Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru announced that Chinese troops had penetrated the Indian border at two points more than a thousand miles apart. In the Southeast Asian kingdom of Laos, Communist guerrillas pressed their offensive against the Government and the United States responded with emergency aid to Laos. The Chinese Communists renewed their shelling in the Taiwan Strait.

Peiping's intentions, and the reason for the timing of the new incidents, remained a mystery. The conflict with India was especially perplexing in view of Mr. Nehru's attempts to avoid antagonizing Communist China and to keep clear of

alliance with the West. Some observers thought the incidents might represent an attempt to stir up trouble on the eve of the talks between President Eisenhower and Premier Khrushchev. But among the unknown factors was whether Peiping was acting in defiance of Moscow. Announcement by Peiping of a drastic downward revision in earlier published figures of its economic achievements raised question about a possible connection between internal pressures and the border ventures.

In any event, a new period of tension seemed to have opened in the Far East.

We find in the same issue the summary of which part is quoted below, of the Indo-Chinese relations :

India's Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru once expressed his attitude toward Communist China thus : "I am convinced that the only thing the people of China want is peace. . . . There is only one thing right and practical, which is to recognize co-existence. . . . We can only hope that the people of China will co-operate in this objective."

In the ten years since the Communist overran the Chinese mainland, Mr. Nehru has worked hard to win Chinese co-operation. He was among the first to recognize Communist China and to champion Peiping's claim to a seat in the United Nations. He feted Chinese Communist leaders at New Delhi and was feted in return at Peiping. He used his influence at the Afro-Asian conference at Bandung, Indonesia, in 1955 to have Communist China accepted as a respectable member of international society. He shunned regional military alliances and deplored the division of the world into two power blocs.

Despite professions of friendship and good-will on both sides, and undeclared rivalry for the leadership of Asia has existed between the world's two most populous nations. Each has sought to achieve dominant influence in Asia.

In recent months, Sino-Indian relations have cooled perceptibly. Peiping's suppression of the Tibetan revolt last spring produced a wave of protest throughout

India—and the rest of non-Communist Asia. Indians called Tibet “Asia’s Hungary.” Peiping denounced the Indian protests as “imperialist” and Mr. Nehru accused Communist China of using “the language of the cold war.”

Soon thereafter, the Prime Minister found himself in trouble at home with the Indian Communist movement. Last month Mr. Nehru acted to put a halt to Communist excesses in the state of Kerala. He dissolved the local Communist government here to avoid “a holocaust” and denounced India’s Communists as lackeys of the international Communist movement.

In recent weeks attention in India has focused on another front of Communist pressure—this time along the 2,500-mile Sino-Indian frontier in the Himalayas. The mountain barrier, sometimes called “India’s northern wall,” is dotted with small border states, some independent, others semi-independent or disputed territories. Indians have been incensed by the fact that Communist China has circulated maps in Asia showing sections of the border states of Nepal, Bhutan, Sikkim, the North-East Frontier and Ladakh as part of China proper.

The Indian press for some time also has reported armed Chinese incursions at scattered points along the “northern wall.” Unofficially it was known that India had protested these incidents to Peiping. New Delhi, however, tended to minimize the incidents on the ground that the areas were wild and untracked and that the incursions may have been made in error. But recently Delhi has grown concerned at the increasing border pressure.

Two weeks ago Peiping hinted that Bhutan and Sikkim were part of Tibet and therefore Chinese. Bhutan reported that the Chinese Communists were massing military forces along the Bhutan-Tibetan frontier.

Last Tuesday Mr. Nehru said in parliament, “I cannot imagine any foreign authority doing anything (to) infringe the) sovereignty of . . . Sikkim and Bhutan. . . . We shall certainly defend

them against intrusion.” The Parliament thundered approval.

Then, on Friday, Mr. Nehru stunned India with the announcement that Chinese troops had penetrated the Indian border in the north-east frontier area. Mr. Nehru gave this account of the incident,

### **The Trouble in Laos**

There is a U.N. delegation in Laos, on a “fact-finding” mission, but as yet we have no definite news about the situation in the forest-girt frontier regions. The position at the beginning of September was summed up as follows by *The New York Times* on September 6:

Fighting in the Laotian provinces along the border of Communist North Vietnam intensified last week. The hostilities appeared to be building toward the most serious armed conflict on the Asian mainland since the Indo-China war ended in a truce five years ago. Laos proclaimed a state of emergency and appealed to the United Nations to intervene—raising the spectre of another Korea with similar international implications.

These are thumbnail sketches of the two countries directly involved:

**Laos:** A kingdom of 89,000 square miles in the heart of South-east Asia dotted with jungle-covered gorges and peaks. Buddhist temples and villages of thatched-roofed, bamboo houses. Laos has about 3,000,000 people. The Royal Laotian Army is composed of 25,000 men and 16,000 village guards. Non-Communist Asia and the West have high stakes in Laos. Its fall to the Communists would shatter South-east Asian security and put new Communist pressure on Laos’ neighbors, neutralist Burma and Cambodia and pro-Western Thailand and South Vietnam. Although the U. S. has no formal military alliance with Laos, Washington is all but committed to the kingdom’s defense through the South-east Asia Collective Defense Treaty, known as SEATC, which carries a protocol implying protection of Laos, Cambodia, and South Vietnam against “armed aggression.” The U. S. has been providing Laos with about \$30,000,000 annually in military aid, and the week before last Washington announced an “emergency” airlift of small arms to Laos.

*North Vietnam:* A "Democratic Republic" on the Chinese Communist model, of 62,000 square miles and 13,000,000 people. North Vietnam was forged in the crucible of the Indo-China war which ended with the partition of the country into North and South Vietnam. The North Vietnamese Army is believed to consist of 150,000 regular troops and 150,000 auxiliaries—the force, trained and equipped by Communist China, which defeated the French at Dienbienphu five years ago. The country is tied to the Communist bloc by ideology, backed by the Communist propaganda apparatus and the recipient of heavy Chinese Communist military aid.

Fighting erupted on the Laotian-North Vietnam frontier on last July. It began when Laotian Communists, armed and led by North Vietnamese officers and operating under the cover of the monsoon rains, moved across the border into the Laotian provinces of Samneua and Phongsaly. The assault units, totalling about 3,500 guerrillas, staged hit-and-run attacks on Government posts.

### **Khrushchev and Eisenhower's Communique**

The text of the communique is:

"The Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R., Mr. N. S. Khrushchev, and President Eisenhower have had a frank exchange of opinions at Camp David.

"In some of these conversations the U.S. Secretary of State, Mr. Herter, and the Soviet Foreign Minister, Mr. Gromyko, as well as other officials from both countries, participated.

"The Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R., and the President have agreed that these discussions have been useful in clarifying each other's position on a number of subjects. The talks were not undertaken to negotiate issues.

"It is hoped, however, that their exchanges of views will contribute to a better understanding of the motives and position of each, and thus to the achievement of a just and lasting peace.

"The Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R., and the President of the U.S.A., agreed that the question of general disarmament is the most important one facing the world today. Both Governments will make

every effort to achieve a constructive solution of this problem.

"In the course of the conversations, an exchange of views took place on the question of Germany, including the question of a peace treaty with Germany, in which the positions of both sides were expounded.

"With respect to the specific Berlin question, an understanding was reached, subject to the approval of the other parties directly concerned, that negotiations would be reopened with a view to achieving a solution which would be in accordance with the interests of all concerned and in the interests of the maintenance of peace.

"In addition to these matters, useful conversations were held on a number of questions affecting the relations between the U.S.S.R., and the U.S.A. The subjects included the question of trade between the two countries. With respect to an increase in exchanges of persons and ideas, substantial progress was made in discussions between officials and it is expected that certain agreements will be reached in the near future.

"The Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R., and the President of the U.S.A., agreed that all outstanding international questions should be settled, not by the application of force, but by peaceful means through negotiation.

"Finally, it was agreed that an exact date for the return visit of the President to the Soviet Union next spring would be arranged through diplomatic channels."

### **Post-Meeting Messages**

London, Sept. 28.—Mr. Khrushchev said today the present time could become a time of peace and progress provided outstanding issues were solved on the basis of peaceful co-existence. "There is no other solution", he told a Moscow rally.

Mr. Khrushchev, quoted by Moscow Radio, was speaking shortly after his return from a 13-day visit to the U.S.A.

He told workers gathered at Moscow's Palace of Sports that there was no place in the 20th century for international relations more fitted to the times when man was not far removed from animals.

The Soviet Government had realized this a long time ago and therefore had suggested summit meetings for settling international questions.

Before leaving Washington Mr. Khrushchev, in a farewell message, said: "There are many outstanding issues between us but let us rather not return to the past, but do all we can for the future."

"I hope that in the relationship between our two countries we will be able to use more and more often that good, short American word okay."

Mr. Khrushchev also sent a message to President Eisenhower thanking him and the Americans for their "warm reception" in the U.S.A.

The Soviet Prime Minister sent the message from his airliner carrying him from Washington to Moscow.

The message, quoted by *Tass*, said: "Crossing the boundary of the U.S.A. I beg you, Mr. President, to accept on behalf of my family and persons accompanying me, also on my own behalf, cordial gratitude for the invitation to visit your country and for the warm reception extended to us by you personally and by the American people."

"Our acquaintance with the life of American people was highly interesting and useful."

"The exchange of opinions on the most important international problems and on questions of Soviet-American relations has shown that the trend towards undertaking the efforts required to call off the cold war, the creation of a climate of confidence, mutual understanding between our countries is on the ascendency. Our meetings will definitely help to ease international tension, to strengthen the cause of universal peace."

"I thank you sincerely once more, Mr. President, and the American people for your hospitality."

"We assure you that the Soviet people and the Soviet Government in their turn will extend to you as hospitable a reception when you come to the Soviet Union."

"I wish you, Mr. President, your wife, your son, your wonderful grand-children, with whom it was so easy for me to agree on the time of your visit to the U.S.S.R., to all of your family, happiness, and well-being. I wish

happiness and prosperity to the entire American people."—*Reuter*.

### C.P.I. Calcutta Resolution

We give the following report from *The Statesman*:

The Communist Party's Central Executive on Saturday advised China not to insist on its own map and India not to insist on the McMahon Line in determining Sino-Indian border.

While the Executive emphasized the necessity for negotiation for a settlement of the dispute, it has failed to define the basis for such negotiation.

The resolution, adopted after five days' sitting in Calcutta, mentioned, however, that the basis "already exists in the statements made by representatives of the two countries." It referred to Mr. Nehru's letter to Mr. Chou En-lai on March 22 and the Chinese National People's Congress Resolution adopted on September 13.

The Executive Committee's attitude may be interpreted as a compromise between the two conflicting opinions in the committee over Sino-Indian border disputes.

The importance of the situation in Indian politics, particularly in view of the impending elections in Kerala, is understood to have persuaded the extreme section to relent to a compromise which was reached on the last day.

Some members held the view that the situation in Indian politics needed a categorical declaration from the Indian Communist Party over India's territorial integrity and the party's attitude to the question. This section wanted to support more or less the stand taken by Mr. Nehru. The other section held that the party need not declare the McMahon Line to be the border between India and China because its acceptance would immediately indict China as an aggressor.

The final resolution, it seems, has sought to accommodate the two views. It says: "The Central Executive Committee takes the opportunity to reiterate emphatically that our Party stands with the rest of the people for the territorial integrity

of India and it shall be second to none in safeguarding it."

It adds: "But the Committee is confident that Socialist China can never commit aggression against India just as our country has no intention of aggression against China."

The Committee has not defined the Sino-Indian border because "certain admittedly vital differences" arose from the fact that the "areas involved have never been properly surveyed or delineated."

The Committee appreciated Mr. Nehru's constructive approach and also the Chinese National People's Congress' attitude. It was confident that the situation was bound to improve, leading to a solution of the border problems, if negotiations started.

Deploing the recent border incidents and disputes between the two countries, the resolution stated that these were a matter of serious concern not only for India's people but for all peace-loving Asians. Any weakening of Sino-Indian friendship, which was a cornerstone of Afro-Asian solidarity, would be a serious blow to the forces of world peace.

The Executive Committee noted that the "unfortunate situation" was being exploited by the U.S.A., other imperialist circles and extreme reactionaries in India. While the imperialists wanted to draw India into their net, the "inveterate enemies of the country's foreign policy," among whom were leaders of the P.S.P., the Jan Sangh and the Swatantra Party, were trying to wreck the Panch Sheel and India's foreign policy of non-alignment.

Moreover, interested people were attempting to magnify the border incidents to divert people's attention from the problems of their life, to disrupt and suppress the country's democratic movement and to incite people against the Communist Party.

The Executive considered that Sino-Indian relations had begun deteriorating after recent events in Tibet. The Dalai Lama's activities "in utter defiance of all established international usages and through gross abuse of the situation."

The resolution warned the people against attempts to "whip up war hysteria"

by exaggerating border incidents and endorsed Mr. Nehru's appeal to fight the "war psychosis" in the country.

### Labor Bill in the U. S. Senate

Organised Labour, if led by unscrupulous persons, can become a major menace to the fundamental rights of the common citizen. If given sufficient scope it can curtail the liberties of all, and become a power for evil as the following extract from the September 6, issue of *The New York Times* shows:

Last Wednesday afternoon the House was debating a minor bill when Rep. Graham A. Barden, North Carolina Democrat, rushed in and announced, "I take this moment to inform the House, believe it or not, that we have agreed on a labor bill; and, may I add, all of the conferees survived." There were loud cheers from both sides of the aisle.

The new bill—the first major labor legislation since the Taft-Hartley Act in 1947, the second since the National Labor Relations (Wagner) Act in 1935—was achieved after a twelve-day bargaining struggle in a Senate-House conference committee. Pressure for a labor-reform bill had been mounting ever since the McClellan committee began disclosing evidence of union corruption more than two years ago. In April, the Senate had passed a labor bill sponsored by Senator John F. Kennedy, Massachusetts Democrat; last month the House approved a tougher version sponsored by Representative Phil Landrum, Georgia Democrat, and Robert Griffin, Michigan Republican.

The conferees' problem was to compromise the differences between the two bills. In the end they adopted most of the provisions of the Landrum-Griffin bill, but largely at the behest of Senator Kennedy and the other Northern Democrats, they incorporated modifying provisions from the Kennedy bill. Thursday the Senate passed the bill 95 to 2; Friday the House approved it 352 to 52. In Scotland, President Eisenhower said he was "very pleased."

These are the major areas of union and management affairs with which the bill deals and labor's main criticism:

*Union reform:* Unions must file regular financial reports, disclose administrative pro-



cedures, bar former convicts from office. Rank-and-file members are protected against leadership abuses through a "bill of rights" guaranteeing freedom of speech, periodic secret elections and similar rights. Criminal penalties for violations are provided. The unions maintain the bill of rights opens the way for employer stooges, crackpots or Communists to disrupt union processes.

*No-man's land:* There are many labor disputes over which the National Labor Relations Board has jurisdiction but which it will not handle because the number of workers involved is too small. Since the states have been barred from handling such cases, they have fallen into a kind of "no-man's land" of law. The new bill permits state labor agencies and state courts to take jurisdiction over "no-man's land" cases and apply state law to them. The unions oppose this provision because state labor laws are not uniform—which means unions will be subject to a variety of conflicting regulations, and because state courts generally have wider injunctive powers in labor disputes than Federal courts.

*Secondary boycotts:* The secondary boycott is an effort by a union to put pressure on one employer by action against another with whom he deals. The Taft-Hartley Act bars the secondary boycott but there are loopholes in the law. Under one loophole, the International Brotherhood of Teamsters refuses to handle cargoes to or from firms involved in labor disputes; this is embodied in Teamster contracts as the "hot cargo" clause. The new bill outlaws the hot cargo clause with certain exceptions for the garment and construction industries. The bill also closes other secondary boycott loopholes.

Labor feels in some cases the secondary boycott should be legal. For example, a group of workers might want to write in their contract a clause preventing management from purchasing anything from a supplier who refuses to hire union labor. Under the new bill, this is illegal.

*Picketing:* The bill outlaws organizational and recognition picketing (1) if the employer has validly recognized another union, (2) if the employer has held an N.L.R.B. election within the preceding twelve months. But such

picketing might be considered legal if the employer had engaged in unfair labor practices during the election or in the process of recognizing the other union.

How much will the new bill actually hurt the unions? The consensus of labor observers is that it will make new organizing far more difficult, which will hit weak unions like the textile, chemical and white collar groups. But, it was noted, these groups have been making almost no headway so the effect of the bill on them is expected to be somewhat academic. Strong unions, according to these observers, will scarcely be affected by the bill. This includes the Teamsters, which Congress was most anxious to shackle. The Teamsters' economic power is so great that many employers are believed likely to knuckle under rather than try to use the new law to frustrate the Teamsters.

### The Passing of Bandaranaike

Another patriot and sincere adherent of true democracy has fallen to the assassin's bullet. We quote the following from *The Statesman*:

Colombo, Sept. 26.—Mr. Bandaranaike, who was shot in the abdomen by a Buddhist monk at his residence yesterday, died peacefully in his sleep, induced by sedatives, at 8 a.m. today,

He woke thrice during the night. Once he asked for water. The second time he asked about the condition of his assailant.

Mrs. Bandaranaike and their three children were at his bedside in the General Hospital when he died. It was earlier reported that the Premier's pulse and blood pressure were improving, this giving cause for hope, according to hospital sources. But the end came suddenly.

Mr. Bandaranaike was cheerful to the very end. When the Governor-General visited him at 7 this morning, the Premier told him he would not be able to make his trip to the U.N. and asked him to cancel it.

His doctors said he was very brave and courageous. At 7-35 a.m. he asked his wife: "Sirima, why did that fellow shoot me? Was he really a Buddhist monk?"

Mr. Bandaranaike's body will be in-

tered at his ancestral home in Horogolle, 20 miles from Colombo on Thursday. His remains will lie in State in the House of Representatives from Monday to Wednesday.

*P.T.I.* adds: Milling crowds wended slowly their way this afternoon to Rosemead Place where the body of Mr. Bandaranaike lay in State for his countrymen to pay their last homage.

According to hospital sources, the Prime Minister had the following wounds:

A bullet wound in the left wrist; an entry wound in the right side of the body below the armpit, and an exit wound on the left side near the ninth rib (the bullet is stated to have pierced the liver and spleen and to have perforated the stomach and the intestine in three places); a wound in the chest; an entry wound just below the navel (this bullet perforated the caecum, the junction of the large and small intestines in about four or five places.)

It is thought that the Premier, who recently got rid of the Marxist elements in his Government, was not assassinated for personal motives. His assassin, who was identified as a Lecturer in Indigenous Medicine at the Government Hospital, had boasted that there would soon be a new Government. The monk had often been associated with politically inspired acts of rowdiness.

Simultaneously with the broadcast by Mr. Dahanayake, appealing to the nation to "do whatever little they could to protect our country," a *Gazette Extraordinary* was issued empowering the security forces to arrest any person without a warrant, search any premises and take into custody any article or person in the public interest.

#### **The Moon and Lunik II**

The following news is put on record.

Moscow, Sept. 14.—The Soviet rocket Lunik II has hit the moon, according to officials of the Moscow Planetarium.

The giant radio-telescope at Jodrell Bank, Cheshire, tonight heard the end of signals from Lunik II, suggesting it had hit the moon.

The time was 2½ minutes past 22.00 hours (British summer time).

There was wild excitement in the radio telescope station as the signals stopped and Pressmen raced to give the first news to the world.

The high-pitched signals had come through loudly and clearly since 18-00 G.M.T., when the tracking of Lunik II had been resumed.

The news was given to a cheering crowd outside the Moscow Planetarium shortly after mid-night.

For 20 minutes before the rocket hit the moon radio receivers at the Planetarium had failed to register signals of any strength.

The signals then began to fade badly and shortly afterwards were inaudible altogether. From then on all that could be heard was a lashing noise like an express train.

#### **The Hirakud Project**

*The Statesman* gives the following report:

New Delhi, Sept. 25.—At a high-level meeting here today, the Centre persuaded the Orissa Government to take over the control of the Hirakud project from April 1, next year.

Today's conference was attended by the Orissa Chief Minister, Dr. Mahatab, the Union Minister for Irrigation and Power, Hafiz Mohammed Ibrahim, his Deputy, Mr. Jaisukhlal Hathi and a large number of Union and State officials.

Hirakud is the only multi-purpose project in India built entirely by the Centre. Now that it is almost complete, the Irrigation and Power Ministry has been anxious that Orissa should accept the responsibility of its administration.

The main dam and the power house at Hirakud are ready but the Orissa Government, it is understood, wants to accept the charge only after a second power house at Chhiplima has been completed. This would have spared it the problem of immediately raising finances for Chhiplima and deferred the transfer by at least two years.

#### **NOTICE**

On account of the Durga Puja Holidays The Modern Review Office and Press will remain closed from 8th October to 21st, October, both days included. All business accumulating during the period will be transacted after the holidays.

Kedarnath Chatterji,  
Editor

# ANCIENT INDIAN REPUBLICS

## A Study in Retrospect

BY PROF. C. V. R. RAO, M.A.

THE decade with which the latter half of the twentieth century begins may rightly be called the Age of Republics in that it has seen the dissolution of many monarchies and imperialisms, mainly on the continents of Asia and Africa, resulting in the set up of democratic Governments. The tradition which Megasthenes, in the fourth century B.C., records of the Ancient Indian States that 'Sovereignty was dissolved and democratic Government set up in the cities',<sup>1</sup> rightly applies to the modern nations of the world. The recent Middle-East crisis also originated in the effort of a people to displace the monarchic form of Government that has been there for a long time, with a republican one. It is indisputable that India, by winning her independence and declaring herself a republic after a heroic struggle with the British imperialism for well-nigh a century, gave a lead in rousing this spirit of republicanism among the Asian and the African peoples; and this is in fitness with her ancient republican traditions.

An account of Ancient Indian Republics constitutes an interesting chapter in the Constitutional History of Ancient India. A knowledge of the history of these republics will certainly convince one that the republican or democratic tradition is not alien to the genius of Indian polity. Of course, in Ancient India, this republican tradition did not express itself in such clear terms as it did in the West, in Ancient Greece or Italy. One serious handicap that confronts a student of these Ancient Indian Republics is the paucity of historical material which when compared with the abundance of authentic information that their counterparts in the West possess will be all the more glaring. All that we know about the Indian Republican states is gleaned indirectly from the scrappy references made to them by Greek historians, from certain grammatical rules we find in Panini and his commentators, from religious literature, mainly Jain and Buddhist, and from certain seals and coins available to us and issued by these states. With all the short com-

ings that the subject has the research during the past fifty years of scholars and Indologists like Dr. Jayaswal, D. R. Bhandarkar, Dr. R. C. Majumdar, Dr. U. N. Ghoshal, Dr. A. S. Altekar and a host of others has given us enough material for a connected and presentable history of these ancient institutions.

A note of caution before we take up the history of these ancient institutions: we cannot expect to read into the constitutions and structures of these ancient republics many of the political and legal principles which a modern republic such as our own connotes; if one does the only justification of it will be one's love to give one's own past an added glory in terms of the present. But with the theoretic background and historical evidence we have at our disposal we can certainly describe these ancient Indian states as republics in the same sense in which the ancient states of Greece and Italy were given that designation. At best they were non-monarchical or kingless states (Virats) with a varying degree of sovereign power vested in the popular element, be it the people, representatives of the people, heads of families or guilds or clans, to be brief, with the sovereign power vested not in a single person as in a monarchy, but in a group of persons, more or less numerous.

Ancient Indian Republics definitely came into existence in the post-Vedic period (1000 B.C.). The Vedic form of Government was normally monarchical. But in the Rigveda we come across terms, for example *gana* and *ganapuraka*, which in later times were undoubtedly applied to non-monarchical constitutions; and 'it is not impossible that there were even in this early period the germs of the republican states of the type we meet with in early Buddhist times'.<sup>2</sup>

'Gana' and 'Samgha' are the technical names by which the Hindus designated their republics. At one time the view was expressed that these terms did not indicate a form of Government, but a tribe. But this view is no longer tenable and 'there is ample evidence to

1. Arian, Chap. IX.

2. V. M. Apté: *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, Vol. I, p. 352.

show that even if we grant the Malavas and the Yaudheyas (two republican peoples) were tribes they had also a republican form of Government.<sup>3</sup> Panini (500 or 700 B.C.) differentiating between the meanings of the words 'Samgha' and 'Samghata' says that the word 'Samgha' is in the meaning of 'gana'. In the *Avadanasataka* we have the story that to a query from a ruler of Dakshinapatha, merchants from Madhyadesa reply that 'some countries are under kingly authority and some under the republican authority.' (*Deva kechiddesa ganadhivah kechidrajadhinah*). The Jaina work *Ashtanga Sutra* mentions the republican State (*gana rayani*) as one of the states which a Jaina monk should try to avoid. In Santi-parvan, Chapter 107, of the Mahabharata there is an interesting discussion between Yudhishthira and Bhishma as to the respective causes which contribute to the welfare or downfall of the republics. (*Ganah pravardhante na bhidhyante*). Thus there are numerous instances in our ancient literature where *Samgha* and *gana* definitely refer to a non-monarchical form of government. This is also corroborated by the Greek historians on Alexander's campaigns, who refer to many forms of non-monarchical states in Ancient India and the care with which they distinguish between non-monarchical and monarchical states makes quite untenable the view held by some scholars that the high imagination of the Greeks made them to see Hellenistic forms of government in the institutions of this country.

Kautilya in his Arthasastra divides the *Samghas* into two classes. 1. Rajasabdopajivin *Samghas* and 2. Vartasastropajivin *Samghas*, (same as the *Audhajivi Samghas* of Panini). There is a difference of opinion among scholars on the exact connotation of this nomenclature. After a thorough discussion of the different opinions, Dr. Ghoshal suggests that Vartasastropajivin *Samgha* signifies 'an organised body of men combining the arts of peace and war' and that Rajasabdopajivin *Samgha* signifies 'a political community applying the royal title to its single (or 'multiple') executive head'.<sup>4</sup>

In narrating the history of the various republics it is convenient to start from North-western India and come to North-eastern India, as these were the zones in which republics flourished in historic times. The Punjab and the Indus Valley were pre-eminently the land of republics from 500 B.C. to 400 A.D. Unfortunately in the case of some of these republics we know nothing beyond their names luckily preserved in the rules of some grammarians. To this category belong the Vrikas, the Damani, the Parsva, the Kamboja and a confederation of six states known as Trigartashashta, all of which are mentioned by Panini. The Kasika, composed about a thousand years after Panini, gives these six states of the Trigartashashta as (1) Kaundoparatha, (2) Dandaki, (3) Kraushtaki, (4) Jalamani, (5) Brahmagupta and (6) Janaki. Certain coins of the first century B.C. with the legend *vakaya-janapadasa* in Brahmi and Kharoshti have been attributed to Trigartas.

Among those republics left with a tangible history the Arjunayanas flourished in the region lying West of Agra and Mathura about the Bharatpur and Alwar states of Rajputana from C. 200 B.C. to C. 400 A.D. Their coins, belonging to the closing decades of the first century B.C., bear the legend '*arjunayananam jayah*', in Brahmi script. The Arjunayanas seem to have grown powerful with the gradual decline of the Indo-Greek power about the middle of the first century B.C. They were subdued by the Sakas about the end of the same century. They recovered their independence after the decline of the Kushanas. They were the subordinate allies of the Guptas and are mentioned in the Gupta records of the fourth century A.D. as forming one of their boundary states. The ruling class of the Arjunayanas believed that it is descended from Arjuna, the epic hero. They were on intimate terms with their northerly neighbours the Yaudheyas, who prided themselves as the descendants of Yudhishthira. In the sixth century, Varahamihira refers to the Arjunayanas as an important people of the Northern or North-western division of India.

The Yaudheyas are mentioned in Panini's

3. A. S. Altekar: *State and Government in Ancient India*, Chap. VI, p. 109; Ed. 1958.

4. U. N. Ghoshal: *Studies in Indian History and Culture* (1957), pp. 363-364.

Ashtadhyayi and are classed with the Trigartas and other peoples amongst the *ayudhajivi* Kshatriyas. From the evidence of coins and seals the Yaudheya state appears to be a fairly extensive one. It extended from Saharanpur in the east to Bhawalpur in the west and from Ludhiyana in the north-west to Delhi in the south-east. Yaudheya coins have also been found, recently, in the Dehradun District. An inscription of this people has been found at Bijayagarh lying about two miles to the south-west of Bayana in the Bharatpur State of Rajputana.

The Yaudheyas survived the Maurya and Sunga empires as well as the Satraps and the Kushans. Rudradaman, the most famous among the Satraps, says of them in his Junagadh inscription (A.D. 150), that they grew insubordinate owing to their pride in their valour, respected by all the Kshatriyas. (*Sarvakshatra vishkrita virasabdajatoṣṭe kavidheyanam yaudheyanam*). In the third century A.D., when the Kushanas lost effective control over Western India, the Yaudheyas grew still more powerful. Some scholars hold the opinion that the Yaudheyas were chiefly responsible for destroying Kushana rule from the Punjab. In the Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta (C. 350 A.D.) they are mentioned, along with the Arjunyanas, as one of the boundary states and subordinate allies of the Gupta Emperor. The Yaudheyas are mentioned in the *Puranas*. A later reference to the Yaudheyas is found in the *Brihat-Samhita* which locates them in the North-Western Division of India along with the Arjunyanas.

The tutelary deity of the Yaudheyas was Brahmanyadeva or Karttikeya. It is after the name *mayura* (peacock), the vehicle of Karttikeya, that they were also called Mattamayurakas, (the Mattamayuraka people of Rohitaka or Rohtak). The Yaudheyas are identified with the Johiya Rajputs inhabiting the tract of land called Johiyabar along both banks of the Sutlej on the borders of the Bhawalpur State.

The earliest Yaudheya coins attributed to the first century B.C. bear the legend *bahudhanake yodheyanam*, 'the yodheya people of Bahudhanyaka.' Another type of Yaudheya coins, both in silver and copper and belonging

to the second or third century A.D., was issued in the name of the Brahmanyadeva Kumara, and the legend on them is read as *bhagavataḥ svamino brahmanyadevasya kumarasya yaudheyanam*. Some of the coins bear the representation of the six-headed god Skanda. On some of the coins the god Skanda is found on the obverse while a goddess with six heads, identified with Devasena, the wife of Skanda, is represented on the reverse. A third class of Yaudheya coins in copper, assigned to the third and fourth centuries A.D., bear the legend *Yaudheya ganasya jayah*, 'victory to the republic of the Yaudheyas,' but in some cases we have either *dvi* or *tri* in addition. It is suggested that *dvi* and *tri* are contractions respectively of *dvitiya* and *tritiya* indicating the second and third sections of the Yaudheya tribe. Rohatak or Rohitaka and Bahudhanyaka might have been the centres of administration of two sections of these people. The Bijayagarh inscription of the third century A.D. speaks of a Maharaja Mahasenapati who was placed at the head of the Yaudheya republic. It appears that the head of the Yaudheya State, like that of the Licchavis of earlier times, assumed an unpretentious viceregal title. A large Yaudheya clay seal of about the fourth century A.D., from Ludhiyana, bears the representation of a bull and the legend *yaudheyanam jayamantra dharanam*, 'Yaudheyas who were in possession of a victory charm.'

Some scholars identify the powerful trans-Beas state, referred to by Greek historians, as possessing a fertile land, sound administration and virile subjects, with the Yaudheya republic.<sup>5</sup> According to this identification the Yaudheyas possessed an aristocratic form of government, consisting of five hundred members, each of whom had to supply an elephant to the state. With their reputation for bravery and rich resources they struck a terror into the hearts of Alexander's soldiers with the result the latter refused to advance any further.

The Madras or Madrakas are mentioned

5. A. S. Altekar: *State and Government in Ancient India*, Chap. VI, p. 119; K. P. Jayaswal: *Hindu Polity* (1923), Third Edition, p. 57.

in the Gupta records of the fourth century A.D., along with the Arjunayanas and Yaudheyas as forming one of the subordinate allies of the Gupta Emperor. A branch of the Madrakas known as Uttara-Madras, were the neighbours of Uttara-Kurus and lived in the Himalayan region. Both the Madrakas and the Kurus are listed by Kautilya, under the Rāṣasabdopajivīn Samghas. The Madras are mentioned by Panini also. The Madras proper had their capital at Sakala (modern Sialkot in the Punjab), which later became the capital of the Indo-Greek Empire under Menander. Some scholars identify them with the Kathas whose republic is mentioned by Alexander's historians with its capital at Sankala. No coins of these people have so far been discovered.

The Malavas (Gk. 'Malloi') and the Kshudrakas (Gk. 'Oxydrakai') stand foremost among the republics that offered a formidable resistance to the Greek invader. In the fourth century B.C., the Malavas lived in the land lying north of the confluence of the Ravi and the Chenab and to their south was the territory of the Khudrakas (Montgomery District of the Punjab). They formed a confederation to resist the foreigner. The association of the Malavas and the Kshudrakas is known to the Mahabharata and to the early grammarians, who class these tribes amongst the ayudha-jivins. The army of the two peoples consisted of 90,000 foot-soldiers, 10,000 cavalry and 900 chariots. Before their armies could come together Alexander invaded the Malavas. Eventually both the Malavas and the Kshudrakas were forced to submit to Alexander. The Greek writers tell us that these two nations sent a hundred ambassadors to Alexander to offer terms of peace. Again the same source informs us that after the defeat of the 'Malloi', there came to Alexander from the 'Oxydrakai', the leading men of their cities and the provincial governors besides a hundred and fifty of their most eminent men with full power of concluding a treaty. From this it is inferred that 'the constitutions of the Kshudrakas and the Malavas were both aristocracies of the usual Sangha type with a sovereign assembly limited to the ruling Kshatriya class or caste.'<sup>6</sup> In

capturing one of the forts of Malavas, Alexander met with a grave danger. Alexander was wounded in the breast and was on the point of losing his life, but for the timely rescue by three of his companions. The Kshudrakas were later fully amalgamated with the Malavas. The Malavas migrated to Eastern Rajputana in C. 100 B.C., and to the province of Malava in C. 300 A.D. For a time they were subjugated by the Scythians in the second century A.D., but they reasserted their independence, in the first quarter of the third century. According to the Nandisa (Udaipur) Inscriptions of 226 A.D., freedom and prosperity had returned to the country of the Malavas before that date owing to the brilliant achievements of a Malava chief whose name has not been fully deciphered. The reference seems to be to the success of the Malava people chiefly against the Sakas. The Maukhari Mahasenapati Bala, known from the Badva inscriptions of 238 A.D., probably owed allegiance to the Malava republic.<sup>7</sup> In Rajputana the capital of the Malava republic was Malavanagara identified with modern Nagar or Karkatanagar in Jaipur State. The Malavas are mentioned in the Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta as one of the subordinate allies of the Gupta Emperor. The Malavas are the earliest people to use an era which has been identified with the so-called Vikrama Samvat of 58 B.C. According to some scholars the Malavas themselves started the era to commemorate some important event in their history, probably the foundation of their republic in Rajputana.<sup>8</sup>

The Malavas have left a very copious copper currency. Some of the Malava coins may be assigned to the first century B.C., but most of them are later. One class of coins bear the legend 'jayo malava-

6. U. N. Ghoshal: *Studies in Indian History and Culture*, X, p. 404.

7. *The Age of Imperial Unity*, Chap. XI, p. 163.

8. For a full discussion on the Malava era, Cf. *The Age of Imperial Unity*, pp. 163-165; p. 125; note-1; Chap. X.

nam' or 'malavanam jayah.' A second class bear short legends such as Bhapani-yana, Majupa, Yama, Pachha, Jamaku, etc., the real significance of which is unknown.<sup>9</sup> At Rairh in the Jaipur state some Malava coins have been found together with a lead stamp seal with the legend 'malava-janapadasa.'

At the time of Alexander's invasion, the Sibi people (Gk. 'Siboi'), probably the same as the Sivas of Rigveda, had their capital at Sibipura, modern Shorkot in the Jhang district of the Punjab. Originally they appear to have a monarchical form of government. Their army consisted of 40,000 foot soldiers. They were said to have dressed themselves with the skins of wild beasts and had clubs for their weapons. By C. 100 B.C., the Sibis migrated to Eastern Rajputana, and settled in the district around Madhyamika (Nagari near Chitor), an ancient city known to Patanjali's *Mahabhashya*. A large number of their coins bearing the legend 'Majhamikaya Sibi-janapadasa,' 'of the Sibi commonwealth of Madhyamika' are available.

The Andhaka-Vrishni republic is famous both in history and legend. The Mahabharata tells us that the Andhaka-Vrishnis, the Kukuras, the Yadavas and the Bhojas formed a confederation and accepted the hegemony of Lord Sri Krishna, the Vrishni chief, *yadavaha kukura bhoja sarvechandhakavrishnayah trayyakta mahabaho lokalokesvarascha*). The Andhaka-Vrishni league had two parties in it, each headed by a chief, called Rajanya, with full powers of sovereignty. Ancient literature furnishes us with the names of several of these dual groups of rulers. Kasika speaks of the 'Rajanya' groups of Bini and Vasudeva, Svaphalka and Chitraka. Katyayana in his *Varttika* mentions the Vargas of Akrura and Vasudeva. Vasudeva and Ugrasena Bhabru are mentioned in the Mahabharata as leading their parties. There is an interesting discussion in the *Santiparvan*, Chapter 81 of the Mahabharata between Krishna and Narada, as related by Bhishma, over the affairs of the

Andhaka-Vrishni league. From this discussion we learn that even so astute and tactful a politician like Sri Krishna finds it beyond him to find out a golden mean which would satisfy both the parties. He feels himself like a slave to both the parties (*dasyamaisvaryavadena jnatinam vai karomyaham*) and compares himself to a mother of two gamblers, who can neither wish the victory of the one nor the defeat of the other. (*Soham kitavama-teva dvayorapi Mahamune, naiksyajayamasmse dvitiyasya parajyam*). A few Vrishni coins are found with the legend 'Vrishni-rajanyaganasya'. of the Vrishni Rajanya and gana, in Brahmi script.

The Rajanyas are mentioned by Panini. They probably lived somewhere in Northern or North-Western Rajputana. *Brihat Samhita* places them in the North along with the Yaudheyas and the Trigartas. Coins of the Rajanya janapada with legends either in Brahmi or Kharoshti are assigned to the latter half of the first century B.C.

The Ambashtas (Gk. *Sambastoi* or *Abastanoi*) are mentioned as a political community by Patanjali and the Mahabharata. Curtius, the Greek writer, expressly describes the form of government *Ambashtas* as a democracy. They had an army of 60,000 foot, 6,000 cavalry and 500 chariots, and they elected three generals to oppose Alexander. Eventually they decided to submit to Alexander on the advice of their elders. A later reference is made of *Ambashtas* by Varahamihira in his *Brihat Samhita*.

The Greek historians mention many other republics, viz., *Asiakenoi* (*Hastinayana*), *Parikanioi* (*prakanva*), *Aparytai* (*apritas*), *Ossadioi* (*Vasati*), *Aspasioi* (*Asvayana*), *Assakenoi* (*Asvakayana*) with their capital at Massaga (*Masakavati*). *Agasinae* (*Agra-srenis*), *Xatri* (*Kshatriyas* mentioned by Kautilya), *Adraistai* (*Adhristas?* or *Arattas*, or *Arashtrakas*), and *Glauganikai* (*Glachu kayanaka* mentioned by Kasika). *Glauganikai* consisted of 37 towns each of which had a population between 5,000 and 10,000. Not much is known of the history of these free people except that some of them gave a stout

9. *The Age of Imperial Unity*, p. 165.



resistance to Alexander and had considerable armies. Diodorus speaks of the city of Patala with a political constitution drawn on the same lines as the Spartan. In this community the command in war was vested in two hereditary kings and a Council of Elders ruled the whole state with paramount authority. We also hear of the territories of Brachmanoi and Musican, the exact political nature of which cannot be known.

Coming to the North-eastern zone, we learn from the Buddhist and the Jain texts that numerous republican states existed in North Bihar and the Gorakhpur district of Uttar Pradesh. The Buddhist texts speak of the Sakyas of Kapilavastu, the Mallas of Pava and Kusinara, Lichhavis of Vesali (Vaisali), the Videhas of Mithila, the Koliyas of Ramagrama, the Bulis of Alakappa, the Kalamas of Kesaputta, the Moriyas of Pipphalivana, and the Bhaggas with their capital on Sumsumara Hill. All these republics were strongholds of heterodox religious tenets like Buddhism and Jainism and were connected, in one way or another, with the lives of the great teachers of these religions.

Of the republics mentioned above, excepting the first four in order, what we know of the history of the others is not much. The Koliyas of Ramagrama were the eastern neighbours of the Sakyas, whose territory was bound on the east by the River Rohini. A Buddhist text records in detail a quarrel between the Koliyas and the Sakyas over the use of the waters of Rohini, in the course of which the former taunted the latter with the custom prevalent among them, of marriage with sisters. According to certain texts the Koliyas were closely related to the Sakyas by blood. The police force of the Koliyas had a special head-dress as a distinctive uniform and were notorious for extortion and violence. Like 'Gautama' of the Sakyas the Koliyas had a common surname, Vagghapajja.

The Bhargas are mentioned in the *Ah-tadhyayi* of Panini. The Moriyas are identified with the imperial Mauryas and little is known of their history in the

sixth century B.C. Their capital Pipphalivana probably lay about 50 miles to the west of Kusinagara.

The Mallas are mentioned with such peoples of Eastern India as the Angas, Vangas and Kalingas. We learn from the Jain Kalpasutra that the kingdom of the Mallas consisted of nine territories, each being a member of the confederate state. At the time of the rise of Buddhism, two of these territories were prominent, one with its headquarters at Kusinara and the other with Pava as its chief town. The River Kakustha formed the boundary between these two territories. According to tradition Kusinara was built on the site of the ancient city of Kusavati. Of the two cities Pava and Kusinara, the second has been identified, with reasonable certainty, with Kasia on the smaller Gandak about 35 miles to the East of Gorakhpur, and the first, doubtfully, with the village Padaravana, 12 miles to the North-east of Kasia.

The Mallas and the Lichhavis are mentioned by Manu as Vratya Kshatriyas. The 'Mahaparinibbana Suttanta' calls them Vasetthas (or Vasistas). The Mallas had originally a monarchical form of government, as Okkaka is mentioned in the Kusajataka as a Malla King. The members of the Malla republican assembly called themselves rajas, and Buddhaghosha, also calls them rajas. The Mallas joined hands with the Lichhavis, though the Bhaddasala Jataka gives an account of a conflict between them. Jainism and Buddhism found many followers among the Mallas. From the Jain Kalpasutra we learn that the nine Mallakis were among those that instituted an illumination on the day of the new moon saying 'since the light of intelligence is gone, let us make an illumination of material matter.' The Mallas retained their independence till the death of Buddha for we find both the main sections of the Mallas claiming a share of his bodily remains. They lost their independence not long after Buddha's death and their dominions were annexed to the Magadhan Empire.

Politically the Sakyas were no great power. They derive their great importance

from the fact that Gautama Buddha was a Sakya by birth. They acknowledged the suzerainty of Kosala in the latter half of the sixth century B.C., and were later practically exterminated by the Kosala King, Vidudabha, son of Prasenajit. The Sakyas, like many other republican peoples, originally appear to be a monarchy. They claimed to belong to the solar race and regarded themselves as people of Kosala. The great king Prasenajit took pride in describing himself as a fellow-citizen of Gautama Buddha. But at the time of Buddha they were a Samgha. Their state was bounded on the North by the Himalayas, on the East by the River Rohini and on the West and the South by the Rapti. Their capital Kapilavastu is identified by some with Piprahwa, by others with the ruins at Tilaura Kot about 10 miles North-west of Piprahwa.

There is difference of opinion among scholars as to the exact nature of the Sakyan constitution. Of the Sakyan administration Rhys Davids writes in words that have become classic: The administration and judicial business of the clan was carried in public assembly at which young and old were alike present in their common Mote Hall (Santhagara) at Kapilavastu. It was at such a parliament, or palaver, that King Pasendi's proposition was discussed. When Ambattha goes to Kapilavastu on business, he goes to the Mote Hall, where the Sakiyas were then in session. And it is to the Mote Hall of the Mallas that Ananda goes to announce the death of the Buddha they being then in session there to consider that very matter.

A single chief—how, and for what period chosen, we do not know—was elected as office-holder, presiding over the sessions, and if no sessions were sitting, over the State. He bore the title of raja, which must have meant something like Roman Consul or the Greek archon. We hear nowhere of such a triumvirate as bore corresponding office among the Lichhavis, nor of such acts of kingly sovereignty as are ascribed to the real kings mentioned above. But we hear at

one time that Bhaddiya, a young cousin of the Buddha's, was the raja; and in another passage, Suddhodana, the Buddha's father (who is elsewhere spoken of as a simple citizen, Suddhodana, the Sakiyan), is called the raja.<sup>10</sup> Dr. Jayaswal and Dr. R. C. Majumdar support the view of Rhys Davids. Dr. A. S. Altekar includes the Sakyas in his discussion on 'Republics,' and takes the title raja in the restricted sense where each member of the Kshatriya aristocracy which ruled these Eastern states was entitled to the title. On the other hand D. R. Bhandarkar strongly feels that the Sakyas were a hereditary monarchy. Dr. U. N. Ghoshal after a thorough survey of the different opinions mentioned above pronounces that the Sakyas had 'a mixed constitution combining monarchic with aristocratic elements' or in other words they had a hereditary ruler as well as an assembly.

The Sakyas possessed a number of towns besides the capital. The Sakiyas are said to have comprised 80,000 families, which probably means half a million people.

Of the various republics mentioned by the Buddhist and Jain texts the Lichhavis of Vaisali, and the Videhas of Mithila historically occupy the foremost place. The Vrijian (Vajjian) confederacy consisted of eight or nine clans of which the Videhas, the Lichhavis, the Jantrikas and the Vajjis were the most prominent. This confederation seems to have been formed to resist the onslaughts of the monarchies of Magadha and Kosala. Videha (modern Tirhut) was once a powerful monarchy with Mithila as its capital. It was bounded by the Kausiki in the East, the Ganga in the South, the Sadanira in the West and the Himalayas in the North. Cunningham identifies Mithila with Janakapura, a small town within the Nepal border. Nothing is known of the history of the Videhas after they were conquered by Magadha in 500 B.C.

Some scholars are of the opinion that

10. Rhys Davids: *Buddhist India*, pp. 14-15, Susil Gupta (India) Ltd.

the Lichhavis are of foreign origin, but the Indian tradition represents them as Kshatriyas. The Vajjian confederacy of which the Lichhavis form the most important and powerful confederate member, was an object of special love for Siddhartha. He had great admiration for their unity, strength, noble bearing and republican constitution. He asked the Buddhist monastic assemblies to conduct their affairs on the lines of Vajjian assembly. In a remarkable passage in the Mahaparinibbana Sutta, Buddha states the seven conditions of Vajjian prosperity. 'So long Ananda,' said he 'as the Vajjians hold these full and frequent public assemblies, meet together in concord and carry out their undertaking in concord . . . and act in accordance with the ancient institutions of the Vajjians . . . so long as they know and esteem and revere and support, the Vajjian elders and hold it a point of duty to hearken to their words . . . so long may the Vajjians be expected not to decline but to prosper,' and these very seven conditions, he repeats *mutatis mutandis* to the Buddhist Sanghas for their welfare.

The capital of the Lichhavis was Vaisali. It was also the headquarters of the powerful Vrijian confederacy. It seems to have been formerly under a monarchical form of government. Visala mentioned in the Ramayana was an excellent town (Uttamapuri). The city was rich, prosperous and populous being surrounded by three walls at a distance of a 'gavuta' from one another, each provided with gates and watch towers. It had high buildings, pinnacled houses, lotus ponds, etc.

The Lichhavis were on amicable terms with King Prasenajit of Kosala, and maintained a friendly relationship with their neighbours the Mallas. The Jain books speak of the nine Lichhavis forming a confederacy with the nine Mallas and eighteen ganarajas of Kasi-Kosala. According to tradition, the Vaisalians sent an army to attack Magadha at the time of Bimbisara. (H. T. B. II 66). The Nirayavali Sutra informs us that Bimbisara married a Lichhavi princess named Chellana,

daughter of King Chetaka of Vaisali, whose sister was mother of Mahavira. The matrimonial alliance was according to I. R. Bhandarkar, the result of the peace concluded after the war between Bimbisara and the Lichhavis.

The rivalry between the two states continued in the time of Bimbisara's son Ajatasatru. The Jain texts present Ajatasatru as the conqueror of the powerful political confederacy which dominated Eastern India and comprised 36 republican states, viz., 9 Mallaki, 9 Lichhavi, and 1 gana rajyas of Kasi and Kosala. The overthrow of this confederacy could be achieved only through the conquest of its most powerful member, the Lichchavi republic. The cause of the conflict between the two is differently stated in different texts. According to the Buddhists (Buddhaghosha) a jewel mine was discovered at a sub-montane fort on the Ganga, on which it was agreed that Ajatasatru and the Lichchavis should have an equal share of the gems. The Lichchavis repudiated this agreement and so rose a feud. According to Jain version, the subject of dispute was the Magadha state elephant, 'Seyanaga' and a huge necklace of 18 strings of pearls which were given by Bimbisara to his sons Hala and Vehala, by Chellana. They carried off the elephant and the necklace to Vaisali and sought the protection of their grandfather, against Ajatasatru, claiming that Kunika Ajatasatru, having failed to obtain the extradition of the fugitives peacefully declared war on Chetaka (*no dadyastad yuddhasajjo bhavamiti*). It is further stated that his wife Padmavati incited Ajatasatru to this struggle.

It was not easy to conquer the Lichchavis, who were then at the height of their power as the head of a vast confederacy and could draw upon its collective resources. In fact, King Chetaka, actually called for an assembly of this confederation, including the gana-rajyas (republican chiefs) of Kasi and Kosala to discuss whether they should surrender to Ajatasatru or fight him. On the eve of this great conflict, which created a first class political

cal sensation in the country, even the Buddha detached as he was in his religious eminence from all worldly affairs, felt it his duty to take his proper part in the larger politics of the country. A born democrat and a champion of republican interests he assured the Lichchhavis, the leading democratic state in the country, that it could not be defeated even by a mighty king like Ajatasatru provided it maintained unimpaired all its strong points and factors of national efficiency, mentioned above.

Ajatasatru realised that the only way was by which he could conquer the Lichchhavis was by destroying their inner unity. For this purpose he deputed his minister Vassakara on the iniquitous mission of sowing seeds of disunion among the Lichhavis at Vaisali. Infected by jealousy between different classes, the Lichhavis became a changed people lacking their old social cohesion. Thus the stage was prepared for Ajatasatru's operations against the Lichhavis. The King declared: 'I will root out and destroy these Vajjians mighty and powerful though they be and bring them to utter ruin.' And it was to bring about this utter ruin of the Lichhavis that Ajatasatru built the famous Pataliputra, as Rajagriha was too far interior and remote to be an efficient base of operations against the republic, which was on the other side of the Ganga. After the construction was completed Sunidha and Vassakara invited the Buddha to dinner at their house and named the gate through which Buddha went out of the city as the Gotama Gate and the Ghat from which he was ferried across the Ganga was commemorated as the Gotama Ferry. And it was on this unique occasion that the Lord prophesied that Pataliputra would one day grow to be the chief city of Aryan India and the centre of trade, business and economic prosperity.

In his expedition, Ajatasatru for the first time made use of such strange and secret weapons of war as the Mahasilakantaka 'a kind of catapult hurling heavy pieces of stone' and Rathamusala, 'a chariot which created havoc by wheeling about

and hurling destruction by its attached rods and comparable to the tanks used in the two Great World Wars.' These elaborate military preparations show that the war between Magadha and the Lichhavi republic was a protracted one. The Jain texts indicate a period of more than 16 years for this war. The war which must therefore have lasted from at least 484 to 468 B.C. ended in an outright victory for Ajatasatru and he destroyed the freedom of the city-state of Vaisali, which had given birth to his mother.

The Lichhavis reasserted their independence in c. 300 B.C., during the time of the Nandas, and appear to have maintained their independent status till the advent of the Guptas, and for sometime even afterwards. The marriage of Chandragupta I with the Lichhavi Kumaradevi laid the foundation of the greatness of the imperial Gupta dynasty. We have Gupta gold coins in the joint names of Chandragupta, his queen Kumaradevi and the Lichhavi nation. Chandragupta's son and successor Samudragupta was always careful to describe himself as being the 'son of the daughter of the Lichhavi' a formula implying the acknowledgment that his royal authority was derived from his mother.

We learn from the Ekapanna Jataka that the Lichhavi assembly had 7707 members on its rolls. The relevant passage in the Ekapanna Jataka is 'tatta nichchakalam rajjam kareva vasantanam yeva rajunam sattasahassani sattasatani sattacha rajano honti, tattaka eva uparajano tattaka senapatino tattaka bhandagariko' which Fausboll, in his standard English version, renders as 'in that city there were always seven thousand seven hundred and seven kings to govern the kingdom and a like number of viceroys, generals and treasurers.' Scholars read different meanings into the passage and the number 7707 is differently explained by them, thus giving different interpretations of the Lichhavi state and constitution. Dr. Jayswals's rendering of the passage that 'the rule vested in the inhabitants, 7707 in number, all of whom were entitled to

ruḷa.' They became presidents vice-presidents, commanders-in-chief and chancellors of the Exchequer,<sup>11</sup> makes the Lichhavi state 'a unitary republican state ruled by a select body of hereditary nobles who formed the supreme executive'.<sup>12</sup> Dr. R. C. Majumdar takes these 7707 members as heads of the administrative units into which the Lichhavi state was divided, each of these units being a state in miniature by itself,<sup>13</sup> and thus making it 'a republic of a complex type with each member of the ruling assembly forming a State in miniature and with the assembly itself ruling the whole state under an elected president'.<sup>14</sup> Each of these heads had a viceroy, a general and a treasurer. R. C. Majumdar finds in the Lichhavi constitution a strong resemblance to the Cleisthenian constitution of Athens. D. R. Bhandarkar takes these 7707 members as heads of tribal clan and the Lichhavi gana accordingly, 'federation of chiefs of different tribal clans,' and thus makes it 'a federal state with autonomy for each constituent principality, and supreme control belonging to the Samgha'.<sup>15</sup> Bhandarkar suggests some points of resemblance between the constitution of the Lichhavi Samgha and the confederation of the German states called the German Empire. Dr. A. S. Altekar is of the opinion that 'the Central Assembly of 7707 members of the Lichhavis or 5,000 of the Yaudheyas probably consisted of the descendants of the founder members of the privileged aristocracy, who were all entitled to the honorific title raja. Some of them stayed at the capital and some were scattered in moffusil or serving there as important government officers'.<sup>16</sup> Dr.

Ghoshal takes the passage as suggesting that '7707 nobles lived at the capital exercising sovereign authority for life' and that 7707 was 'the number of foundation families of nobles taking up their residence at the capital'. In the passage 'Vasaliani kira Lichhavi rajunam sattasahasani satta satani satta ca lichhavi vasimsu', found in the preamble to the Chullakalinga jataka, he finds a partial corroboration of this explanation.<sup>17</sup>

Individual liberty was held in high esteem among the Vajjis. There was a parody in *Lalita Vistara* that among the Vaisalians each one feels himself a raja and that the difference in age and rank was not respected (nochcha madhya vrid-dha jyeshtanupalita, ekaika eva manyate aham raja aham rajeti). Buddhaghosha's commentary on Mahapaninibbana Sutta gives us an unique account of Vajjian judicial administration. The veracity of Buddhaghosha's account is doubted by some scholars as Buddhaghosha wrote the account eight centuries after the fall of the Vajjis and as the account is not testified by any other extant source Buddhaghosha calls his account 'porana vajjidhamma.' According to this account, among the Vajjis an accused could obtain his freedom by proving his innocence in any of the seven judicial tribunals, namely, Vinichchayamahamattas, Voharikas, Suttadharas, Atthakulakas, Senapati, Uparaja and the raja, each of a higher and appellate authority over the preceding one.

We know of certain political and social conventions that were then in vogue among the Lichhavis from the stories of 'Senapati Khanda' and the Courtesan 'Amrapali' found in the Vinaya book called *Chivarivastu*. At that time Vaisali was divided into three wards—the good, the intermediate and the bad. There was a rule governing the matrimonial relations among these wards. A girl of the first ward could be given in marriage only in first ward and not in any other, and one born in the second ward could be given in that ward and the first, and a girl

11. K. P. Jayaswal: *Hindu Polity* (1923), Third Edition, p. 45.

12. U. N. Ghoshal: *Studies in Indian History and Culture*, p. 383.

13. R. C. Majumdar: *The Age of Imperial Unity*, p. 332; *Corporate Life in Ancient India*, pp. 93-94.

14. A. S. Altekar: *State and Government in Ancient India*, Ch. VI, p. 125. Ed. 1958.

15. U. N. Ghoshal: *Studies in Indian History and Culture*, p. 384.

16. V. A. Smith: *Ancient and Hindu India*, p. 47; (Oxford, 1923.)

17. K. P. Jayaswal: *Hindu Polity*, Ch. XXI.

born in the third ward could be given away in any of the three wards. A gem of a girl born in any ward became the property of the gana. In connection with the last clause we are told that Mahanama, a Vaisalian, had an exceptionally beautiful daughter by name Amrapali. He asked the permission of the gana to allow him to give her in marriage to a young man of his own social status. But the gana reminded him of the rule and insisted upon its observance and Amrapali submitted to its decision.

Coming to the story of Khanda, Khanda had been the Chief Minister of the King of Videha. He was driven by the unjust suspicion of his master to seek political asylum at Vaisali. The Lichhavi gana permitted him to reside in the first ward of the city in view of his high birth. Eventually, recognising the outstanding ability and long experience of Khanda in matters of State, the Vaisali gana sought his advice in matters of the gana and finally elected him as its Senapati. After Khanda's death, his younger son, Simha was elected as Senapati in preference to the elder son Gopa, in recognition of the former's superior abilities.

In the same *Chivarivastu* we have the following story: The king of Kosala besieged, Kapilavastu, the capital city of the Sakyas, and sent a messenger asking for its surrender. Then the Sakyas said 'let us all assemble and deliberate whether we shall open the gates.' When they had assembled some said, 'open them' others advised not doing so. Some said, 'as there were various opinions we will find out the opinion of the majority.' So they set about voting on the subject. This story together with that of Senapati Khanda, narrated above, gives an inkling of the deliberative procedure of the ganas. The ganas had a full and free discussion over critical and important issues that affected the state or the society. In case of difference of opinion they resorted to voting to find out the opinion of the majority. The gana had the full right to elect its office-bearers.

We lack authentic historical material to know about the deliberative procedure of the ganas. But in Buddhist religious texts

we have a copious mass of literature describing about the deliberative procedure of the Buddhist Samghas. Scholars surmise that Buddhist Samgha is a replica of the political Samgha and the regulations of the democratic government of the Samghas are identical with the democratic constitution of the republican states. We have a striking confirmation of this presumption in a famous passage of the Pali canon, where the Buddha, after specifying seven conditions of welfare of the Vajji republican Samgha, proceeds immediately to apply them *mutatis mutandis* to his own Samgha. On this surmise is based the following brief account of the deliberative procedure of the ganas.

As we find in the legislative assemblies of today the gana assemblies followed the rule of quorum. For any act (kamma) to be valid not less than a certain number of the members (4, 5, 10, 20 or more according to the nature of the acts) should be present. It was the duty of the 'ganapuraka,' who acted as the whip of the assembly to see to the completion of the quorum. There was another officer by name Asanapannapaka (Sergeant-at-arms) to regulate the seats of the members. The proposed act went by the name 'kamma vacha' and putting it in the form of a resolution before the assembly 'natti' or 'jnapti,' and reading it before the assembly for discussion 'Anusravana.' When the reading was made, before the act passed the assembly, only once, it was called 'nattidutiya' and when read thrice it was called 'natti chatuttha kamma.' Any deviation from this procedure invalidated the act. Those members who agreed with the resolution remained silent and those who disagreed made speeches opposing it.

Vote was called 'chhanda.' In case of difference of opinion the assembly resorted to voting, provision being made for the absentee members to vote. The opinion of the majority known as 'yebhuyyasikam' was respected. The voting was carried on with the help of voting tickets called 'Salakas' and the voting was called 'Salakagrahana.' There was a teller, 'Salakagrahaka,' appointed by the whole samgha. There were three methods of voting. (1)

Gulhaka or vote by ballot. (2) Vivataka or open method. (3) Sakanna jappaka or the whispering method in which the Salaka-grahaka went to every member and recorded his opinion. Critical issues were referred to committees known as 'ubba-hika' and the decision of the committees went by the name 'Adhikaranasamata.' Thus the deliberative procedure in these ancient assemblies, with its precisely defined technical terms, resembled in many ways the one followed in our modern legislative assemblies.

After the gloriouſ age of the Guptas, we no more hear of the republics. To any student of the history of these republics the question is apt to arise, what were the causes that led to the complete decay of the republican tradition, in Northern India? Vincent Smith held the opinion that republican tradition was alien to the genius of Indian polity, and propounded his theory of the Mongolian origin of the Ancient Indian peoples. According to this theory these peoples were 'hillmen of the Mongolian type akin to the Tibetans,' who 'formed a large percentage in the population of Northern India during the centuries immediately preceding and following the Christian Era', and that 'Gautama Buddha the sage of the Sakyas and the founder of the historical Buddhism, was a Mongolian by birth, that is to say a hill-man like a Gurkha with Mongolian features and akin to the Tibetans.' But this Mongolian theory, Dr. Jayaswal has conclusively proved, rests on a series of far-fetched arguments and is contradicted by authentic texts. Historical facts are not lacking to explain the downfall and decay of these ancient Indian republics, and may be treated under the heads (1) Internal dissensions, (2) Aggression by other states, (3) Foreign invasions and (4) Tradition and development of polity before and after the existence of the republics.

Internal dissensions which have always been a sufficient cause for the downfall of many a kingdom and dynasty that made the history of India, seems to have had a large hand in seeing to the end of these republics. This is testified by various refer-

ences in our literature. After the demise of Lord Krishna, we learn the Andhaka-Vrishni federation saw its end mainly on account of internal feuds, lack of proper leadership and want of respect to elders. Even Buddha while convinced of the inherent strength of a democratic constitution was not oblivious of its two chief dangers, viz., disunion and the tendency of the younger section to disregard the elders and established usages and favour sweeping changes of a radical character. These dangers of the republican states are given a more eloquent expression in Ch. 107 of Santiparvan in the Mahabharata which offers suggestions for remedying them. The Mahabharata warns the ganas against internal dissensions compared with which external fear is nothing ("abhyantharabhyam rakshyamasaram bahyato bhayam; abhayantaram bhayam rajan' sadyo mulani krintati"). Hence it recommends forbearance and toleration as the guiding principles of members, and the formation of a small cabinet of select leaders for the preservation of secrecy. 'The gana leaders,' it says, 'should be respected as the worldly affairs depend to a great extent upon them. The spy and the secrecy of counsel should be left to the chiefs, for it is not fit that the entire body of the gana should hear those secret matters.' The ganas are torn asunder by the enemies . . . by creating dissensions and offering bribes; so it is said that unity is the chief refuge of the ganas. The passage shows a profound comprehension of the essential features of a democratic constitution. As we have already seen, the Lichhavis, at a time when they should have given an active and united resistance to Ajatasatru, were torn into two parties, and gave themselves to a wordy warfare as to which of the parties should go first and strike the enemy. We have also seen the efforts made by Ajatasatru to sow the seeds of disunion among the Lichhavis, a policy later advocated by Kautilya, and followed by the Mauryas. Kautilya gives a lurid account of the means, fair or foul, by which destruction of the republics can be wrought.

Aggression by the neighbouring monar-



chical states, contributed not in a little way to the extirpation of the republics. We have seen how Ajatasatru gave a deadly blow to the power of the Lichhavis, after which the latter could not revive for a long time to come. Videhas and the Mallas also were victims of Magadhan imperialism and they were completely incorporated in the Magadhan Empire. We learn that Vidudabha who succeeded Prasenajit as the king of Kosala, learning of the fraud practised by the Sakyas in respect of his mother, who was really a slave girl, but offered to Prasenajit as the legitimate daughter of the Sakya race, invaded Sakya country and massacred the Sakya clan, which virtually brought about the end of the famous autonomous people. In later times we learn that the Yaudheyas were subjugated, though temporarily, by the Kushans and Western Kshatrapas, and later along with Arjunayanas and the other republican people had to yield to the Gupta Emperor.

The Macedonian invasion caused much havoc among the republics of the North-West, while some of the republics like the Malavas, Kshudarakas and Sibis, after being defeated by Alexander, migrated to new homes in search of independence many others succumbed to the ruthless invasion.

Another important factor for the disappearance of the republics may be observed in the tradition and development of Hindu polity. Even before republics came into existence, from the oldest Vedic times, monarchy had been fixed as the ideal type of polity in the ideas and institutions of the Hindu people. This tradition in subsequent times gathered an additional strength in the authoritative works of 'Arthasastrakaras' and 'Smritikaras,' with their views of the triple basis of king's authority in his origin, his office and his functions and the king as the apex of the state structure. In the centuries immediately before and after Christ there is noticeable in the contemporary literature and inscriptions a general tendency of the republics towards concentration of politi-

cal authority in the hands of a select few, or even of an individual military leader. The Nandsa Inscriptions show that early in the third century the leadership of the Malavas had already begun to pass into hereditary families, which were claiming to be as respectable as the Ikshvaku race. The leaders of the Yaudheyas had assumed the titles of Maharajas and Mahasenapatis in the fourth century A.D. The Lichhavis, who were powerful in the fourth century A.D., formed matrimonial alliances with the Gupta Kings, and seem to have slowly yielded to the monarchical tradition. Moreover, in Ancient India, the instances where kings did not act up to the high ideals in which the people conceived them, in a fixed setting of society were very few; and one need not wonder that after a line of benevolent monarchs as the Guptas, the republican tradition was lost and forgotten among the Indian people. In this respect we may profitably compare the fortunes of the Ancient Indian republics with those of their European counterparts. After the downfall of the republican constitution, till the formation of the French revolutionary republic towards the end of the eighteenth century, the main political tradition of Europe was monarchical. And the record of the Ancient Indian monarchies does not suffer greatly in comparison with that of their western counterparts. It may not be wide of the mark to suppose that the republican tradition, which might have started in the wake of a new religious tradition, in the sixth century B.C., opposed to the old Vedic authority, should have met with natural disappearance when the old tradition and authority once again reasserted with a new vitality, in the Gupta age. Republican form of Government could function only when the state was small and frequent meetings of the assembly consisting practically of all the senior members of the state were possible. But with the growing size of the states and with the principle of representation unknown, the republican form as in Greece and Italy, had to be naturally replaced by the monarchical one. It is clear that the com-

plete replacement of the republics by India, was purely due to a train of monarchies, resulting in the complete historical circumstances, as was the case decay of republican tradition in Northern in the west.

## THE STORY OF BANDE MATARAM SEDITION TRIAL (1907)

By

PROF. HARIDAS MUKHERJEE

and

PROF. UMA MUKHERJEE

The year 1907 witnessed in India a fierce battle between the people on the one hand and the bureaucracy on the other. At the Calcutta Congress of 1906 the Moderates were put on the defensive and the Extremists came out triumphant. Although no open split between the two wings of the Congress had taken place, the inner differences between them were rapidly increasing. The Moderates had accepted at Calcutta the revolutionary resolutions passed under Extremist pressure with great mental reservation and only wished to get them cancelled at the first suitable opportunity. And this inspired their whole course of policy and action during the year 1907 when both the Moderates and the Extremists were busy in organising forces in their favour. Apart from this internal division in the Congress, there were looming on the horizon two other grave dangers. The bureaucracy was out to crush by every possible means the nationalist movement of India. The Moderates were pampered and sought to be rallied to the Crown, while the Muslims were promised extra-ordinary things and set against the Hindus, for the Hindus at that time stood in the vanguard of the national movement. Under these circumstances the Extremist need for more thorough-going and effective propagandism in the country was realised greater than ever. *Bande Mataram* and other Extremist organs, consequently, undertook this task as a sacred religious duty. The policy of the bureaucracy constantly came in for sharp criticism in these Extremist papers. To counteract this menacing development every possible point in the existing laws was pressed to the utmost and new "re-

pressive measures of considerable potency" were hurried through the Imperial Legislative Council.

From the middle of 1907 severe press prosecutions were set on foot by the Government, to which *Yugantar* fell the first notable victim in Bengal and *Bande Mataram* the second. Brought into being in early August, 1906, through the creative enthusiasm of Bipin Chandra Pal, it soon passed into the hands of Aurobindo Ghosh from the middle of December of the same year. Under Aurobindo's control and guidance *Bande Mataram* soon became the mightiest mouthpiece of Indian nationalism in its broadest sense. It not merely preached patriotism as supreme religion and the cult of "complete independence" outside the orbit of British imperialism but also developed a new technique of political struggle known as "passive resistance." Its merciless exposure of the alien bureaucracy and its vigorous dissemination of radical ideologies alarmed the Government out of all proportion to the situation. On 8th. June, 1907 the Government warned the Editor of *Bande Mataram* "for using language which is a direct incentive to violence and lawlessness." S. Hemendra Prasad Ghosh records that on July 30 the *Bande Mataram* office was searched by the Police Superintendent Ellis. This was followed on the same date by the issue of a warrant of arrest against Aurobindo Ghosh, supposed to be the Editor of *Bande Mataram*, for reproducing the translations of certain articles (July 26) for which *Yugantar* was prosecuted and for publishing the alleged article "India for the Indians" (June 27). On the same charges two other warrants were also issued on

August 17 against Hemendra Prasad Bagchi and Apurba Krishna Bose, the Manager and the Printer and Publisher of the paper respectively. It may be noted here that one of the charges, viz., the publication of the article "India for the Indians" was wrongly stated. The actual name of the article was "Politics for Indians" which was a mere communication from a correspondent, and the mistake was rectified by the Court on August 23.

Aurobindo was arrested on August 16 and the Manager and the Printer on August 19 and August 21 respectively. From the reports of the *Bengalee* (August 18, 1907) we learn that at about 11 A.M. on August 16 a Detective Officer went to the *Bande Mataram* office and informed it that a warrant had been issued for the arrest of Aurobindo Ghose. On receiving the information at his residence, Aurobindo voluntarily presented himself before the Detective Police Office at Royd Street at about 9-30 P. M. He was at once arrested by Inspector Purna Chandra Lahiri and taken to the Poddapukur Thana. On the following day (August 17) Aurobindo was released on bail. Principal Girish Chandra Bose and S. J. Nirode Chandra Mallick stood sureties for him Rs. 2,500 each.

The chief object of the bureaucracy in undertaking this case was to silence the voice of Aurobindo, the real controlling spirit behind *Bande Mataram*, and to remove the man who had been preaching discontent and sedition against the Government with unflinching candour, from the political arena. In the prosecution thus started, Bipinchandra was summoned as a witness to the Court of Mr. Kingsford, the Chief Presidency Magistrate, for identifying a letter under his signature written on May 26, 1907 to Aurobindo Ghose. But in the Court before the trying Magistrate Bipinchandra stoutly refused to answer any question put to him on the simple ground that the prosecution was "unjust and injurious to the cause of popular freedom" (August 26 and 29, 1907). For his conscientious objections to swear or take any part in these proceedings he fell a

victim to the charge of Contempt of Court and he was consequently sentenced to six months' simple imprisonment (September 10, 1907—March 9, 1908).

The *Bande Mataram* prosecution of which Bipinchandra's incarceration was merely a side issue, dragged on for some time until it "ended in the most complete and dismal fiasco such as no Indian Government has ever had to experience before in a sedition case." Every possible point as well as scrap of evidence against Aurobindo was pressed to the utmost alike by the Police and the Standing Counsel; "yet with all this they were unable to bring forward a single scrap of convincing evidence to prove that the particular man they were bent on running down was the Editor." Consequently Aurobindo was acquitted. On September 23, 1907 the judgement of the trying Magistrate was announced. The Magistrate, in his judgment, observed that *Bande Mataram* was not habitually seditious. "There is no evidence before me," said he, "to indicate that the *Bande Mataram* habitually publishes seditious matter and I must therefore assume that the articles charged form an exception to its general tone."

The Magistrate further observed that the evidence against Mr. Ghose was to the effect that "Aurobindo is a share-holder in the paper, that he took the chair at a preliminary meeting held in October, the minutes of which show that he and Bepin Chandra Pal were appointed Joint Editors, and that a notice was printed in the issue of the paper of 12th December to the effect that Aurobindo was the Editor, that this was followed on the 17th December by another notice announcing that Bepin Chandra Pal had terminated his connection with the paper, that Aurobindo was in Calcutta from April to July and was attending the *Bande Mataram* office, that his name was entered at the head of the Editorial staff in the pay Register for January, February, March, which entries were subsequently erased and that he received a sum of Rs. 50 in payment for services in July. There is further the evidence of Anukul who was a member of

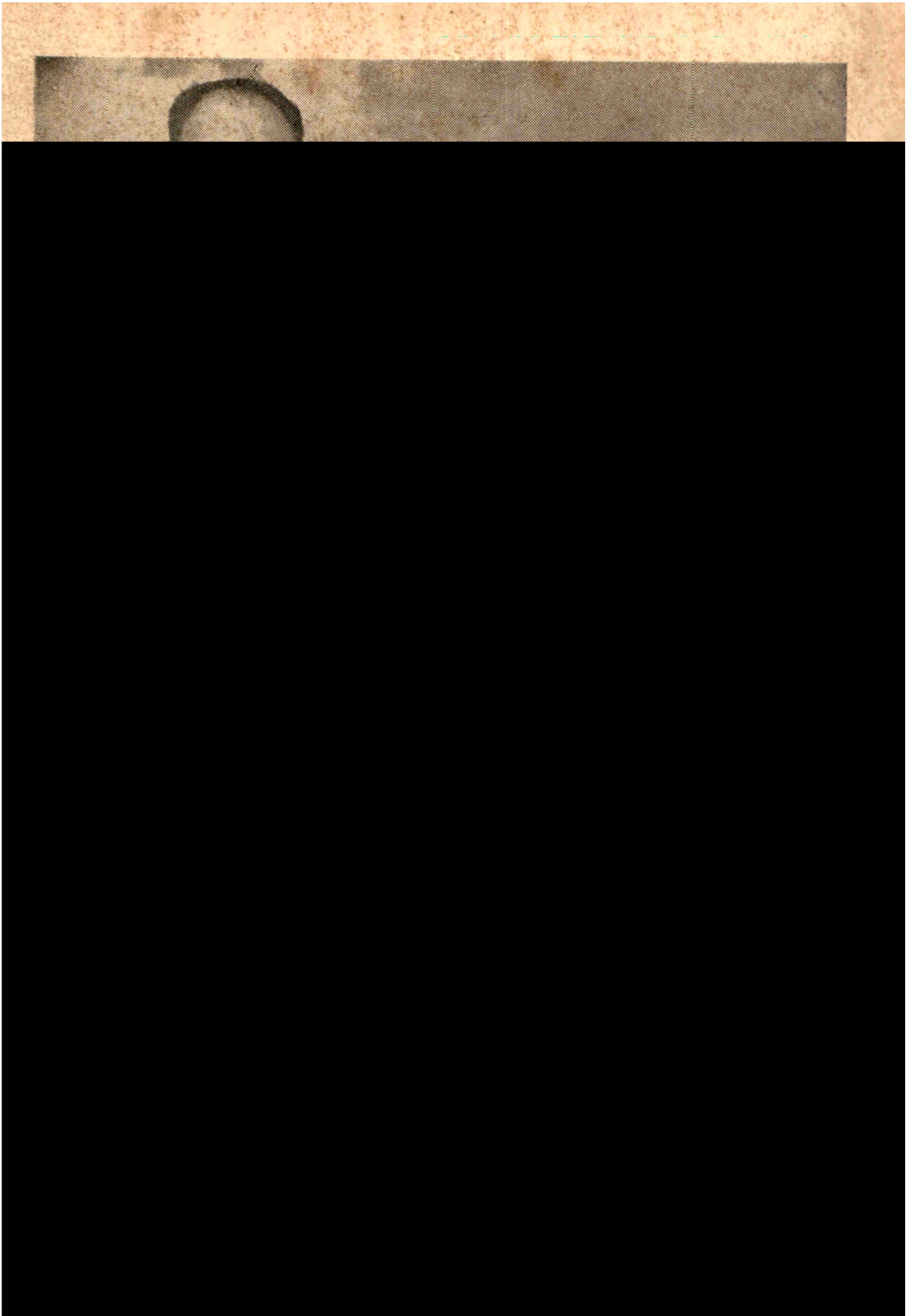
Editorial staff to the effect that Aurobindo was the Editor." Every bit of this evidence was put to minutest examination and found to be "inconclusive," either consisting of "a vague assertion" or supporting "the defence contention that Aurobindo is only a member of the editorial staff." Consequently the Magistrate announced the acquittal of Aurobindo, but declared at the same time that "the case affords a curious instance of the inadequacy of the existing law to deal with sedition." There was also no convincing evidence against the Manager that he was aware of the contents of the charged articles, and so, he also was acquitted. But as against the Printer and Publisher Apurba Krishna Bose the evidence was regarded as clear and conclusive. "Publication of the articles," said the trying Magistrate, "has been proved and under the Press Act there is a statutory liability which amounts to this that Apurba having declared himself under the provisions of the Press Act to be the Printer and Publisher of this paper he is to be held to have printed and published every portion of the same. . . . The provisions of the Press Act were designed in order to place the responsibility upon the declarant and it must therefore be held that it is his duty to know what is passing through his hands and the presumption is that the duty is performed. Apurba must accordingly be convicted." Thus the Printer Apurba was sentenced to three months' rigorous imprisonment.

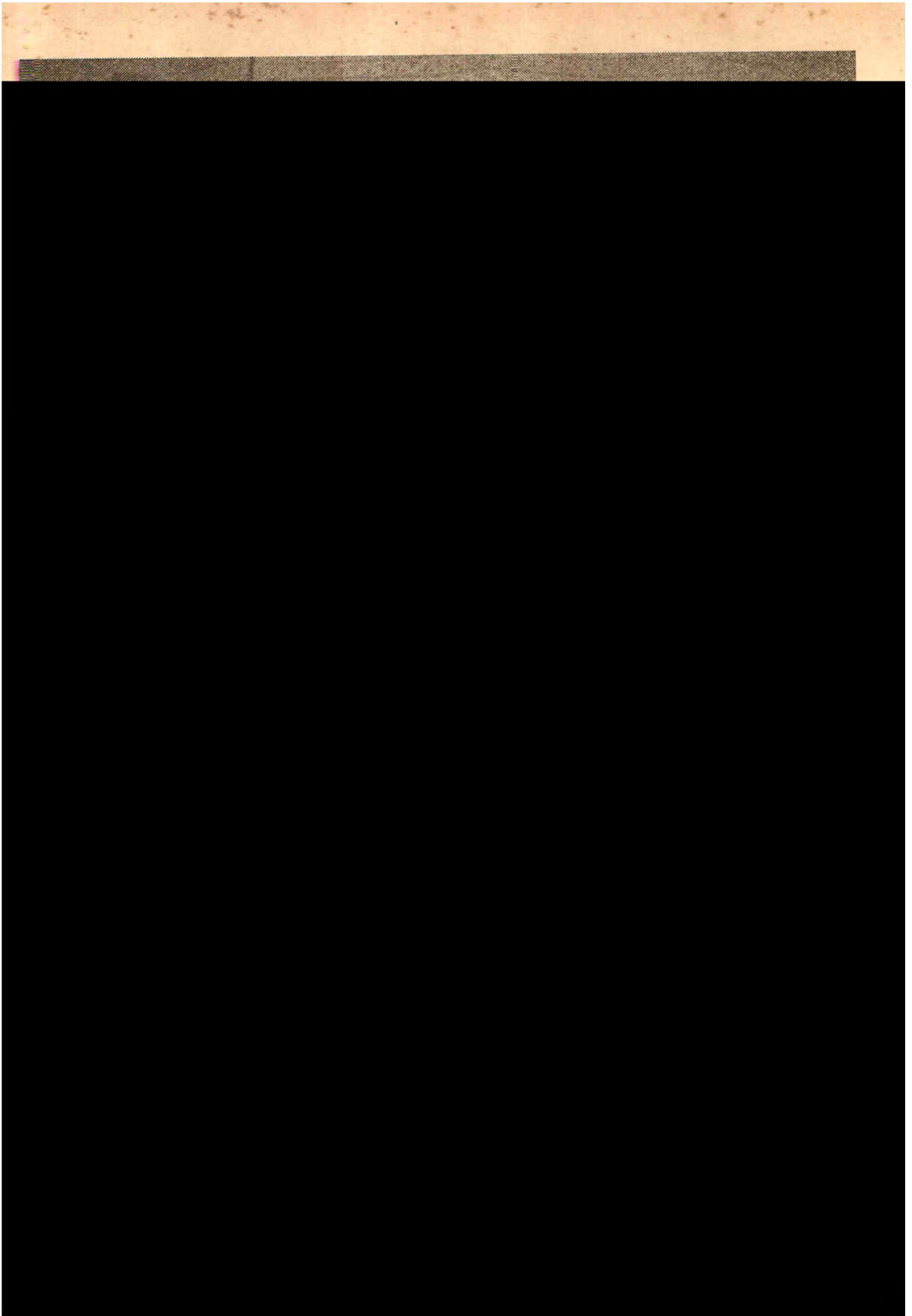
After his acquittal Aurobindo in a brilliant editorial in *Bande Mataram* (B.M., V.E. September 29, 1907) sarcastically commented: "Their prey escaped them; the Manager who seems to have been arrested on spec., and tried without even any pretence that there was any evidence against him was acquitted, and only an unfortunate Printer who knew no English and had no notion what all the pother was about, was sent to prison for a few months to vindicate the much-damaged majesty of the almighty bureaucracy."

The complete collapse of the *Bande Mataram* prosecution as well as the acquittal of Aurobindo Ghose, while immeasur-

ably disgracing the bureaucracy, filled the people with immense joy and imparted a new impetus to the nationalist movement everywhere in India. The *Punjabee* in an article on "Moral of the 'Bande Mataram' Prosecution" observed that "as in Bipin Babu's case, so in this, the punishment will be associated in the public mind not with criminality of the accused, but with their unpopularity with the Government. Such prosecutions defeat their own purpose, and aggravate disaffection against the Government instead of allaying it."

In connection with Aurobindo's acquittal there was a *Harir loot* at the *Sandhya* office in Calcutta. Sweetmeats were distributed among all present there. "In some Journals," wrote Upadhyaya Brahmanbhab in *Sandhya* (September 25, 1907), "Kazi Kingsford has been praised on account of the acquittal of Aurobindo. . . . But this acquittal is not due to the claims of justice; pressure was put from above, and therefore there was no other alternative than to cry *bap* and to acquit. . . . The wet cat of the *Statesman* is very indignant at the acquittal of Aurobindo Babu. The wet cat goes the length of saying that it was very wrong to escape by such a policy of secrecy and concealment. Oh, Yes, indeed! the Feringhis are almost our father's *summundis* (wife's brothers—a vulgar term of abuse) that we must tell them all our secrets. You *betas* (fellows), you have not yet known us well. You will see to what a plight we reduce you. We shall make you drink *ghol* (whey) in as many ways as we can (to make one drink *ghol* is to harass one). At one time we shall deal you direct blows (literally blows that cut to the root) and at others we shall kick you backwards and run away laughing merrily. The *Bande Mataram* newspaper has pulled you by both your ears, and slapped both your cheeks and made fools of you in the midst of the market place. And the *Sandhya* with a long bamboo will place you on the monument." (*Vide* our works on Sri Aurobindo's *Political Thought* and Bipin Chandra Pal and *India's Struggle for Swaraj* for a fuller discussion of the role played by *Bande Mataram* in the history of India's Freedom Movement).





## INDIAN BRAND OF SOCIALISM

### Economic Aspect

By PROF. BHUBANESHWAR PRASAD, M.A.

To quote Ludwig Vonmises, socialism is the watchward and the catchward of our day. It has set its seal upon our time. It is no longer confined to ideals of a few revolutionaries, it has already conquered half of the world. Soviet Russia, People's China, East European countries like Czechoslovakia, Poland, Hungary, Yugoslavia, etc., and now socialistic India together constitute more than half of the population of the world. In India, since the slogan "Socialistic pattern of society" uttered by our Prime Minister, the idea has caught our imagination and it now dominates our spirit and mind. The idea has three stages of its development: (a) first, socialism, (b) second socialist and then, (c) third, socialistic. Utopian socialists, Owen and Fourier, scientific socialists, Marx and Engels, Lenin and Stalin and a host of their followers all the world over used the words "Socialism" and "Socialist Society." Our Prime Minister, for the first time, coined the new words, "Socialistic pattern of Society"—a third diminutive of "Socialism," the second being socialist. These words are significant in themselves, as they convey an idea of a society something like socialist but not a socialist cent per cent as is commonly understood in the west. It is therefore surely necessary to know what this third stage diminutive form "Socialistic Pattern" of Socialism means in India in her present economic, social and political background.

#### Doctrinaire Socialism

The first authoritative discussion of modern Socialism is to be found in the Communist Manifesto written and published by Marx and Engels in 1848. The foundation of Marxian Socialism lay in their concept of 'materialistic' interpretation of history, according to which (a) the history of all hitherto existing society was

the history of class struggles, (b) the executive of modern state was but a committee for managing the common affairs of the whole bourgeoisie, (c) the proletariat alone was really a revolutionary class. Elements of socialism were regarded as completely absent in the personalities of capitalists and (c) the lower strata of the middle class—small traders, shopkeepers, and retired tradesmen generally, the handicraftsmen and peasants—all these sank gradually into the proletariat. To set up a socialist society, in which class antagonisms and class divisions will be conspicuous by their absence, measures prescribed were: (a) the forcible seizure and wielding of the state power, the shield of the bourgeoisie, by Proletarian Revolution and Dictatorship, (b) abolition of private property—its class character by its socialisation, and (c) abolition of capitalist stagnation by socialistic dynamism in the form of change from chaotic and atomistic use of the means and instruments of production, motivated by personal and private profit, into a deliberately planned and purposeful use of means and instruments of production, motivated by social gain, in order to put an end for ever the exploitation of man by man to raise his standard of living. It will put an end to commodity production, and therewith to the domination of the product over the producer<sup>1</sup>, (d) abolition of the anti-thesis between town and country and between mental labour and physical labour; and (e) replacement of the law of value by social demand as the regulator of the economy;

1. Engels wrote: 'The seizure of the means of production by society puts an end to commodity production and therewith to the domination of the product over the producer.'—Stalin: *Economic Problem of Socialism*, p. 13.



(c) replacement of the old culture by a new culture in which 'labour' becomes not only a means of living, but itself the first necessity of life.<sup>2</sup>

Besides, there is a number of definitions of Socialism given by different writers, viz., Morrison, Sweezy, Schumpeter, Ludwig, Vonmises, Emmile Burns, H. Smith, T. J. B. Hoff, etc.<sup>3</sup>

Morrison's definition is vague as it does not draw a line of demarcation between the big industries which are to be nationalised and the small which are not to be nationalised. Where to stop the process of Nationalisation? Sweezy's definition is more comprehensive but it conveys only the economic aspect of the socialist order. He has defined socialism as a social system which is differentiated from other social systems by the character of its property relations which are expressed in terms of private ownership, of the means of consumption and social ownership of the means of production. Schumpeter's emphasis is on the state control over the means of production and over

production. But socialisation of the means and instruments of production which includes both ownership and control is not the same thing as the state control of the means of production.

Whatever be the minor differences between the different definitions of socialism, there is no disagreement as regards the chief features of the socialist society. That is they are: (1) abolition of private property, (2) socialisation of the means and instruments of production, and (3) centralised planning which leads to the establishment of a classless society through violent Proletarian Revolution and dictatorship. From these features there arise some important questions: (a) Should the society seize all or only a part of the means of production? (b) Is socialism opposed to any and every kind of private property? (c) Should it be achieved only through violent proletarian revolution or through democratic and constitutional means? (d) Should there be only one road or many roads to Socialism?

### Socialism in Practice

2. Emile Burns: *What is Marxism?*, p. 63.

3. Morrison: 'The important essentials of Socialism are that all the great industries and the land should be owned publicly or collectively and that they should be conducted (in conformity with a national economic plan) for the common good instead of for profit.'—Pigou: *Socialism vs. Capitalism*, p. 7.

Sweezy: 'Socialism is a complete social system which differs from capitalism not only in the absence of private ownership in the means of production but also in its basic structure and mode of functioning.'—*Socialism*, p. 5.

Schumpeter: 'Socialist society is an institutional pattern in which the control over means of production and over production itself is vested with a central authority.'—*Capitalism, Socialism, and Democracy*, p. 167.

Ludwig Vonmises: 'By socialism is understood the socialisation of the means of production with its corollary, the centralised control of the whole of production by one social or more accurately, state organ.'—*Socialism*, p. 15.

T. J. B. Hoff: 'A socialist society is one organised to avoid or minimise economic problems.'—*Economic Journal*, Sept., 1955, p. 416.

Russia was the first country to experience a socialist upheaval in 1917. From 1917 to 1926 several times she had to vary her economic position in regard to the private ownership of the means and instruments of production and the consequent socialisation thereof. During the first period, that is, the period of worker's control from November, 1917 to July, 1918, private ownership and control was put under state regulation. The producers were asked to produce what the country needed them to produce.

As a result of this policy production fell all round and indiscipline prevailed among the workers. To crown all, there were counter-revolutions and civil war directed to strangle the newly-born baby of Soviet revolution. Hence from July 1918, to 1920 military necessity made it necessary to introduce the Economic Policy of War Communism which meant (a) nationalisation of large-scale as well as small-scale industries, (b) com-

ulsory appropriation by state of agricultural surpluses from the peasantry and (c) introduction of universal labour service.<sup>4</sup> This political situation was at the bottom of the most part of nationalisation policy. War Communism was a set of urgency measures—a temporary deviation from the national course. It was an empirical creation not as a-priori product of theory; it was an improvisation in face of economic necessity and military urgency in conditions of exhausting civil war.<sup>5</sup>

As it was a temporary measure,<sup>6</sup> the fast spreading tide of Nationalisation and Agricultural Appropriation Act was turned from left to right to the task of peaceful economic construction under the new economic policy in 1921, by which time the Red Army was a complete success in routing the counter-revolutionary forces. According to this policy, Agricultural Appropriation Act was replaced by Agricultural Grain Tax, after the payment of which the entire agricultural produce was to be at the full disposal of the peasantry, to sell freely if they choose.

This meant re-introduction of free trade in agriculture after the payment of government's share in the form of Grain tax. In the field of industries, money and

banking systems were re-introduced and private initiative was encouraged. As many as 4,000 industrial concerns were denationalised and were either returned to their former owners or leased to co-operatives or private entrepreneurs. Only the large and important enterprises remained in the ownership and control of the state. Some of the existing enterprises were leased to foreign entrepreneurs and concessions were granted to them for certain new productions while others were organised as Mixed Enterprises with State and Private capital. The NEP was hailed in the bourgeois world as a retreat toward Capitalism. But as Lenin said, it was only one step backward for two steps forward, which were amply supported by its results. Although, 84½ per cent of the total enterprises came in the hands of private persons, yet they employed only 12 per cent of the total workers. State enterprises were, no doubt, only 8.5 per cent of the total, but the workers employed in them were 84.1 per cent of the total. 3.1 per cent were co-operatives. In 1929, in the F.F.Y.P. Russia embarked upon a policy of rapid industrialisation with special emphasis on the development of basic and defence industries. The natural corollary of this policy was the rapid collectivisation of agriculture with modern techniques and machines.<sup>7</sup> This became the method to affect revolution in the social and economic basis of the Russian rural life. Rapid industrialisation<sup>8</sup> in its early stages was made possible only at the expense of the supplies available for consumption. In

4. Article 1 of the 1918 Soviet Constitution declared that (a) all private property in land is abolished and the entire land is declared to be the national property and is to be apportioned among agriculturists without any compensation to the former owners in the measure of each one's ability to till it; (b) all forests, treasures of earth, and water of general public utility, all equipment, whether animate or inanimate are declared to be national property; (c) exploiters should not hold a position in any branch of Soviet Government and the power must belong to the toiling masses. Article 2 established the Proletariat Dictatorship and the motto, 'He shall not eat who does not work.'—Laidler: *Social and Economic Movement*, p. 384.

5. Dobb: *Soviet Economy Since 1917*.

6. Lenin said: 'War Communism was thrust on us by war and ruin. It was not nor could be a policy that corresponded to the economic task of the Proletariat. It was a temporary measure.'—*Ibid*.

7. Dobb: 'But the corner-stone of this imposing arch was the policy with regard to agriculture. It consisted in nothing else than the transformation of peasant agriculture on to the basis of co-operative or collective farming in large units, on which up-to-date and mechanised methods of cultivation could be employed; a revolution in the social and economic basis of the village within space of half a decade.'—*Soviet Economy and the War*, p. 14.

8. The amount to be invested in the economy as a whole was set at the surprising figure of about 25 per cent of the national income.—*Ibid*, p. 16.

1920, a decree for the liquidation of the Kulaks as a class was formally issued, which involved the confiscation of their property and the banishment of forced labour. In thousands they marched under guards to the new settlements in the far-away steppes and Tundras.<sup>9</sup> Thus the Russian socialism took the form of collectivised and mechanised farming in the rural sector and large-scale centralised factory system production in the industrial sector of her economy.

As regards her capital requirements, Russia excluded the idea of raising loans abroad on principle.<sup>10</sup> She found her colonies in her own agriculture for the benefit of her socialist industrialisation.<sup>11</sup> Peasant agriculture of low productivity was transformed into co-operative or collective farming of high productivity in large units. Of course, the cost of collectivisation was very high both in terms of man-power and animal-power.<sup>12</sup> The conditions for the accumulation of means for rapid industrialisation were as follows: (a) the conversion of the principal means of production and all of the country's resources into state property; (b) concentration in the hands of the state of all income from industry, from home and foreign trade and from other state enterprises, (c) utilisation by the state of the entire credit system (banks, internal loans, individual savings), (d) the absence of parasitical unproductive consumption and (e) the planned economic development.<sup>13</sup>

9. Laidler: *Economic and Social Movement*, p. 399.

10. Dobb: *Soviet Economy and the War*, p. 12.

11. *Ibid*, p. 12.

12. Jasny: 'Although the Kolkhoses were not intended to serve the interests of the collectivised peasantry, the unfortunate members of the new collective farms were called upon to surrender along with their productive livestock. Rather than comply, the peasants sold, consumed, or destroyed the livestock, even their horses, which in the Soviet Union as a whole, declined from 33.5 million in 1928 to 16.6 million in 1933.'—*The Socialised Agriculture of the U.S.S.R.*, p. 7.

## Socialism in East Europe

After the second world war, the countries of East Europe have also undergone revolutions. The dominant leftwing political parties supported public ownership solution of their economic problems as a matter of socialist principle.<sup>14</sup> But unlike the Russian experiment, private ownership and enterprise have also been given a role to play.<sup>15</sup> The fundamental features of the new economy are: (a) the distribution of land to the peasant with a consequent destruction of the power of the old landlord class; (b) nationalisation of large-scale enterprises in the fields of industries, finance, transport and communication; (c) denationalisation of small-scale industries; (d) organisation of co-operatives of foodstuffs with state aid and encouragement; (e) the adoption of planning as a permanent principle of economic organisation; and (f) replacement of policies leading to political and economic antagonisms by policies of mutual conciliation and collaboration. These features indicate that the societies of these countries are mixed societies in transition to socialism. It should be noted from the investment pattern of their economic planning that they have not put the same emphasis on the development of their defence industries as Russia did, because of the changed situation. They could avoid huge military expenditure because they could count upon the Russian armed might, and also forced collectivisation in agriculture at break-neck speed. They believe in 'Revolution by consent in the countryside'.

13. E. Frolov: *Industrialisation without Foreign Loan*, p. 12.

14. Sweezy: *Socialism*, p. 64.

15. Sweezy: 'If industry can be built up to the point where agricultural machinery and consumer's goods are available, and if the State can demonstrate in a practical way, how the one can be used to acquire the other, there should be no insuperable obstacle on the way of a 'revolution by consent' in the countryside.'—*Socialism*, pp. 64-65.

Yugoslav experiment is still more different. In the words of Shri Jaiprakash Narayan: "People there are not embarrassed to talk about a stateless society. They talk about economic and political decentralisation as we do in the Gandhian sense. The farms there belong to the community. They are social farms. Participation in management as it is being tried out on a small-scale in India, is neither fish nor foul"<sup>16</sup>

### Chinese Experiment

Still more different from Russian, is the Chinese Experiment. Here practical considerations are more important than doctrinaire ideological principles. China's new democracy is a dictatorship, not of the proletariat alone as it is in Russia, or of the capitalists as it is in the west, but of all the revolutionary elements over the traitors and counter-revolutionaries with the ultimate aim of establishing a classless society. In the field of her economic reorganisation, China has also nationalised big banks, big industries, big businesses whether foreign or national having monopolistic character and which due to their big scale, are beyond the individual's power to set up. But the most important difference to be borne in mind in the case of China is that nationalisation of the aforesaid industries has been adopted not as a matter of socialist principle, as has been done elsewhere, but due to practical consideration. China has evolved a new principle—principle of 'Capital Restriction'<sup>17</sup>—which means that the state shall nationalise only those industries which are expected to manipulate the life of the people. The Government will not confiscate either capitalist private property, nor will it restrict the development of capitalist production, which cannot manipulate the life of the people, in view of the fact that the economy of China is still

in a very backward state.<sup>18</sup> The communists in China have evolved a new approach to the capitalists in China. They recognised that many of the capitalists were patriots and hence tried to win over them and make use of their services instead of eliminating them.<sup>19</sup> Thus the transformed attitude of the capitalists has been more important to the growth of a socialist society in China than the fact of their ownership of the means of production. The capitalists were ready to convert their private enterprises into joint State-Private enterprises in which the Government would contribute some capital and appoint Manager or Assistant Manager, and the factory would be organised more or less on the lines of state factories. Besides, the Government is giving 5 per cent dividend on all private capital and investment (national) and 8 per cent dividend guaranteed to the overseas Chinese on their investment. All that the capitalists wanted in China was not the strangulation of the Chinese Revolution as they did in Russia, but a phased transition to socialism with two or three plan-periods and they have got it.

In the field of agriculture, Chinese socialism speedily went through Land Reforms with emphasis on 'land for the tiller' with the idea of Maximising Production and Equalising Distribution. The whole scheme of Agrarian Reforms laws revolved round the central idea of Maximisation of Production, although they meant (a) an extraordinarily wide distribution of ownership in land; and (b) allotment of land to former landlords on the same basis as to the farmers and labourers.<sup>20</sup>

Rich peasants cultivating their own lands were not at this stage, disturbed.

18. *Ibid*, p. 13.

19. The report of the Indian delegation to China on Agriculture Planning and Techniques, p. 15.

20. Altogether about 118 million acres of land were distributed among 300 million peasants, men and women, an average of one-third of an acre per head.—*Ibid*, p. 108.

16. J. P.: His speech published in the *Statesman* (Calcutta), dated 24.9.58.

17. Mao Tse-tung: *China's New Democracy*, p. 13.

while a proportion of middle-class peasants actually obtained additional land in accordance with the scale of distribution adopted in each local area. Agricultural co-operation followed naturally from Land Reforms. This co-operation had to pass through various steps and every step was directed in perfect sequence of the previous ones towards the establishment of a socialist society. The first step was (a) Formation of Mutual Aid Teams, much alike to 'Jon-paincha system' in rural India; (b) the second, organisation of co-operatives of advanced types, which abolished the privilege of 5 p.c. dividend on land in private ownership. By the middle of 1956 92 per cent of all the peasant families joined co-operative farms and the methods used were those of persuasion and education.<sup>21</sup>

It must be borne in mind that unlike Russian collectivised farms, Chinese co-operative farms are neither modernised, nor mechanised. For the time being, the Chinese have proposed to increase their agricultural production through better utilisation of man-power and animal-power. China has not nationalised lands, nor the private element has been eliminated cent per cent. Each farmer has been given a private garden plot of one-fifth to one-third acre approximately on which he can produce vegetables, keep poultry and pigs. Cattle and larger farm implements have been turned into common property, after payment of full compensation to the owners.

In China, the state control over agriculture is not so close and direct as it is in Russia where there are only a lakh and odd of big state and collective farms as against a million of relatively small co-operative farms besides an appreciable number of individual peasants in China. Besides, price policy and provisions of incentives play a much more important role in Chinese agriculture than in Russia.<sup>22</sup>

The aforesaid study of the different forms which Socialism has taken in practice in different countries throws important light on the ways and means to be adopted in different countries with different backgrounds of their economic, social and cultural problems and international, political and economic situations. Russian pattern of socialism was determined under the stress and strain of war, civil war, sabotage and conspiracy.

East European pattern was the result of Post World War II revolutions with Russian armed might to defend them from foreign aggression. China's pattern has been determined more by the character of China's underdeveloped economy than by any other factor. But the ultimate aims of these countries are the same: (a) classless society, (b) dictatorship of the revolutionary masses and (c) socialist methods of production and distribution.

### India's Case

Before we discuss the various features of Indian socialistic pattern of society, we must note that (a) in the first place, Indian freedom is the result of Bapu's non-violent and peaceful struggle; (b) India has in both the camps of the world a big reservoir of good-will and sympathy resulting out of her national and international policies based on non-violence and truth; (c) India stands today in a completely different background, economic and political, from what Russia had to face and (d) lastly, India's freedom is the result of the co-operative peaceful struggle of all the sections of the Indian people, and not that of the violent efforts of only one class of people. Powers of the world are more balanced today than what they were in 1917 or 1918. Besides, the elements of world co-operation have increased and are materialising themselves in the forms of international forums, like U.N.O. and its different organisations.

Foundations of the socialistic pattern of society have already been laid down in the Preamble of the Indian Constitution, its chapters on Fundamental Rights and on the Directive Principles of State Policy.

21. Report of the Indian Delegation to China on *Agricultural Planning and Techniques*, p. 60.

22. *Ibid*, p. 7.

Later on, chapters of the 2nd. F.Y.P. on 'approach to the plan' and 'its objectives' explain the salient features of the socialistic society India is going to have after the completion of the 3rd. F.Y.P.

The first feature of India's socialistic society is that India is a sovereign democratic Republic of the Indian people comprising of all the sections, rich and poor, and 'haves' and 'have-nots'. All the words sovereign, democratic and republic are significant as they tell us everything about our political status (free from foreign rule), our method (constitutional) and organs to change our society (through press, propaganda, radio, cinema, newspapers, meetings, etc.) and the nature of government which is of the people, by the people, and for the people (parliamentary democracy). The meaning of these words would be clear still if we compare it with that of the words used for Russia. Russia is called the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. Russia was not a dependent nation, whereas we were and that's why the absence of the word sovereign. Russia is a socialist state of peasants and workers which means the dictatorship of the Proletariat for affecting the transition to a socialist state. Thus ours is not a sectional approach for the benefit of one particular class, may be the class of workers and peasants, but all comprehensive approach which seeks the benefit of all (Sarvodaya) comprising the Indian people as a whole. The Indian constitution solemnly resolves to secure to all its citizens, justice, social, economic and political; liberty of thought, expression of belief, faith, and worship; equality of status and of opportunity and to promote them among all; fraternity assuring the dignity of the individual and the unity of the nation.

In the second place, the constitution also says that there can be no discrimination against any citizen on grounds only of religion, race, caste, sex, place of birth, or any of them. Only on these grounds, no citizen can be subject to any disability, liability, restriction or condition with regard to (a) access to shops, public restaurants, hotels, and places of public enter-

tainment, or (b) the use of wells, tanks, bathing ghats, roads, and places of public resort. There are also special provisions for women and children, for the advancement of any socially and educationally backward classes of citizens and for the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes. Besides, equality of opportunity in matter of public employment has been assured to all with particular provision of the reservation of appointment or posts in favour of any backward class of citizens which in the opinion of the state is not adequately represented in the services.

As regards the ending of exploitation of man by man—the most important feature of socialism—the Indian constitution is not as much vocal as the Russian constitution is. Rights against exploitation in India simply consist of (a) prohibition of traffic in human beings and forced labour, (b) imposition of compulsory services for public purposes and (c) prohibition of employment of children below the age of 12 in factories, etc. But these children have not been guaranteed proper and balanced diets, adequate clothings, adequate housing, etc. They are not the responsibilities of the state as they are either in Russia or in China. Compulsory education up to the age of 14 has been provided for in the constitution, but empty stomach, naked body and uncared for mind will simply make the efforts unfruitful. Free provision of pure milk at the rate of  $\frac{1}{2}$  lb., and two slices of bread with a little quantity of butter per student up to the secondary standard would surely satisfy their hunger

to some extent.

Indian constitution has also guaranteed to her citizens the right to acquire, hold and dispose of property. No property moveable or unmoveable shall be taken possession of or acquired for public purposes without compensation. Its amount and the manner in which it will be paid are to be determined by the law of the legislature, which shall not be called in question in any court on the ground that the compensation provided for by that law is not adequate.

Under the Directive Principles of State policy, the State shall strive to promote the welfare of the people by securing and protecting as effectively as it may a social order in which justice, social, economic and political shall inform all the institutions of the national life. The State shall direct its policy towards securing that (a) the citizens, men and women, equally have the right to an adequate means of livelihood; (b) the ownership and control of the material resources of the community are so distributed as best to subserve the common good; (c) the operation of the economic system does not result in the concentration of wealth and means of production to the common detriment; (d) there is equal pay for equal work for both men and women; and (e) childhood and youth are protected against exploitation and against moral and material abandonment. The State shall take steps to organise village Panchayats to function as units of self-government, and within the limits of its economic capacity and development, make effective provision for securing public assistance in cases of unemployment due to old age, sickness and disablement. The state shall also endeavour to secure to all workers agricultural, industrial, or otherwise, work, a living wage, condition of work, ensuring a decent standard of life and full enjoyment of leisure, and in portion shall strive to promote cottage industries on an individual or co-operative basis in rural areas.

The Second Five-Year Plan and the Industrial Policy Act of 1948 as amended later embody the concretised form of the aforesaid approach. The Second Five-Year Plan has four objectives: (a) a rise in national income by 25 per cent by 1961; (b) rapid industrialisation with particular emphasis on the development of basic and heavy industries; (c) a large expansion of employment opportunities; and (d) reduction of inequalities in income and wealth and a more even distribution of economic power.<sup>23</sup>

<sup>23</sup> 1953 Industrial Policy; Industries (Development and Regulation) Act of 1951; New Industrial Policy, 1956.

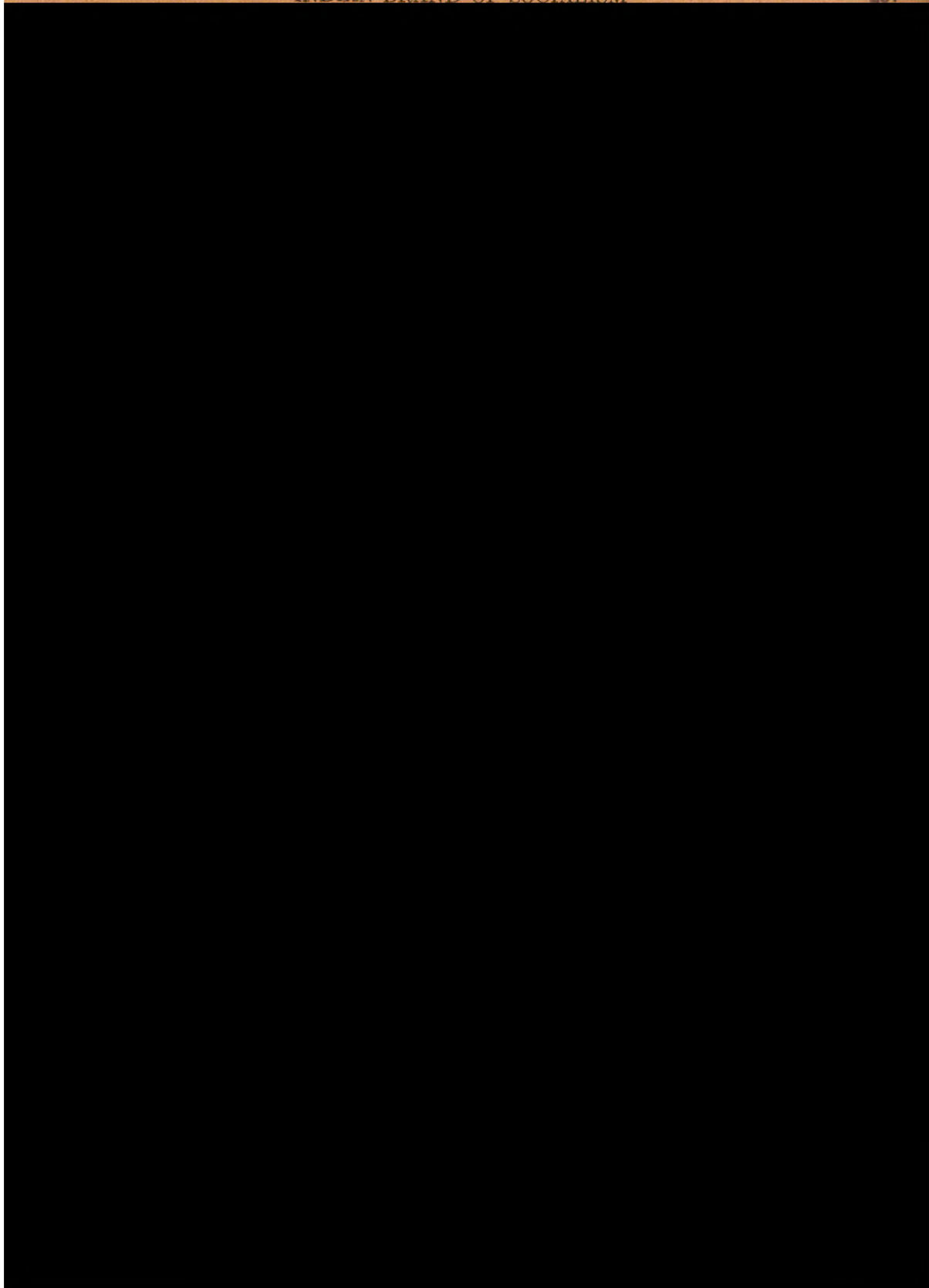
To solve the problems of low standard of living, under-employment and unemployment and to some extent, unequal distribution of income, the agricultural character of our economy has to be transformed into an industrial one with particular emphasis on the development of basic and heavy industries. As these industries are greatly capital-intensive, the problem of unemployment and supply of consumption goods will have to be solved by industries which are labour-intensive. Thus Indian emphasis is both on centralisation and decentralisation—centralisation of the heavy and basic industries in the hands of the Government and decentralisation of consumers' goods industries to be privately owned and managed. Of course, they will be under the general control of the Government as regards their conforming to the General Economic Policy of the Government of India.

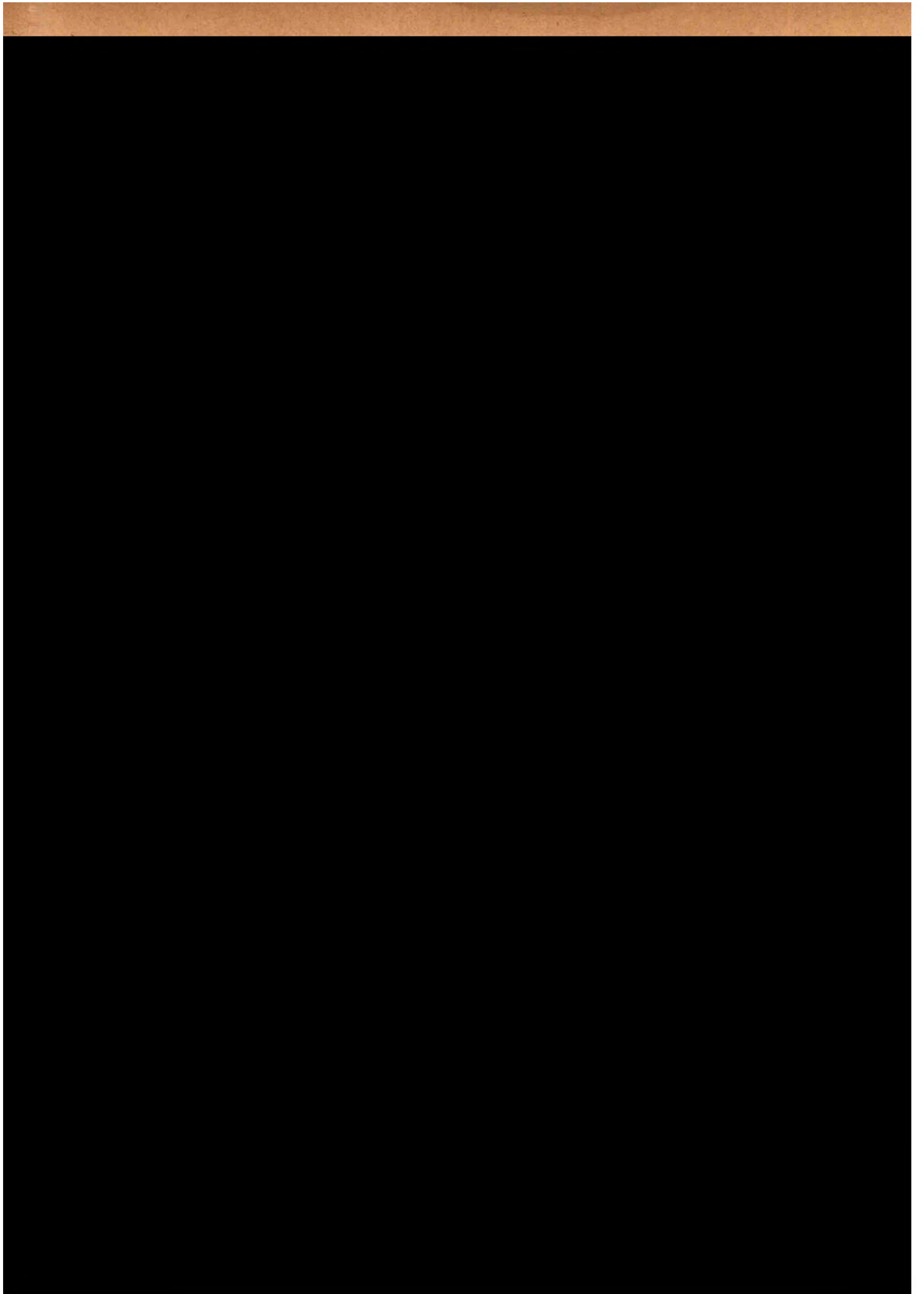
#### Property Relation under the Second Five-Year Plan

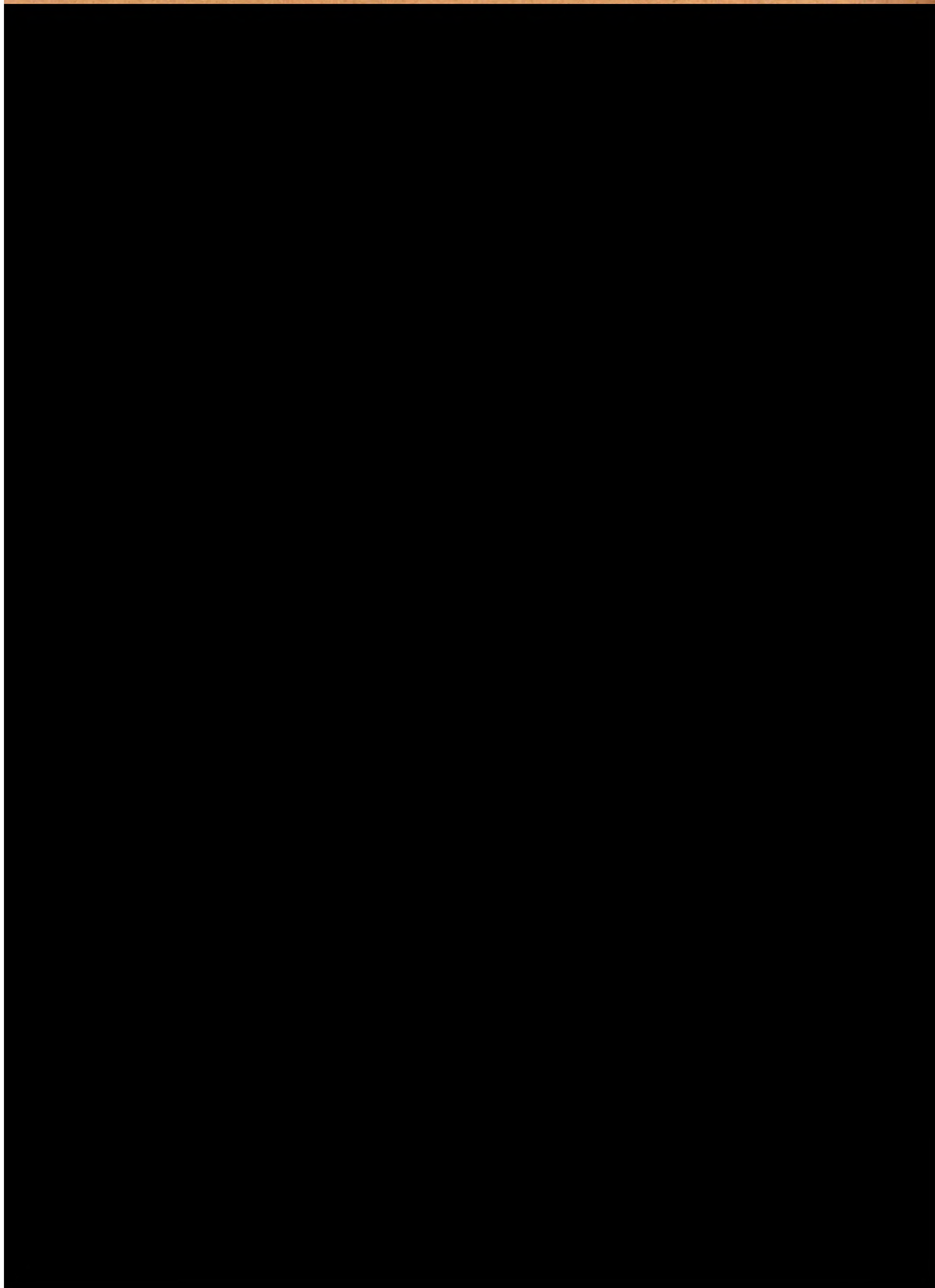
The co-existence of public and private sectors is the chief feature of our 2nd Five-Year Plan. Public sector will expand and Private sector has a role to play in developing our economy. In other words, we are not going to apply the principle of Universal Nationalisation as it was done in Russia. All industries in India have been divided into three categories. The first list provides scope for competition between the private units and the state units to ensure the highest degree of productive efficiency. It contains a list of strategic and basic industries (17 in number)<sup>24</sup> whose existing units owned and manned by Private enterprise are not to be nationalised but whose future development will be the exclusive responsibility of the State. The second list

<sup>24</sup> These 17 industries are arms and ammunitions, atomic energy, iron and steel, heavy machinery, coal, mineral oils, aircraft manufacture, air and railway transport, ship-building, telephone and telegram and generation and distribution of electricity.



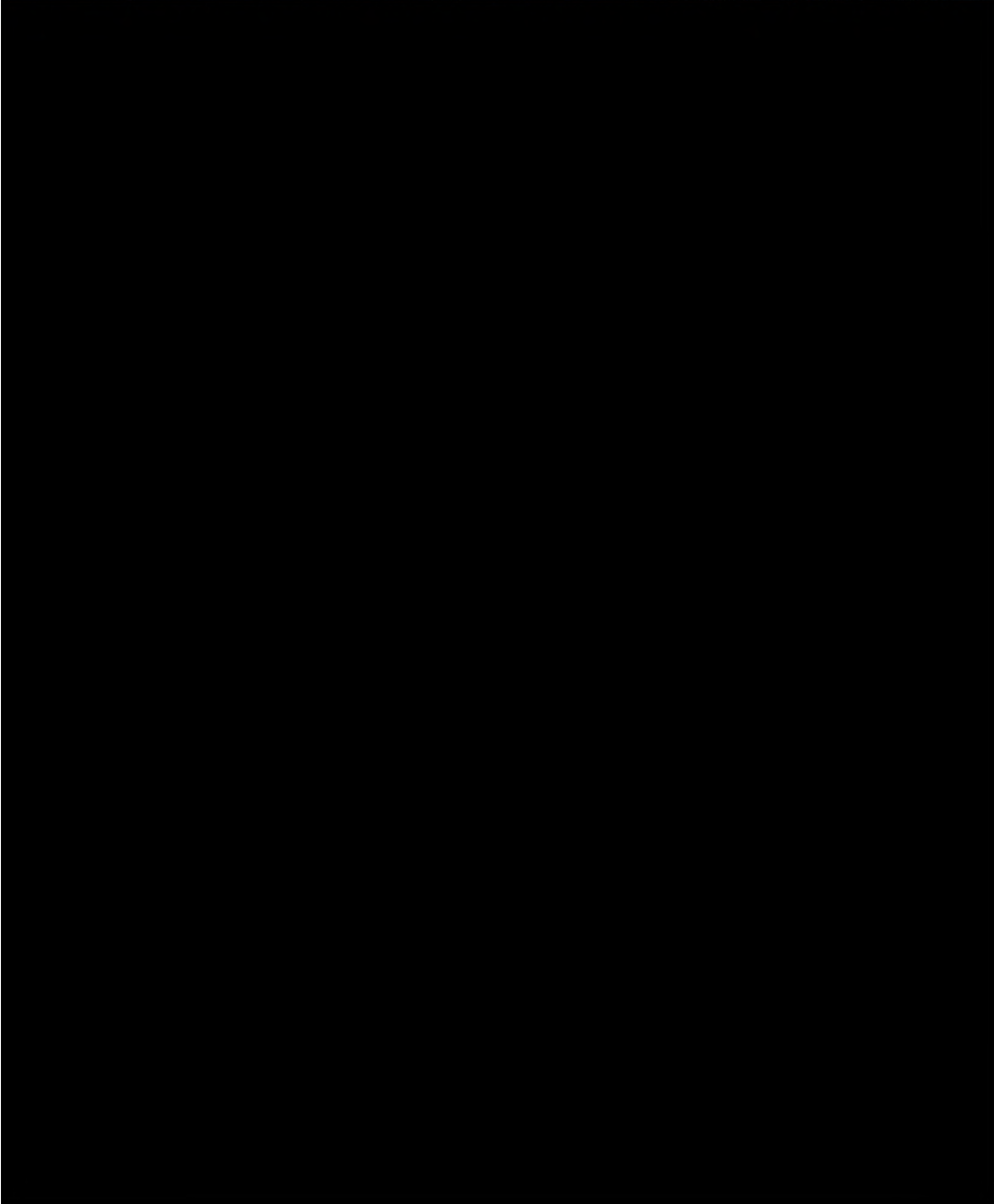








There are also musical instruments, the Vishnu image from Nimar District, ornaments, costumes, traps and snares, the metal images of Buddha and Bodhi-arms, armour and, most interesting of all, satva from Sirpur, stone images of Jain the elaborately carved memorial stones. On Tirthankar from Jabalpur and metal these stones the subjects attempted in images of Jain goddess Sarasvati and Tir-clude ruling chiefs in procession, pig-thankars from Rainapur Kinkini deserve













unions and civic groups have subscribed to several of these programs in advance to make tickets available to their members.

Featured in the exhibit are musical instruments, textiles and bowls carved of calabosh. One section is devoted entirely to panels of photographs showing various phases of African culture. Other features of the exhibit are carvings in wood, ivory, bronze and other metals representative of both traditional and modern art. Among the prominent speakers opening night were: Julius Hoffman, vice-president of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, Nigerian affairs expert Dr. Emory Ross, and A. Philip Randolph, international president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.—USIS

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## TWELVE-FURLONG DRAIN CHANNEL THROUGH SHRAMDAN

### Kheragarh Block

This is the saga of the heroic struggle of five villages in Kheragarh C.D. block, in Agra district, against the ravages of torrential rains, which continued intermittently for three and a half months. The deluge totalled over 70 inches, the rainfall on a single day rising as high as 18 inches, as against the annual rainfall of 24 inches. lating each village, and flooding valuable crops.

It all started mid-July when it rained incessantly for 27 days, submerging 2,000 acres of land, a large part of which had been ploughed for hot-weather cultivation.

The people of the five villages saw that nearly one half of the entire cultivable

land of the five villages was already under water. They got perturbed. "If this is the amount of rain at the beginning of the monsoon, what will it lead to? Indeed, most of the houses had been damaged, fodder destroyed and there was danger to the *kharij* crop. "Save the crop" was there-



the South-Eastern extremity of the depression, into the Van-Ganga.

The people of badly affected Son now decided to give the lead. They conferred with the Block staff. An ad hoc committee consisting of the Panchayat Pradhans, the Gram Sevak of the circle, and the Block Overseer, was appointed. This led to work on digging a channel starting at Bhakar.

#### Village Pradhan's Donation

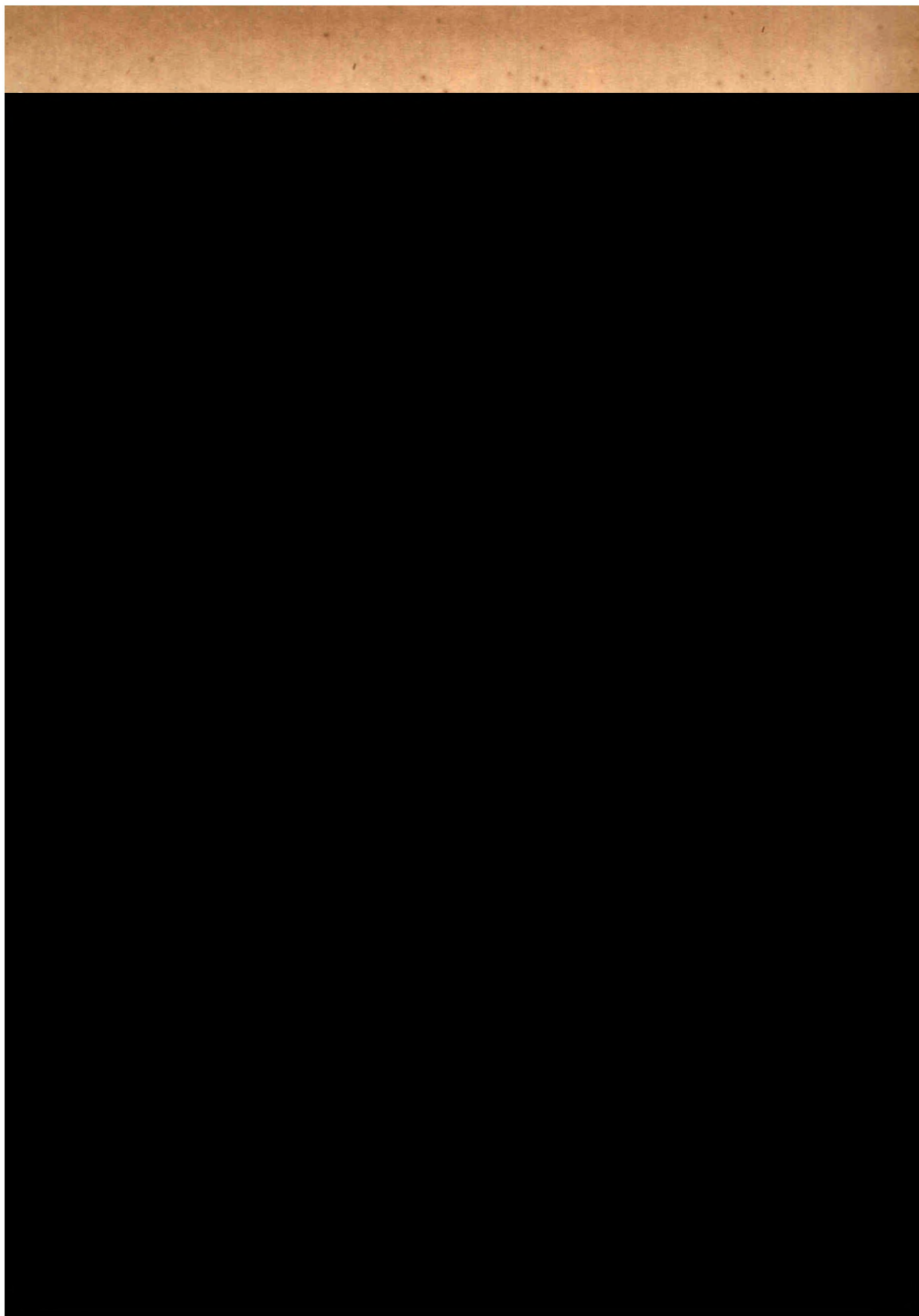
The Village Pradhan of Son donated Rs. 1,500 and the adult population under his leadership engaged in Shramdan. The opposition of two villagers of Bhakar, through whose field the channel was to pass, had to be surmounted, because they were adamant and yielded ground only when an assurance was given to them that this drainage channel was only a tempo-

submerging in all nearly four-fifths of the 7,511 acres of land. The huge sheet of water covered an area  $4\frac{1}{2}$  miles long and  $3\frac{1}{2}$  miles wide.

The Irrigation Department, according to the village leaders, surveyed the situation and calculated that to drain off the bulk of the flood water it would require at least Rs. 43,000 if labour could be procured at the rate of Re. 1 per day. But landless labourers by this time had deserted their damaged houses and gone away, with their cattle, to seek uncertain shelter as against the certain doom in their damaged houses. The only way open was Shramdan.

The Pradhans of the five villages, led by the Pradhan of Son, gave an assurance that if the district authorities provided some help, they would marshal the entire available adult population of the five villages for Shramdan. The district authorities at this point assured a provision of Rs. 5,000 out of the scheme for a permanent





from the Wular in this year's flood shows that their confluence at the place where it is at the lake is dangerously filling up from silt. And present. The course of the river was regulated with the building of artificial embankments by him in such a manner that it flowed out the silting process is further speeded up, so right through the Wular lake. Suyya had many much so that below Srinagar the river bed is villages reclaimed from marshy tracts by now above the level of the country on its left having embankments raised all-round them to

ration were to be run by electric power, which the engineers proposed to generate at Mohora 17 miles away. It is interesting to note that originally this power-house which has been washed away by this year's floods was meant for the dredging operations at Baramūla.

Another important recommendation of the engineers was to dig a spill channel from above Srinagar to be extended to the Wular lake by lowering the beds of the Jhelum tributaries on the western side. This they thought would carry a large proportion of flood waters and would definitely help in saving the city from the fury of the floods.

In 1905-6 the machinery required for the hydro-electric generating plant at Mohora and the dredgers for deepening the bed of the river at Baramūla were ordered from America. The Mohora power-house was completed by the end of 1907 and the dredging operations began in 1908. By 1912 an area of 6,100 acres was reclaimed from round the Wular lake and allotted to cultivators for growing paddy.

Fortunately for the valley there were no major floods for a quarter of a century. The dredging operations were considered by the State as useless expenditure and in 1917 the dredgers were sold as scrap. The excavated sand and silt deposited by the dredgers was washed back by rain into the river and the spill channel was slowly brought by greedy cultivators under the plough. In 1928, however, a serious flood towards the end of August gave a rude shock to the complacent administration. The lowlying parts of the city which had by then extended to a bigger area were inundated and destruction was caused to the

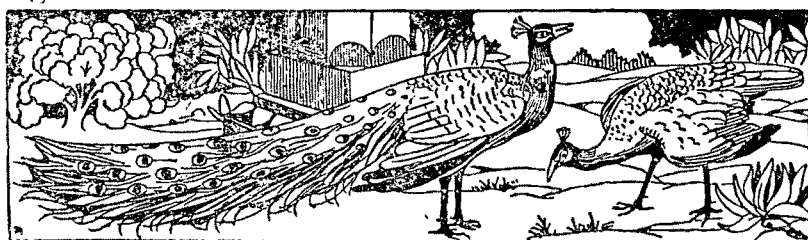
standing crops. The State Government undertook some half-hearted protection measures, by building artificial embankments round the low-lying parts of Srinagar—the chief aim being to save the city at the cost of the rest of the valley.

The Central Water and Power Commission has now prepared a Master Plan for protecting the valley from recurring floods. From the outline of the plan, it appears that it is fundamentally on the lines of Maj. Lotbiniere's Scheme, though more comprehensive.

The chief remedy, however, lies in deepening the bed of the river not only below the Wular but also from Shadipur (the confluence of the Sindh and the Jhelum) to the mouth of the lake. With modern heavy dredgers it is not a difficult job. The Mohora Power House shall have to be rebuilt with more powerful generators, to supply power to the dredgers and to relieve the load that Gandarbal Power House is carrying at present.

Side by side with dredging operations it is also imperative that the waters of the Jhelum be taken direct from above Srinagar to the Wular over the low-lying swamps towards the west of the valley. Many engineering problems will arise here because the bed of the Dudhganga, an important tributary of the Jhelum on the west, is higher than the main river. The course of the tributaries like Veshau, Lidder, Sindh and Pohru shall have to be regulated.

Above all, sustained effort and constant vigilance are to be maintained to save this beautiful land from the ravages of flood and famine.



## CHANGING THE MAP OF THE MONGOLIAN PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC

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THE recent visit of Mr. Tsedenbal, the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Mongolian People's Republic (MPR) or commonly known Outer Mongolia, to our country in September last is an occasion to renew and strengthen the age-old contacts between the two countries. India is the only non-communist country with which MPR has been in diplomatic relation since 1956 and trade relation since early 1959. Both the countries have been passing through a phase of transition to socialism based on planned economy and the cultural and linguistic links between the two extend back to dim antiquity. In a joint press communique issued in New Delhi on September 15, 1959 the Prime Minister, Mr. Nehru, and the Mongolian Chairman, Mr. Tsedenbal reaffirmed their strong belief in the principles of peaceful co-existence and solution of all international problems by peaceful means and the spirit of mutual understanding. Both the countries stand for strengthening the Afro-Asian solidarity and peace throughout the world. The present essay gives a rapid view of Outer Mongolia's changing face with particular stress on the strategic value and socio-economic transformation of the country which lies in a delicate buffer zone between two great powers, the Soviet Union on the north and the Chinese People's Republic on the South.

Politically oriented to the Soviet Union and economically to both the neighbours, modern Outer Mongolia is constitutionally an independent sovereign republic in contrast to Inner Mongolia which forms an autonomous region of the Chinese territory. Notwithstanding the full Chinese control, a strong nationalist sentiment survives in Inner Mongolia as in Tibet for separation from the Chinese People's Republic and union with MPR, to form what is known as the "Greater Mongolia" in which the Mongols and not the Hans constitute the predominant ethnic stock. Mongolia conceived as such is more of a physical and cultural expression than a well-defined political area. The expression is applied to the seemingly limitless land of the

blue sky, of pastoral nomadism and camel caravan, of the desert riddle of the Gobi and the encircling steppe, which extends northward from the Chinese Great Wall to the southern frontier of Siberia. From this arid core have started time after time waves of migrations to the farthest limits of Eurasia.

During the 13th century, the Mongols under Genghis Khan built up a vast empire stretching from the Pacific Coast of China westward to the Mediterranean. But owing to difficulties of transport, the Mongol Empire began to disintegrate as soon as it was built so that under his grandson, Kublai Khan and later successors, it shrank to what is now MPR and China without Tibet. The Yuan or Mongol Dynasty ruled China for over one hundred years and it was to the court of Kublai Khan that the great explorer Marco Polo came in the last quarter of the 13th century. Ultimately the Mongols were driven out to their original desert and steppe homeland north of the Great Wall by a revitalized Chinese nation. Meanwhile, the military spirit of the Mongols was softened by the spread of Lamaist Buddhism from Tibet and the Chinese control was gradually extended by the Manchu emperors to inner Asian lands of Mongolia, Sinkiang and, for the first time, the entire Tibetan plateau. Since the beginning of the 20th century, the subjugated Mongols felt a strong resentment against the exploitation of their best land by the Chinese farmers and colonists and the monopolization of the major part of their trade by the Chinese merchants. Naturally, a widespread demand arose for separation from Imperial China. After the overthrow of the Manchu dynasty by the Revolution of 1911, the Chinese control and supremacy declined very rapidly in Outer Mongolia which then for the first time showed signs of an opposite swing toward the Russian sphere of influence. After the Russian Revolution of 1917, the Khalka tribe of Northern Mongolia received active support and help from the new Soviet regime to get back their independence. After a series of uprisings, they



finally broke with China in 1921 and declared their newly organized country of Outer Mongolia as the Mongolian People's Republic (MPR) in 1924. However, China did not give official recognition to this new sovereign State until January 5, 1946, when as a result of Soviet pressure and Sino-Soviet Yalta Agreement of 1945, followed by a plebiscite in Outer Mongolia, the Chinese Nationalist Government recognized the independence of MPR "in her existing boundaries." The political future of MPR is thus assured by eliminating a source of fanciful Chinese irredentism. Curiously enough, although the agreement was ratified by the Chinese Communist Government, the formal recognition of Outer Mongolia's independence was withdrawn in 1953 by the Nationalist Government of Taiwan.

In spite of the existing agreements, there are considerable disputes between MPR and the Chinese People's Republic with regard to the fixation of the Altai Mountain border between western Outer Mongolia and China's Sinkiang Province as well as the boundary between Outer and Inner Mongolia. Although the 2,700-mile long border of MPR with China is very neatly defined on Soviet maps, based on intensive survey, it is drawn very roughly on Chinese maps, claiming a good chunk of the border lands of MPR as their own. The significance of the border disputes lies in the existence of several gaps across the 13,000 feet high Altai Range, marking the strategic routes from the Soviet Union and MPR to the lowlands of Dzungaria and the Tarim basin in Sinkiang. Such conflicting claims on an uneconomic desert and mountain frontier fail to conceal a deep-seated suspicion of each other in spite of their recent ideological alliance. The boundaries next to the Soviet Union have also moved, as in 1945, when Tannu Tuva, a part of Mongolia, was incorporated within the U.S.S.R. Soviet interest in MPR is evident for several reasons. Firstly, the northern border of Outer Mongolia is very close to the vital trans-Siberian railway, while its southern border holds the key to Sinkiang through Altai gateways and to Inner Mongolia and Manchuria across the plateau of Gobi and steppe grasslands. Moreover, the vast stretches of the Mongolian plains are not only suitable for the

movement of troops, tanks and trucks but they also provide ideal sites for the building of air bases. The strategic value of Outer Mongolia's position was clearly shown during the last Great War when the Soviet-Mongol motorized forces advanced from their mobilizing bases in inner Asia against the retreating Japanese army in Manchuria and Korea. MPR is, therefore, destined to play a role in the history of modern Eurasia, contrary to its economic viability and who knows in future it will not become a bone of contention between China and the Soviet Union!

Apparently common Sino-Soviet interest in MPR is shown by the building of modern means of communications, automobile roads, railways and air lines, telephone and telegraph links to tap its resources and promote mutual trade for closer integration of the Communist world, but Russian control in defending and mobilizing this area is exclusive of the Chinese economic penetration. The political and economic ties with the Soviet Union have been strengthened by the completion in 1949 of a railroad between Ulan Bator, the capital of MPR, and Ulan Ude on the Trans-Siberian railway in the U.S.S.R. In late 1955, the Ulan Ude-Ulan Bator railway was extended southward beyond the frontier of Outer Mongolia to join the Chinese capital, Peking, *via* Tsinin railhead in Inner Mongolia. This trans-Mongolian railroad is not only a vital link between MPR and its northern and southern neighbours, but it shortens the Moscow-Peking run *via* Ulan Bator by nearly 700 miles in comparison with the similar run *via* Manchouli on the Russo-Chinese border. A motorable highway parallels the Peking-Ulan Bator-Ulan Ude rail route. Several air lines also operate between the Soviet Union and MPR and it is only since December, 1958, that a regular air service has been started between Ulan Bator and Peking. These up-to-date means of communications tend to break the pattern of traditional camel and horse transport, while strengthening economic and cultural bonds with the neighbours.

Historically Outer Mongolia's foreign trade was for the most part oriented towards China; but since 1921 the direction of trade has been reversed to the Soviet Union. Since 1953,

however, active trade with China has been revived and lately there has been a series of trade agreements between MPR and China for the reciprocal exchange of goods. According to 1946 agreement, MPR delivers to China horses, furs, wool, hides, and other livestock products in return for silk textiles, leather manufactures, tobacco, tea, rice, dried and fresh fruits and other consumer goods. In 1958, the MPR Government made a timely gift of 15,000 draught horses to help speed China's agricultural "Leap Forward." The recent resumption of the Chinese-Mongol trade is an indication of growing economic co-operation among MPR, China and the Soviet Union, although the political influence in MPR is exclusively a Russian reserve.

The socio-economic developments that have been taking place since the second quarter of this century have already altered the fundamental pattern of MPR. Before 1921, the social structure of the country was composed of three basic elements—the feudal lords, lama priests and common livestock herders, called arats. The present social complex bears very little semblance to the old one; the first and second elements have been virtually rooted out, while the third has undergone a drastic change in character. Feudalism is now a thing of the past, and the temporal control of Lamaism has already vanished from the land. Serfs working in lamaseries have now been made free. Arats are, however, still being won persuasively away from their private ownership of stock to co-operative herding, although individual ownership of cattle, equipment and dwelling places (camp sites) has been guaranteed by Article 6 of the 1940 Constitution. But Article 5 clearly states that "land, natural resources, factories, mines, metal working, communications, banks and the mechanized hay-making stations which are a key-modernizing factor in the nation of herdsmen are nationalized." In 1940, MPR announced the conclusion of the "democratic revolution and the opening of a new stage—the stage of socialist transformation and socialist construction." Under the leadership of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party and Soviet direction, pastoral activities have largely been collectivized so that nomadism is gradually being drawn into fixed communities. By this spring (1959),

practically all peasants and herdsmen have joined co-operatives. Greater use of the Mongolian grazing land has been made possible by digging several thousand wells as a part of the planned development of the country's economy. The total livestock population of all kinds in MPR is about 30 millions, while the human beings number only one million; so, there is an average of 30 head per capita—the highest in the world. The widespread application of modern technology and science to animal husbandry in the form of selective and stock breeding and the availability of free veterinary service have improved the pastoral wealth of MPR to a considerable extent. In contrast to pastoralism, cultivation of crops, like wheat, oats, barley, millet, and rye holds very little promise for further expansion owing to continental extremes and fluctuating marginal rain. Economic and technical aid agreement between the U.S.S.R. and MPR has been renewed on February 10, 1959, for Soviet assistance in the development of Mongolia's virgin lands, by providing the country during 1959-60 period with 550 combine harvestors and other farm machinery and making available the services of Russian agricultural engineers and specialists. Industrial and urban development under the Sino-Soviet economic and technical co-operation with MPR has already shaken the very foundation of the traditional Mongol life.

Transition to socialism continues to be the announced goal of the Mongolian development. MPR has already completed two Five-Year Plans (1948-52, 1953-57) and is now in the midst of a Three-Year Plan (1958-60). The 1948-52 Plan did not involve collectivization but laid stress on the formation of producers' stock-breeding associations and reorganization of the scattered and mobile herdsmen in fixed communities. Under the subsequent plans, peasants and herdsmen have been gathered in co-operatives which now co-exist with the farms owned by the State. Outer Mongolia's march towards socialism is now almost complete. Such is the changing face of the land under the blue sky which has witnessed in course of a few decades a swiftly-moving drama of a nation's rise from the stage of the wandering herdsmen to a progressive twentieth-century State in the midst of the gathering "red clouds," continually drifted from its outer horizons.

## TIBET AND BRITISH INDIA IN THE 18TH CENTURY

By KANCHAN MAJUMDAR, M.A.

BEHIND the icy ramparts of the Himalayas lies an undulating land of glaciers and eternal snow, of founded hills and perilous precipices, of swift-flowing torrents and shining streams, of patches of green, brown and yellow. This is Tibet in its majestic elevation, the forbidden land, the land of magic and mystery, of sorcery and superstition and consequently of abiding appeal to the adventurers. It is inhabited by a people, sunk in sullen indifference to the events happening elsewhere, wrapped up in their own world of necromancy, "of bewildering medley of gods and goddesses, Buddhas and Bodhisatvas, guardian deities and canonised saints, ghouls, goblins and demons, deified kings and spirits of every conceivable description, paradises, earths and hells." (Lord Ronaldshay: *Lands of the Thunderbolt, Sikkim, Chumbi and Bhutan*, p. 108). While kaleidoscopic changes have taken place in the neighbouring countries, the Tibetans seem to remain in the same old world, where Guru Padmasambhava, the venerable 'Rimpoche', the founder of the strange religion of Lamaism, that baffling compound of demonology, magic and superstition, found them in the middle of the eighth century A.D. Guru Padmasambhava, a priest of the Tantrik Yogachara School of Buddhism went to Tibet sometime in 747 A.D. at the invitation of King Thi-Sorn Detsan. He founded Lamaism under the title of Guru Rimpoche. (See L. A. Waddell: *The Buddhism of Tibet*). Today also with the first shaft of the sun falling on it, the Potala (Potala palace, the winter residence of the Dalai Lama) glitters, the weird prayer barrels rotate in their awful monotony, the Lamas and the incarnations sit in calm resignation before the Buddha images, the scores of lamaseries reverberate with chants and invocations lending the air an eerie ring, the people, a simple buoyant host enjoy the corybantic dramas with drums, conches, cymbals and trumpets, the shaggy yaks laden with musk, hide and wool wend their way to China, Bhutan, Sikkim and India. Nothing seems to have changed here. Science and

technology, inventions and discoveries and all that goes by the name of modernism have failed to penetrate the veil of isolation, which shrouds the forbidden land. The exclusive temperament of the people has connived with the geographical factors in sealing Tibet hermetically from the rest of the world.

### Early Commercial Relations

Long before the British set their feet on India, the latter had very close relation with Tibet—the relation being two-fold, religious and commercial. Trade between India and Tibet passed through Bhutan, which lay interposed between them. The sturdy folks inhabiting the foothills of the Himalayas, the terai region and the country now known as Assam, plied brisk trade with their Tibetan counterparts. Chauna, in the Kairapur-duar (two months' journey from Lhasa), and Gergunsler (four miles from Chauna) were two busy trade centres, where the Tibetans sold rock salt, gold dust, woollens, horses, Chinese silks and such other goods for coarse silk, dry fish, buffalo horns, pearls and corals, skins, iron and lac brought by the Assamese traders. Bhutan and Tibet were links in the Sino-Indian trade. Smoking pipes of Chinese make, Chinese silks, woollen stuff and rock salt were made available to Assam through the Tibetan and Bhutanese merchants. Besides, Assam depended on Tibet and China for silver. (Pemberton: *Report on Bhutan*, pp. 78-83).

In the first decade of the nineteenth century, goods worth Rs. 2 lakhs were being traded every year in this quarter. About the year 1820, the Lhasa merchants brought with them Rs. 70,000 to purchase goods from the Assamese merchants. (See Mackenzie: *North East Frontier*, p. 15; Pemberton: *Report on Bhutan*, p. 151; S. K. Bhuyan: *Anglo-Assamese Relations—1771-1826*). This close commercial relationship of India with Tibet, Bhutan, Nepal, Sikkim and China could not be lost sight of by the British and the early British rulers strove to strengthen this tie.

### Warren Hastings and Tibet

Warren Hastings' governorship of Bengal was coincident with the initiation of British India's contact with Tibet. Hastings aimed at establishing trade relationship with Tibet on governmental level and hence he sent commercial missions there. The despatch of these missions was, however, the postlude of a political event.

Since 1765 Cooch Behar had been a dependency of the East India Company. The security and peace of Cooch Behar were threatened by the repeated predatory activities of the neighbouring Bhutanese. The matter came to a head when the Bhutanese under Deb Juṅgar, their king, harried the country in 1772, leaving a trail of utter destruction. The ruler of Cooch Behar, Raja Dharendra Narayan invoked British assistance (*Bengal Secret Letter to Court*, January 15, 1773) and the Government of Bengal sent Captain John Jones to expel the Bhutanese from Cooch Behar. The Bhutanese alarmed at the approach of the British forces sought help from the Tibetan Government. (Bhuyan: *Op. cit.*, p. 34). The Dalai Lama, the pontifical ruler being a minor at that time, Tesho Lama, the regent sent a deputation to Warren Hastings under Puran Chandra Gosain, a Saivaita monk requesting cessation of hostilities. He wrote, "I now with my head uncovered entreat that you may cease all hostilities against the Deb in future." The letter of the Lama was received by the Governor-General on March 29, 1774. The letter was couched in a very conciliatory tone designed to assuage the wrath of the Governor-General caused by the provocative action of the Bhutan Raja. The Lama craved indulgence of the Governor-General for "the Deb's (the Raja of Bhutan) criminal misconduct in committing ravages and other outrages" on the Indian border in consideration of the fact that the Raja "is of a very rude and ignorant race." The Lama "reprimanded the Deb for his past misconduct" and "admonished him to desist from his evil practices in future and to be subservient to you (the Governor-General) in all matters." (*Mission of G. Bogle to Tibet*, edited by Markham, pp. 2-3; see also Pemberton: *Op. cit.*, Appendix, p. 100). Hastings accepted

this overture for peace and a treaty was concluded with Bhutan on April 25, 1774 at the intercession of the Tesho Lama. (Aitchison: *A Collection of Treaties, Engagements and Sanads*, Vol. I, p. 142. Sikkim and Bhutan were tributary to Tibet). The friendly gesture of the Tibetan Government led Hastings to conceive the plan of establishing closer commercial relation with it. Besides, an amicable relation with Tibet brought in its train the prospect of trade relation with China through the good offices of the Teshu Lama who wielded great influence at the court of Chinese Emperor Kien Lung (1736-1796). Trade with China and Tibet through Bhutan was deemed more convenient since traders trading through Nepal were subjected to extortionate imposts levied on them by the Nepalese officers. (Bhuyan: *Op. cit.*, p. 79; Capt. S. Turner: *Account of an Embassy to the Court of Tesho Lama in Tibet*, pp. xii-xiii). Hence, it was decided by the Council at Calcutta to send a commercial mission to Tibet under George Bogle, a clerk of the Sadar Diwani Adalat. He was commissioned to ascertain the course of the river Brahmaputra (sometime before this Rennel had found out the source of the Brahmaputra river) and the state of the country through which it runs besides exploring the possibilities of commercial traffic to China through Tibet. He was asked to take samples of tradeable goods like gold, silver, precious stones, musk, salt, etc. Bogle was accorded a cordial reception by the Tesho Lama, who agreed to facilitate smooth intercourse of trade between India and Tibet. On 26th February, 1775, the Governor-General laid before the Board a letter from Bogle narrating his impression about the Tesho Lama and the prospect of trade with Tibet. Bogle wrote, "The principal articles of trade between Bengal and Tibet are broad cloth, *attar*, skins, *neel* (indigo), pearls, coral, ambar and other beads, *chauk*, spices, tobacco, sugar, malda-striped satins and a few white cloths; chiefly coarse; the return is made in gold dust, musk and cow-tails." (*Secret Select Committee Proceedings*, 24th February, 1775, Vol. I, p. 254). Bogle's description of Tibet, its government and sundry other details form a valuable source of information about the early British connection with Tibet. Considerable change had in the meantime taken

place in the constitution of the Government of Bengal. The operation of the Regulating Act of 1774 left the Governor-General at the mercy of the 4 councillors and very often he was outvoted in the Council. 'On return from Tibet, Bogle found Clevering, Francis and Monson dominating the Council and Bogle could expect no fair treatment from the triumvirate since the latter regarded him as a favourite of Hastings. Bogle lost his post in the Government and acted as Hastings' Secretary for some time. "On December, 1774, the Governor-General proposed that Bogle be allowed a monthly salary of Rs. 1,200 during the time he was employed on the mission and the motion was carried." (G. W. Forrest: *Selections from the State Papers of the Governors-General of India*, Vol. I, Warren Hastings, p. 311). The friendly relation thus forged with Tibet was cemented by the despatch of two other missions to the Lama in 1776 and 1777, both being led by Dr. Hamilton, who accompanied Bogle in 1774.

Bogle was again asked on 9th April, 1779, to proceed to Bhutan and Tibet "for the purpose of cultivating and improving the good understanding subsisting between the chiefs of those countries and the government and to endeavour to establish a free and lasting intercourse of trade with the kingdom of Tibet and the other states to the northward of Bengal." (*Ibid*; see also Markham (Edited): *Mission of G. Bogle to Tibet*). But the death of the Tesho Lama in the meanwhile led Hastings to abandon the scheme till it was revived in 1784, when Captain Samuel Turner led a commercial mission to Tibet. Samuel Turner met the new Tesho Lama and reported to the Governor-General thus, "Tesho Lama is at this time about eighteen months of age. He did not speak a word but made most expressive signs and conducted himself with astonishing dignity and decorum. His feature good, small black eyes, an animated expression of countenance and altogether I thought him one of the handsomest children I had ever seen—" (*Secret Select Committee Proceedings*, 13th April, 1784, Vol. III, p. 1080). Turner had an interview with the little Tesho Lama in state. He reported: "... The little creature turned looking steadfastly towards me with the

appearance of much attention while I spoke and nodded with repeated but slow movement of the head as though he understood and approved every word but could not utter a reply. . . . he was silent and sedate . . . I must own his behaviour on this occasion appeared perfectly natural and spontaneous and not directed by any action or sign of authority." (*Ibid*). Next day he met the Lama again and made him some presents, "... He (the Lama) was very much struck with a small clock . . . He admired it but with gravity and without any childish emotion." (*Ibid*, p. 1081; see also Capt. S. Turner: *Account of an Embassy to the Court of Tesho Lama in Tibet*). When Turner paid his last visit to the Lama, he "received (from the Lama) his despatches for the Governor-General and from his parents two pieces of satin for the Governor with many compliments . . ." (*Ibid*, p. 1081; see also Capt. S. Turner: *Account of an Embassy to the Court of Tesho Lama in Tibet*).

Sometime during Hastings' governor-Generalship of Bengal, a Buddhist monastery for the Tibetan merchants and pilgrims was built at the request of the Tesho Lama on the bank of the river Hugli, immediately opposite the town of Calcutta. (G. Basak: *J.A.S.B.*, Vol. LIX, 1890, pp. 61-62).

### Cornwallis and Tibet

This cordiality between the Tibetan and Indian governments was put to a test during the Governor-Generalship of Lord Cornwallis. The Raja of Nepal had strained relation with the Tibetan Government and consequently with the Chinese Government (China was the suzerain power of Tibet). The Raja of Nepal appealed to the Governor-General for help against the Tibetans, which, however, was turned down as that would have alienated the Tibetan and the Chinese governments alike. This would, besides, have had prejudicial effect on the Indo-Tibetan trade and commerce. Cornwallis was eager to boost up the flourishing Indo-Tibetan and Sino-Indian trade and one of the motives underlying his commercial treaty with the Nawab of Oudh in 1788 was "... to see new channels of wealth and com-

merely opened with the neighbouring countries of Nepal, Tibet and Assam." (W. S. Setton-Karr: *Selections from Calcutta Gazette*, Vol. I, p. 262, August 21, 1788, Quoted in Bhuyan, *Op. Cit.*, p. 345).

The efforts of these early British rulers of

India to establish and strengthen commercial relation with Tibet amounted to little more than a peep into the mysterious land. As yet no political relation worth the name had been forged. Tibetan exclusiveness stood in the way of closer nexus between the two countries.

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## SOVIET ROCKETS PROBE THE STRATOSPHERE

By M. CHERNENKO

### Soviet Meteorological Rockets

A column of bright flame rises from the ground, splashing patches of light on the ice lying around. It resembles the tail of the fairy-tale fire-bird. In an instant, the big projectile ejecting flame scars high in the sky, rapidly gaining speed in its flight to the unexplored expanses. Scientists gathered in a hut on the edge of an Arctic islet watch, and dozens of instruments track the flight of another Soviet meteorological rocket launched from Hayes Island lying almost in the centre of Franz Josef Land.

Those rockets are much smaller and less pretentious than their bigger counterparts, the geophysical rockets. They carry no passengers and they cannot boast of surmounting outer space. Their tasks are simpler and far more modest: to reach an altitude of 80 to 90 kilometres, reporting back the temperature and pressure, and, upon reaching the upper stratosphere, shoot back to the earth the head or the fore-part, carrying various instruments.

The upward flight lasts several minutes, during which the transmitter of the rocket sends signals to the earth where they are recorded on the film. Their deciphering takes hours, for during ascent the rocket gets heated from friction, and this naturally affects the reading of the instruments.

### The Return of the Rocket

The return is not so simple. At first, the parachute only stabilises the flight, for

the air is still too thin to fill it. The filling begins only at an altitude of 60 kilometres. The "delayed opening jump" is over, and normal descent begins. Almost an hour passes before the head of the rocket touches the ground. Skiers rush to the place where it is going to land, and finally the parachute sprawls on the snow in a purple blotch.

The exploration of the stratosphere by means of meteorological rockets came to be undertaken on a particularly large scale in the USSR during the International Geophysical Year. According to the international programme in this period, 125 rockets were fired from Hayes Island (on the 80th parallel), from medium latitudes in the USSR, and from the Soviet diesel-electric ship the "Ob," then sailing in Antarctic waters.

Now, in keeping with the programme of international geophysical co-operation, more meteorological rockets are being launched for purposes of investigation.

Have these rockets added anything new to our store of knowledge about the envelope of air encasing our planet? What scientific and practical significance do the data, obtained with their help, possess? We asked these questions at the Central Aerological Observatory of the Central Weather Service Department.

Now before I go on any further, let me make this reservation. Even scientists know still far from everything about the perpetual circulation of matter in the

depths of the ocean of air. We were able to reach these places relatively not so long ago. Although every new rocket brings new data, which makes it possible sometimes to verify one or another hypothesis, they are still not enough. Nevertheless, man has already unravelled some of the mysteries.

### Where the Weather is Made

We know that the atmosphere stretches up to hundreds of kilometres away from the surface of the Earth. Of particular interest though is the layer which is 80-90 kilometres from the Earth. It is here that more than 95 per cent of the atmosphere's entire mass is concentrated. And it is here that the layers of air are still relatively dense. Higher up, the air is rarefied to an extreme degree. Higher up lies the domain of the ionosphere, where complex processes take place inside atoms and molecules.

The movement of air masses and the distribution of density and temperature up to 80-90 km. have direct bearing on man's daily activities. It is here that the weather is made. Aircraft already fly here, and it is here that in the not-so-distant future the spaceships returning from distant voyages will come up against their greatest difficulty, for any material object entering the dense layers of the earth's atmosphere is liable to burn up. Another important thing is that this layer protects man and all animal life on earth from the sun's lethal short-wave radiation and its ultra-violet and X-rays.

### Temperature and Composition of Air

After ten years of rocket exploration, it has been firmly established that the composition of the air all the way up to the lower boundary of the ionosphere is the same as at the surface of the Earth. Nitrogen and oxygen comprise more than 99 per cent of it. There is only the millionth fraction of a per cent of

ozone, but it is this that absorbs the sun's harmful radiation.

The temperature is also definitely known now. In moderate latitudes, up to altitude of 10-11 km.—this is the lower part of the atmosphere, which is called the troposphere—the temperature of the air goes down by 6-6.5° C at every kilometre. After that, up to the altitude of 35 km. and higher, the temperature rises, reaching at the height of about 50 km, a peak close to 0°. Higher than 50 km. and up to the upper boundary of the stratosphere, the temperature again drops, going down to an average of 60°C and sometimes even 90°C below zero at the height of 80-90 km. This is already the cold of outer space.

### Seasonal Changes in "Climate" of Stratosphere

One of the most interesting discoveries in recent years is that of seasonal changes in the "climate" of the stratosphere. It has been established that the stratosphere has its own winter, spring, summer and autumn. The geographical latitudinal peculiarities in temperature and pressure distribution have also been ascertained; they are the more pronounced the further we get north and south of the Equator. This means that there is an equatorial zone at tremendous altitudes too.

It was thought but recently that invasions of air masses (polar or tropical) and cyclones and anti-cyclones take place only in the troposphere, at a relatively low altitude. Now we know that these processes also take place in most of the stratosphere, setting enormous air masses into motion. The influence of the continental climate and of oceans is likewise felt up to great heights.

By far not everything that scientists have learnt has been given a clear physical explanation. Nor are they clear on the entire mechanism of the interaction of air masses deep in the atmosphere. The exploration of the stratosphere will therefore continue until we have a far clearer picture of it.





## CREATIVE WRITING AND THE CRITICS

By AMARESH DATTA, M.A.,  
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The creative writer working through a social medium is perhaps more directly concerned than other artists, with the whole of terrestrial life and its different manifestations on various levels of existence. His work therefore lends itself more easily to political, moral or philosophical consideration. Every age makes its own evaluation of his work in reference to its temper and endemic ideas. And what is known as literary epoch is not only marked by its characteristic art-form, but also by a criterion of judgment based on values from an exclusive sphere and sometimes even on a confusion of values. The writer may get influenced by the thought-libit and the technical innovations of his age or as a social being with his normal craving for security and fame may fume or cower under regimentation of ideas and ideals, but as an artist he cannot afford to be constantly disturbed by the neglect that his work meets or the violent enthusiasm that it creates. For his categories are different and he sees man not as a social and political animal or as a moral being, but simply as man, as a kind of embodiment of a life-force, that manifests itself in its bewildering variety on the physical plane and seeks its fulfilment in the quest for a higher order of reality. No true artist can accept a doctrinaire assessment of his works.

A great writer may force his readers to accept him on his own terms and may even endeavour to define canons by which he should like to get his works judged, but his ultimate responsibility is towards himself and his own vision of truth. Politics, ethics or philosophy provide him with situations and germinating thoughts but he has to eschew their specific implications in order to be able to deal with the fundamentally human reaction to them.

For patterns of experience he would rather turn to anthropology or the anthropomorphic concept of religion than to the scientific and formulated views of life evolve through politics, ethics and philosophy. The great writer in discovering the vital rhythm of life has to work through certain archetype which neither the conventional morality nor political ideals can create or provide. As a rule the artist has little power over the political pride and prejudice of his environment and even when he accepts an attitude of commitment, his primary aim is to reveal the essential nature of life—its psyche, and its destiny—its conscious urge for self-realization, the one hidden under the debris of polemic thoughts and the other in the darkness of the Unknown. In his creative world he therefore allows life to create its own morality which may sometimes go against the accepted codes of ethics or politics, but this does not make him anxious or diffident about the truth of experience. Under all circumstances his concern is always with the deeper truth. He may discover the ethos of human existence like Dante in the archetypal design of religious experience or like Shakespear in the web and rhythm of the vast mass of uncharted life, or like Camus in *The Plague* or Ugo Betti of the *Queen and the Rebels* in a given political situation. It is therefore, evident that political or moral consideration will only blur our understanding of a work of art. Artist's vision of design or chaos may give us jolts by disclosing unpleasant facts of experience but it does not really disturb or confuse the goings-on of our everyday social life. On the contrary, by revealing new horizons and adding new dimensions to our perception, it widens our sensibility to truth. The society gradually gets adjusted to the

significance of the artistic discovery and accommodates more and more of life by being forced to remove further its boundary lines. And since the artist's world is not one of assumptions, he is free to discover and assimilate new truths for his comprehension of the mystery of life. Politics or ethics, on the other hand, tend to codify and can seldom make any estimate beyond its basic assumptions. And though founded on empirical knowledge, these assumptions acquire in course of time powers of commandment and often lead to a state of affairs where the end gets confused with the means. The artist follows the inductive method and always keeps an open mind and tries to reach a state of being in the process of becoming. He does not distort life to fit it into rigid social or political pattern. He is therefore, free from the inner fear that instigates the procrastinate attitude of mind. A work of art when it is liked or valued as a document of political or ethical truism, is liked for wrong reasons.

The artist is condemned to be free though not quite in the existentialist sense. He is condemned by society that secretly pines for freedom but refuses to take the risk and so allows its artists and thinkers to live and die as martyrs for the great ideal it cherishes. He is condemned also by himself to be free and fearless because his values are absolute and he is uncompromising in his search. He knows the Sisyphean nature of his task, but in his ascent he goes confident and keeps his sight fixed to the hazy peak. Or like Kafka's Land Surveyor he may get involved in earthly coils, but it is only the vision of the castle that will give significance to the varied fare of his experience. And since he tries to understand life in its entirety—through its vital urge and impulse, its intellectual groaning and spiritual aspiration—he can realise in his own experience both the uniqueness and the universality of the truth of life. And lastly, one of the important functions of art is to liberate things and thoughts from their purely earthly moorings for gaining a proper perspective and the artist has to pass through stages of involvement and dis-

intoxication in the process of creation. All this demands an approach to literature that is uninhibited and free from the dogmas and shibboleths of our tentative philosophies of life. Artist's personality is no doubt moulded, and even enriched by his environment and the dominating ideas of his age, but his work has something absolute about it. Some aspects of his work may also be better explained in reference to his belief and particular facts of his life but his work transcends the limitations of his personality and its ultimate appeal is to the artistic sensitivity of man. Circumscribed by motive—high or low—the ordinary connoisseurs of art cannot fully appreciate the artist's untiring pursuit of his ideal which in fact is a free man's worship of truth. The man who creates may abide our questions, but his work is free.

It is not surprising if art is exploited by society for noble or ignoble cause; what is disconcerting is the fact that there is a strong tendency on the part of centralized institutions to dictate the ideal of art and propagate the relevance of moral or political consideration. The common reader of literature is usually right in his judgment and appreciation, but his sound art-sense is often shocked and mutilated by the dictatorial pronouncements forced on him by the organized societies of interested critics. Writers as well as critics are not only to be left to their own initiative but be allowed to work individually to make their own assessment. Whatever the circumstances, the writer must find his inner freedom and maintain an attitude of indifference to meanings and motives attributed to his work and this he can do only when he makes and prompts others to make the proper distinction between the intrinsic and extrinsic worth of his writing. If politics or philosophy is judged by its own canons, I do not see any reason why literature should be judged by any principle other than literary or aesthetic. It may be argued that literature is more a matter of general pursuit and that since it does not necessarily demand any academic training, its practice is more easily accessible to the

common man. But the fact is that literature too has its characteristic speciality for if we add to the writer's quest of truth, his search for form and beauty, we will be obliged to treat him as a technician of a kind. Even Homer was a specialist in his own way. So a dispassionate attitude like that of a scientist seems to be the right attitude of a writer especially in the modern world. His strength lies not in the political power or the moral passion that he can generate, but in his loyalty to his own vision of beauty and truth. As a social entity with his sense of social responsibility he may play his role in society and even utilize his experiences thus gained for artistic purposes but his function as artist is not to defend the bad against the worse, but to reveal the truth as well as the peculiar beauty inherent in it. Others may, sometimes with justification, fight their own battles for social or political justice denied to him. But his work only needs defense against the vagaries of time.

When we think of the brotherhood of writers, we think in terms of collectivism and use political tools for what we consider artist's freedom. But all the freedoms guaranteed in the Constitution cannot make up the sum of that inner freedom that the artist needs for his solitary search. If the artist works through means other than those of his own his end is bound to be mixed up with foreign grains.

Literary conferences are affairs of recent times. They often tend to devote themselves to discussing non-literary problems and end up with pious resolutions framed and passed with political passion and fervour. This fosters a kind of unionism and by laying emphasis on a specific collective attitude, creates a fighting forum

for extraneous causes. There is no need for writers to be always willing to agree and be united with a common ideology and slogan, for they have no categorical imperatives and they contribute, each in his own way, to the understanding of this perennially complicated human life only through their individual groping and personal discovery of truth.

Political, moral or philosophical consideration, I believe, is basically irrelevant to the evaluation of creative writing, not only because it is unjust, but mainly because it undermines the specific value of literature. Writers, for obvious reasons, would choose democratic environment for his living, but a democracy that is suspicious of idiosyncrasies and chalks out plans for creative writing is no better than totalitarianism. The principle of decentralization is a sound basis and may be carried to its very extreme for cultural activities. The artist carves out for himself in his own individual way, his milieu and he has his public to praise or censure his work. But to try to impose a judgment on his work is to spoil both the artist and the common lover of art. Learned societies may honour and reward an author for certain qualities they have discovered in his writings but let them not monopolize the right to judge or boast of their infallibility. And finally if we have learnt to love art for its intrinsic value, let us remember that in our evaluation, we judge not the man and his temporal creed, but something more permanent—his work.\*

\*Paper contributed to the Seminar on Belief and Literature sponsored by the quarterly journal *Quest* and held in Calcutta on February 13, 14, and 15, 1959.



## DEMOCRACY IS SPIRITUAL

By V. VEERASINGHAM, M.B.E., J.P.,  
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INDIA has always been the spiritualising agent of the world. The latest demonstration of that destiny of hers is the fast spreading doctrine of *Ahimsa* and its exponent *Panchasila*. India rises to envelop the world in a powerful wave of spirituality as Swami Vivekananda predicted. It has to give to the world a new spiritual outlook. India's effort to work its Five-Year Plans in a democratic set-up gives an indication of the direction the divine destiny is unfolding. It has to give to the war-worn world spiritual democracy.

Democracy is an ideal based in turn on the ideal conceptions of equality and liberty. All social organisms including the nations have to move towards that ideal, because it is the way of evolution of all organisms. All nations including those inspired by Marx are floundering in their efforts to reach the ideal, because it is the pattern of Life. Discovery of democracy as a form of Government is attributed to the Greeks, but after about 2000 years of experiment, grave doubts are being entertained about the efficacy of democracy in its present forms to serve its purpose and there is a marked tendency for abandoning it in favour of totalitarianism.

India is wedded to democracy. It is a good augury that efforts are made to make parliamentary democracy function satisfactorily and to reconsider the role of the party system in a democracy. A good deal of re-thinking is done in the West also as to the future of democracy. What vitiates the endeavours is the materialistic conception of the spiritual ideals of democracy, equality and liberty.

Equality of the citizens is the *sine-quanon* of democracy. Equality was first interpreted as political equality in voting. At present economic equality has been added to it and the term socialist democracy is in vogue as if democracy when broad-based, cannot be sufficiently socialistic. India is now rightly emphasising social equality and is carrying on a crusade against "casteism." Supposing all these equalities and many more are guaranteed to and achieved by the individual citizen, there is no way of limiting the desires of man to a

level of equality. Further inequality provides the urge for progress. Man is a bottomless pit of desires. The more the desires are satisfied the more they crave for it. Materialistic equality among citizens is an unrealisable ideal. Does it follow then that democracy cannot thrive among men?

Democratic ideal cannot be reached in one leap. It has to be reached gradually from one stage of harmony to another in which equality and liberty blend in varying proportions always maintaining a progressive rhythm towards ideal democracy conditioning and being conditioned by the various spheres of activity of the citizens. For a democracy to be ideal, all citizens have to be equal. As absolute equality, even equality in the materialistic level is unattainable, it becomes one of the functions of democratic governments to make the citizens equal. The avowed purpose of Socialism is economic equality which cannot however give that sense of full equality necessary to make democratic government a success and an expression of harmony. Ideally men can be equal in this world only if they become "selfless" through practice of unselfishness. At least a majority of the citizens of an ideal democracy ought to be selfless; therefore, for purposes of the gradual evolution and functioning of democracy in a nation unselfishness should be the dominant trait of its citizens. It is the stark selfishness of individuals and nations that has become the real menace to democracy and world peace. India is the only land where the truth of the seeming paradox "Lose the self and gain the whole world" is understood, has been practised, and even realised. It is a great democratic asset to India and Ceylon that even the ordinary illiterate villager will not hesitate to accept that the annihilation of the Ego, the lower self, is the goal of life, in spite of the quickly-spreading selfishness which threatens to ruin rural life and blocks the way to early realisation of democracy.

It is inherent in every individual to resent curtailment of his freedom to satisfy his own desires. It is also a fact that control of such desires is the beginning of civilisation. The

chief trait of materialism is its quest for the satisfaction of desires but religions advocate control of desires in different degrees for man to reach his spiritual goal. Indian philosophies even go to the extreme of advocating complete suppression of all desires to reach the goal of liberation, absolute freedom or *Moksha*. The materialistic philosophy of satisfaction has to be supplemented by the philosophy of control at least to serve as an antidote to the excesses of materialism which threatens to destroy the peace of individuals and nations. In everyday democratic parlance, this truth is endorsed in the saying that freedom is not licence. Democratic harmony consists in the balance between freedom and control. It will be seen that freedom of the individual in a social organism is an extension of the basic principle of equality. The democratic principle of equality of opportunity for every citizen to develop in his own way is the acknowledgement of the principle of the freedom of individuals as an indispensable constituent of democracy. To all appearances, control comes from outside. For a democracy to grow into a self-regulating social organism, imposition of control from outside either on individuals or states is not only a negation of the principle of freedom but runs the risk of strengthening the force of resistance to the controlling power so as to finally overcome it. Self-control is the essence of democratic harmony.

Self-control and unselfishness are essentials for the realisation of liberty and equality without which no democracy can function. Traditionally these qualities are the product of religion. It is because the world-leadership has fallen for the most part into the hands of people who hold religion in contempt and pay homage to materialism that democracies show signs of collapse. In spite of the inroads of the dangerous little-learning of science, religion has yet a hold on the people. They all want equality and liberty, but they little realise that self-control and unselfishness are prerequisites for the attainment of liberty and equality though on account of their religious tradition they unquestioningly admit the social value of these disciplines. Before the darkness of irreligion closes on them, it is imperative that religion should be reinterpreted to them

in the light of the same sciences and using the same scientific methods under whose misguided influence humanity is being weaned of its religious tendencies. Fortunately for humanity, the sciences have expanded their horizons; the days of little-learning are disappearing. Deeper study of the sciences has revealed a glimpse of God. A religious renaissance awaits the world. A Hindu sees in the world alignment of nations into democratic and totalitarian a repetition of the *Puranic* pattern of the forces of Light and Darkness. The clarion call for the renaissance of religion has to go from India. It is not in vain that we hear of the inauguration of *Yogic* Schools in India. The best way to demonstrate to the world the necessity for a scientific revival of religion is to convincingly prove the ethico-religious nature of democracy and by precept and practice usher in the era of spiritual democracy.

The main cause for the decline of democracy is its materialistic conception, but in a rapidly changing world democracy is painfully left to itself without an effort in the right direction to equip the citizens for the democratic way of life. Democracies do not take half as much pains as communistic countries to indoctrinate their citizens with their way of life. Deterioration of democracy, especially its quick disintegration in the under-developed countries clearly indicates the necessity for education in democracy. These countries spend mints of money in bringing about plans after plans to make socialism a success. They little realise that socialism or welfare state is born of democracy and is meaningless without it. Socialism in a totalitarian set-up may show quick results but the ultimate effect will make the Marxian aim of gradual withering away of the state an idle dream and destroy for ever its capacity to become a self-regulating social organism which can only result through the inculcation of the discipline of self-control and unselfishness on the citizens. It is incumbent on all democracies to spiritualise democracy and make religion the hand-maid of democratic education.

Teaching of Civics or other social studies which ought to include religion without practical application of the principles of democracy in real social units cannot produce

results keeping pace with the rapid changes confronting man. The Co-operative Movement has been to a great extent providing this type of education for spiritual democracy through its societies. In the under-developed countries, the small credit societies were really the basic cells which cultured and spread the leaven of democracy. Suffering an eclipse by the rise of socialism and its mass production, the Co-operative Movement is fast losing its capacity to serve as an agent for efficiently imparting democratic education on account of the growing size of its societies. Preparation of the members for the democratic control of societies is best done in smaller societies. It is better if co-operative societies small in size and therefore ensuring personal touch among the members are encouraged, in the interest of education for democracy.

Communism which poohpoohs the idea of God and religion does not seem to realise that its much-vaunted equality is derived from religion and the compassionate living of the people enjoined by it. That equality of citizens, a necessary adjunct of democracy, is best reached through the discipline of unselfishness smacks more of religion than of ethics or politics. Further while the oneness of humanity is emphasised by almost all religions in their ideal of brotherhood, the philosophies of India proclaim not only the way to oneness of humanity on account of its contactual relationship with God, but also the truth of the equality of one with another through veritable identity when the self is shed. All these indicate that the religious background of humanity now undergoing a process of gradual obliteration is still capable of revitalising democracy which also is a spiritual ideal.

As long as democracy is true to its ideal of equality and liberty and the rulers are characterised by unselfish service in the promotion of equality among citizens, the forms of democratic institutions and their procedure may vary according to the genius of each nation.

Let it be noted that these forms and procedures should not in any way be in conflict with the principles of equality and liberty or any other subordinate principles derived from them so as to interrupt the natural process of harmonious co-operation found among the constituents of every organism. One need not be surprised to find the self-same principles receiving emphasis in the co-operative movement as the basis of co-operation. Though it is possible to re-establish on a scientific basis the faith in democracy and its principles of equality and freedom leading to harmony through Co-operation—it deserves a capital C as it designates the Life's process—it is obviously done more easily and more efficaciously with the aid of religion and the Co-operative Movement.

One conversant with the culture of India, her people, philosophies and even her present-day Government policy is easily tempted to believe that India is the most suitable land to be the cradle of spiritual democracy. It has opted for democracy. Though democracy in itself is socialistic and co-operative, it is indeed very significant that the Indian Congress has expressed its goal for India very explicitly as a socialist co-operative democracy thus emphasising equality of the constituents of the body politic, Co-operation, the Life's growth process, and liberty of the individual, the distinguishing feature of democracy. The spiritual aspect of democracy has not found expression there most probably because the Constitution has emphasised the non-sectarian secular nature of the State. As absolute liberty and absolute equality are spiritual in conception and as democracy based on them cannot but be spiritual, the seeming absence of emphasis on spirituality in the aim of the Congress is immaterial. One is however gratified to find more frequent references to spiritual values in the speeches of Indian leaders. These are indications that India is rising to spiritualise politics by championing the cause of spiritual democracy.





# Book Reviews



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EDITOR, *The Modern Review*

## ENGLISH

SRI AUROBINDO'S - POLITICAL  
THOUGHT (1893-1908): By Haridas  
Mukherjee and Uma Mukherjee. Firma K. L.  
Mukhopadhyay. Calcutta. 1958. P. 188. Price  
Rs. 8.00.

Among the master-minds that have helped to shape the history of India in the last half a century or thereabout, Sri Aurobindo occupies a conspicuous place. Of his many-sided genius the authors rightly observe (p. 17), "He was at once a creative artist, a philosopher, a revolutionary, a sage and a seer, all rolled into one." In this work the authors have attempted with the help of a number of original documents to assess his contribution, on the political plane, to the success of the nationalist movement of which he was undoubtedly the most intellectual and inspiring figure in his time. The title of this monograph is a little misleading, as it does not seek to present a systematic account of Sri Aurobindo's political philosophy culled from his writings down almost to the last. But still it is a work of sufficient merit. Limiting itself to the phase of Sri Aurobindo's career up to the climax of the Swadeshi Movement in Bengal in 1908, it consists of three parts. Part I, giving a bird's-eye view of Sri Aurobindo's career up to the date last mentioned, clearly traces his transformation from anglicism to nationalism of the Congress brand and thence to his radical type of nationalism comprising, as the authors observe (p. 24-5), three points, viz., the ideal of *Purna Swaraj*, the weapon of, passive resistance and the conception of the country as a Divine Mother. It would have been well if the authors had tried to explain the genesis of the last concept in the evolution of Sri Aurobindo's

thought. The authors have further attempted (pp. 26-27) to indicate three stages in the evolution of his political ideas, of which the milestones are his contributions to the *Indu Prakash* of Bombay (1893-94); the publication of his pamphlet *Bhawani Mandir* (1905) and his articles in the daily *Bande Mataram* and the weekly *Yugantar* (1906-08) and in the *Karmayogin* (1900-10). This point, however, requires further clarification as we are not placed in possession of sufficient material from the *Bhawani Mandir* and the *Karmayogin*. What care the authors have taken to ensure the authenticity of their sources is indicated by the fact that they have sought to identify the articles in the *Bande Mataram* by internal evidence as well as the testimony of a living member of the editorial board at the time. Further material has been drawn from the writings of contemporary authors and the official records of the Intelligence Branch of the West Bengal Government.

It remains to say a few words about the rest of the work. Part II reproduces the whole series of papers (except two which cannot be traced) written by Sri Aurobindo under the title "*New lamps for old*" (1893-4). Part III is made up of fifteen select articles from the *Bande Mataram* (1907-08). Of these documents the authors observe (p. 27) that "they are valuable source material for our new national history" and that "they form a unique class of creative literature." In fact they introduce us, however partially, to the outstanding part played by one of the noblest and most gifted sons of our motherland in the history of our freedom struggle during two of its stormiest phases.

U. N. GHOSHAL



THE CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT OF INDIA, 1937-1947: By Amiya Chatterjee, M.A., D. Phil. Published by Firma K. L. Mukhopadhyay, 6/1A, Banchharam Akkur Lane, Calcutta-12.

The book under review is 'practically based', as Professor D. N. Banerjee says in his Foreword, on the author's thesis, which won for her a D. Phil. of the Calcutta University. It covers that crucial period of history, since when the Congress under Hoare-Willingdon autonomy assumed charge of eight out of eleven provinces of India, down to the day Britain relinquished her sceptre in the compulsion of circumstances. Mahatma Gandhi's demand was 'Quit India'; Quaid-e-Azam Jinnah put in his rejoinder, 'Divide before you Quit'. Netaji Subhas Bose brought home the danger of resting British guns on Indian shoulders in order to keep India in subjection. The Labour Party appreciated the force of it; and Stafford Cripps, as the Chancellor of the Exchequer, argued in the House of Commons the absurdity of reinforcing British troops in order to enforce administrative responsibility; there was yet time to save Britain's Indian trade and at the same time for British public opinion to preen itself on the virtue of withdrawal. Britain all too gladly accepted Jinnah's plea and broke India at each conceivable point by a chain of Ulsters, before she quitted her shores. In its background, the author gives us a review of 'the constitutional currents and cross-currents' of the decade in language of profound balance and restraint. The author, in fact, has kept herself completely free from an emotional drag or the convivialities, a resume of contemporary events of absorbing interest is prone to.

The author is eminently happy in her appraisal of the default of Congress leadership forfeiting its right to represent the Moslems. In the General Elections of 1936-37, she points out, the Congress contested only 58 out of a total of 482 Muslim seats. It is a devastating fact carrying its own tale. Here however, was the opportunity for the author to make her impact felt all the more tellingly by a passing reference—I say just a passing reference—to the feeder-background of the Congress mixing up Khilafat with Indian politics all too acutely inflating pan-Islamism, which, when frustrated, degenerated into an aggressive communalism and its constitutional avoidance of the question of Separate Electorate, culminating into a 'neither acceptance nor rejection' of the Communal Award, which was the linchpin of the 1935 Act.

On the question of Federation, the author is remorseless in her delineation how both the wings of the Congress—one led by Netaji Subhas Bose and the other swearing by Mahatma Gandhi—vied with each other to register their opposition. The author is inclined to the view that the autocratic princely India would not have assorted well with British India, much too ahead in her demand for responsible government. She is, however, fair to cite the authority of her teacher Professor D. N. Banerjee, who is of opinion that the Congress should have accepted Federation, which is an acknowledgement of the fundamental unity of India in the political sense. There should have been, as well, a reference to Sir Samuel Hoare—later on Lord Templewood—the prime author of the 1935 Act for identical views, stated with absolute clarity in his *Two Troubled Years*. As it is impossible to be adequate within such brief compass, I only take up the two pivotal points.

I wish there had been more of reflection and interpretation—since the book is no thesis but a review—from the trained, analytical mind. In any case, it is a valuable addition to literature relating to Indian Constitutional History and of great value to those, interested in Indian politics.

JOGES C. BOSE

THE GREAT RISING OF 1857—A brief history based on Dr. S. N. Sen's *Eighteen Fifty-seven*. The Publications Division, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Government of India. Re. 1.50nP.

Dr. S. N. Sen's *Eighteen Fifty-seven* is one of the very readable accounts of that memorable event that shook India in 1857 and 1858 and was in fact "the first blow at British imperialism." It begins with a brilliant analysis of the causes of the great rising of 1857 mis-called the Sepoy Mutiny (Chapter I) gives an excellent account of the struggle in the chapters which follow (Chapters II-X), and ends with a chapter (Chapter XI) on the nature and significance of the crisis. Dr. Sen contends that the rising of 1857 was not a war of national liberation and gives sound reasons for his contention. Nor was the rising a mere military upheaval. Overzealous nationalists would have been pleased if the author had subscribed to their view that the rising of 1857 was India's first war of independence. But nationalism and a sense of history do not always go together and history has not unfrequently

suffered at the hands of historians(!) without a sense of history.

The compendium under review has all the merits of the original volume and we would commend it to busy men and women who cannot spare time enough for *Eighteen Fifty-seven*. Those who have read the latter may also profitably use the volume under review to refresh their memory.

SUDHANSU BIMAL MOOKHERJI

**POLITICAL THEORY:** By E. Asirvatham. Published by Upper India Publishing House Ltd., Lucknow. Price Rs. 14.

The book is complete in 24 chapters dealing with different aspects of political theory. Starting from the origin and nature of the State, the author ends with world Communism and pluralism. The chapters on democracy, liberalism and idealism in politics deserve special mention. The principle, functions and organisation of the United Nations have been given in fairly elaborate details. The author's scheme seems to be to give a good idea of the different branches of political theories and organisations of government. But at places, he has made thoughtful comments. For example, he has discussed the problem of political pluralism in India and then commented, "Nothing can be more dangerous to the unity of India than the mission of the half-truth contained in pluralism . . . The traditional weakness of India has been her inability to unite and, if united, to remain united . . . If our caste sabhas and communal organisations are allowed to benefit themselves by the teachings of Pluralism, that would mean the end of the Secular State ideal in India, if not of the State itself." This book will be a great help to general readers as well as advanced students.

D. B.

**A MODERN INCARNATION OF GOD: A COMMENTARY ON THE LIFE AND TEACHING OF SRI RAMAKRISHNA:** By C. Das. General Printers & Publishers Private Ltd., Calcutta. 1958. Price Rs. 15/-, Foreign 20s.

The book under review makes highly interesting reading. It is well-documented and presents the thesis of the author in a logical way. It is a very lucid presentation of a viewpoint so long overlooked and ignored. The author has taken pains to substantiate his thesis and thrown up a challenge to those who do not agree with

him. A casual refutation will not convince the honest and careful reader. Hard words by those who disagree with him will not controvert his position.

According to the author, Ramakrishna was a theist in the wide sense of the term. He clearly brings out that, according to Ramakrishna, the Divine is at once personal and impersonal. So there is a state which combines within it the realization of the Personal and that of the Impersonal. Such is the state of the *Vijnani*—the most perfect sadhaka who goes into *nirvikalpa samadhi* and comes out of it again with a purified ego to realize God in His spiritual forms, and that all things and beings of the world are manifestations of the One. The *Vijnani* is not merely a devotee of the Personal God; nor is he again merely an Absolutist. He realizes God with forms in conscious, and the Absolute in the sense of the undifferentiated in superconscious, *samadhi*. Ramakrishna told his hearers in no uncertain terms: if God is the ultimate Reality, God and the Absolute are two names for the same supreme Being; if the Absolute, on the other hand, is the undifferentiated, it is only an aspect of the divine Mother, i.e., God. The *Vijnani*, who knows God in both the personal and the impersonal aspect is therefore superior to the *Jnani*, the knower of the Absolute. But no human realization, Ramakrishna pointed out, could exhaust God. He reveals Himself in the twofold way—the personal and the impersonal, but what He is in Himself apart from these revelations nobody can say. Thus the author's interpretation of Ramakrishna's view on Reality marks a departure from the conventional Advaita rendering of Ramakrishna's teaching. The author has worked out his points in elaborate detail, bringing his dialectical skill to bear upon the discussion. His thesis in fact revolutionizes our conception of God, both philosophical and religious, and is indeed an outstanding contribution towards solution of a problem that has long been agitating the minds of philosophers.

There are seven other chapters, a bibliography and an index. Chapter I deals with the problem of Incarnation and gives a critical and comparative estimate of the Christian and Hindu doctrines of Incarnation. The doctrine of Incarnation is the main plank of Hinduism or Hindu theism and dates back to Sri Krishna. Hindus posit

quite a number of Incarnations. This plurality is essentially a Hindu conception and is doubtless embarrassing to Christians. Here the author examines the doctrine of Incarnation in all its aspects.

The second chapter entitled "The precursors of Ramakrishna" presents a social, cultural and religious history of nineteenth-century India with a special reference to the renaissance in Bengal. The importance of the history of Ramakrishna's time cannot be overemphasized if one has properly to understand the significance of the advent of Ramakrishna.

The remaining chapters save the Epilogue are devoted to the story of Ramakrishna's life and his teaching on religion and synthesis of religions. In an age of eclecticism Ramakrishna stood for synthesis and demonstrated beyond doubt by his spiritual experiences that God could be realized by practising the religions, provided one was seized with intensest love of God. To the warring Faiths with their dogmas he gave the much-needed synthesis. He did not mean, however, that we would have to follow all religions at the same time, or to make a new religion out of the existing ones. He further enjoined us to follow our individual creeds with unflinching faith and devotion armed with the conviction that people practising their different religions are only travelling by different paths to the same goal.

In the Epilogue the author traces the origin and development of Indian theism and shows how the conceptions of God as personal and as impersonal figured in the different Indian philosophies and religions, how theism, engulfing impersonalism as it did, culminated in the spiritual experiences and teachings of Ramakrishna. The discussion throws a flood of light on the problem of personality of God viewed in the historical perspective.

The book is written in luminously lucid English. Everybody interested in religion and philosophy should make a close study of the book, precisely because it deals with the most crucial issues that impede a lasting peace in the world. It is, indeed, worthy of a wide circulation.

SUDHIR KUMAR NANDI

### SANSKRIT

**MADHURAVIJAYAM.** *Edited with a historical introduction by S. Thiruvengudachari, Professor, Dr. Alagappa Chettiar Training College, Karaikudi. Published by Annamalai University, Annamalaiagar. Price not mentioned.*

This is a historical poem in Sanskrit written by a woman poet, Ganga Devi. She gives a biographical account of her royal husband Kumara Kampana whose conquest of Madura is responsible for the title of the work. Though the exact date of its composition is not known she might have written the poem towards the end of the 14th century. It is supposed to be 'the only historical work for the history of South India before the 15th century.' The work was originally published in the Trivandrum Sanskrit series on the basis of a single fragmentary manuscript. The volume under review contains the text of the poem accompanied by an English translation and a long introduction describing the political condition of the region and the period covered by the work on the basis of different available materials and thereby verifying the historical value of the poem. It appears that besides various items of historical importance it abounds in beautiful pieces of poetry to which the learned translator does not seem to have generally been able to do full justice. The translation is not always quite faithful to the text.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

### MARATHI

**YATHARTHA BUDDHADARSHAN:** By "Shriprikash." K. M. Shembavanekar, 15, Thakurdwar, Bombay-2. 1956. Pp. 177 + 11. Price Rs. 3-8.

The author is a professor of Sanskrit and Ancient Indian culture at the St. Xavier's College, Bombay. He is reckoned highly, indeed, for his profound scholarship, which is in the tradition of the renowned pundits of old. He has written a documented book on the Buddha and presented him against the background of authentic history as contra-distinguished from legend-lore. He evidently confirms, of course, on the basis of the tenets of the Enlightened One, Rhys David's estimate: "Gautama was born and brought up and lived and died a Hindu. . . . There was not much in the metaphysics and principles of Gautama which cannot be found in one or the other of

orthodox systems, and a great deal of his morality could be matched from earlier or later Hindu books." And verily, history like life, has an inner continuity and cohesiveness running all through it. For, it is a symphony and not a staccato cinema-script. The author is to be congratulated on his painstaking and purposeful study.

G. M.

**HINDI**

**SAMSAR AUR DHARMA:** By K. G. Mashruwala. 1956. Pp. 264. Price Rs. 2-8.

**GANDHI AUR SAMYAVAD:** By K. G. Mashruwala. 1956. Pp. 124. Price Re. 1-4.

**NIRBHAYATA:** By K. G. Mashruwala. 1959. Pp. 22. Price three annas.

All available from Navajivan Prakāsham Mandir, Ahmedabad-19.

The late Shri Mashruwala was an intellectual giant, but with the heart of a child and the compassion of a mother. His mind, therefore, was exceptionally enlightened. In *Samsar aur Dharma*, the reader has his mature and melodious views on the World, Religion and God, while his *Gandhi and Samyavad* is a clear-

cut study of the philosophies of Gandhiji and Marx, the distinct diametrical difference between the two being the acceptance of love and liberty of the human individual as the foundation and fulfilment of life by the former and the denial thereof by the latter,—the difference between a flower and a ferula as a gift! *Nirbhayata* is an essay and intriguing analysis of the kingly attribute of fearlessness.

G. M.

**GUJARATI**

**CHURNA AUSHADHI** (Powders and Drugs): By Madhav Chowdhary. Published by the Society for the Encouragement of Cheap Literature and printed at its own printing press Ahmedabad. 1951. Paper cover. Pp. 72. Price four annas.

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# Indian Periodicals

## J. C. Bose—His Life and Contribution

Professor B. D. Nag Chaudhuri writes in the Bulletin of the *Ramakrishna Mission Institute of Culture*:

The hundred years since the birth of Acharya Jagadish Chandra Bose spans the entire period of the birth and coming of age of Indian science, as well as the renaissance of the nation. Jagadish Chandra Bose contributed to both in no small measure.

Born a hundred years ago, on 30th November, 1858, most probably in Mymensingh, then in East Bengal, Jagadish Chandra Bose lived his early life in rural districts. His father Bhagawan Chandra Bose, then Deputy Magistrate of Mymensingh and one of the early graduates of the Calcutta University, sent him to a near-by village *pathasala* rather than to a Government school.

Jagadish Chandra was strongly influenced by his father's love for the traditional village life, and he imbibed from him during those early years a love for the culture and traditions of his country. This love developed into a deep attachment, and determined the perspective from which he later viewed scientific and social life. He was one of those in this country who looked back and ahead at the same time.

When he was thirteen years old Jagadish Chandra was sent to Calcutta to join St. Xavier's School. From that time on he lived in Calcutta except for the few years he spent in England and his occasional trips in this country and abroad. He looked on Mymensingh as his home and visited it occasionally.

From his youth, Jagadish Chandra loved beauty in nature. He spent vacations roaming the hill slopes of the Himalayas, enjoying the beauty. During one such trip in the *terai* he caught an infection which caused him a lot of suffering; and at Cambridge persistent fever forced him to leave the study of medicine and take up the natural science course. If Jagadish Chandra the man was the product of

his close association with village life at Mymensingh and the traditions of his country, Jagadish Chandra the scientist was certainly the product of the years he spent at Cambridge associating with men like Lord Rayleigh, with whom he studied physics, and Professor Vines with whom he studied botany. These scientists encouraged him to take up the teaching profession; and an introduction from Lord Rayleigh to Lord Ripon, the then Viceroy, secured him, his first appointment as Professor of Physics at the Presidency College Calcutta.

## TOWARDS A UNIFIED VISION

Bose spent the next thirty years of his life at Presidency College and retired in 1915 as Emeritus Professor. The two strongly different currents—that of culture and that of science—never became contradictory in him. Rather, in him, they were fused into an imaginative and spacious outlook which led him to search for new pathways in science.

Bose was not only a pioneer in science and research work, but the first exponent of experimental research in India. He brought to his method of research certain qualities rare among scientists; he also tried to synthesize the various sciences. He put the strongest stress on experimental skill and invention, and he was keen to relate scientific truths to India's traditional spiritual truths. These qualities are all of abiding value to modern society, and the success of the unique research institution created and built up by him is in some measure a token of the survival and acceptance of the values of which he was such a strong exponent.

Bose's pursuit of scientific truth led him into various fields of science. The problems that confronted him were not of interest only for the moment; they came to him as a result of his deliberate seeking for patterns in nature. He tried to find one scheme embracing all things living and non-living, and then through that scheme to investigate all living things,

plant and animal. However, this breadth of vision, which he derived from a successful synthesis of his scientific training and the traditional outlook, was always effectively held in restraint by the requirements of objective and rigorous experimentation in which he firmly believed.

During the first ten years of his appointment Bose did not seriously engage in research. Nevertheless, he built up, in the course of these years, a laboratory at the Presidency College to carry out physical experiments, and he started giving lectures with experimental demonstrations for which he became justly famous. He was also probably the first in India to take up scientific hobbies like photography and recording of voices. He was particularly interested in photographing historical sites. These hobbies, built around nature and science, renewed his love for his country and its culture and traditions. With his wife, he travelled widely in India. He visited holy places like Budh Gaya and Puri, the ancient caves and rock-cut temples at Ajanta and Ellora, ancient archaeological sites like Harappa and Pataliputra, and scenes of natural beauty such as Badrinath, Kedarnath, and Kashmir.

As he matured he sought a unified vision of life in which beauty, truth, and tradition fused in one glorious pattern. His need to seek truth manifested itself in his growing devotion to science. It was this growing urge for truth that finally brought about his vow on his 34th birthday to devote the remainder of his life to the furtherance of scientific knowledge. But Bose's search for scientific knowledge was not a narrow ideal. His sensitiveness to beauty and his love of his country and its ancient heritage moulded his devotion to science into a search for a profound conception of a synthesis between science and Indian culture.

#### EXPERIMENTS WITH SHORT WAVE LENGTHS

In the laboratories at the Presidency College, he plunged into experiments with electromagnetic or radio waves, which Clerk Maxwell had predicted nearly a hundred years earlier, and Hertz had demonstrated only some fourteen years earlier. The properties of these electromagnetic or radio waves were then being investigated by

various scientists such as Lodge, Marconi, Righi, and others in Europe.

With rare experimental skill Bose constructed his own instruments. These were bits of mineral crystal, odd pieces of wire and a few electrical meters. With his apparatus he produced extremely short radio waves—wave-lengths of one centimetre or less compared to wave-lengths of several metres that were being produced by his contemporaries in Europe. These extremely short radio waves, he demonstrated, behaved very much like light waves. They were reflected or refracted by objects. However, they could pass through brick walls, which ordinary light could not. These extraordinary properties of short waves were not appreciated until fifty years later. In radar, which is now used by ships, aeroplanes, and military installations for observing objects that cannot be seen because they are too far away or hidden by clouds or fog, these centimetre length short waves have become extremely useful. But it is only during the last fifteen years that centimetre length waves have been found of use.

In these days when we take radio, television, and even radar for granted, it is relevant to recall the demonstration given by Bose in 1895 in a public lecture at which the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal was present. He demonstrated the ability of his electric waves to travel from the lecture room, through the walls of an intervening room and passage, to a third room at a distance of 75 feet. There they were detected and used to explode a miniature mine and ring a telephone bell. Such an experiment even today is counted as extremely entertaining and instructive.

It is interesting now to see retrospectively that while most of Bose's contemporaries, like Lodge and Marconi, were concerned with radio waves with wave-lengths of several metres, which have been in use for the last forty years in radio broadcasting, Bose's investigations were concerned mainly with extremely short wave-lengths. For a long time these very short radio waves remained a scientific curiosity almost till the beginning of the Second World War. Then radio wave-lengths of three centimetres found general use because of those almost optical properties and the power of penetration which Bose had demonstrated fifty years earlier.

## THE BORDER FIELD

It was while working with radio waves that Bose noticed that one of the instruments, called a coherer, used for the detection of radio waves, showed signs of being, as it were, tired after constant use, and refused to detect. When left alone for some time these coherers recovered and again became normal and able to detect radio waves. These detectors or coherers were usually made of metal fillings or bits of fine metal wire, loosely packed together. Bose was greatly struck by this phenomenon. It was something akin to the fatigue shown by living organisms, followed by recovery after rest. The detection by the coherer on the impingement of radio waves seemed to him something very like the response to stimuli of living organisms which, too, get fatigued and recover after rest. From the time of this discovery Bose gradually became engrossed in a border field where the behaviour of inorganic matter and that of living things evinced great similarity.

Living systems are recognized generally by five fundamental properties, viz. (i) assimilation, (ii) growth, (iii) reproduction, (iv) irritability or the capacity to respond to stimulus, and (v) adaptability or capacity to respond to stimulus in a selective or differential manner.

Biologists have tried to define life as a dynamic equilibrium in a complex system consisting of proteins, fats, carbohydrates, sterols, water, etc. It is an energy system whose energy is turned to maintaining itself. Five properties of life are connected with this maintenance of the energy system and with passing it on. Of these, we may mention (i) nutrition, i.e., the process by which the system replenishes itself with more energy of a suitable kind, (ii) mass movement of its parts, which is intrinsically developed, such as locomotion, feeding, etc., and (iii) reproduction, which is generation of a new system independent of itself.

Bose was mainly concerned with only one of these aspects of a living system, namely, that of irritability or the capacity to respond to external stimuli. Some of his best known experiments were with a familiar plant—*mimosa pudica*. He showed that when this plant was subjected to electric shock of moderate intensity it

responded in the same manner as it would when touched mechanically. The contraction and fall of the leaf were experimentally shown to be due to the expulsion of cell water induced by stimulation which was carried to other parts of the organism. Bose invented sensitive instruments to measure the changes in the electric potential that followed the mechanical response to stimulation. He was also keenly interested in the electric potentials observed in all living things under various kinds of activity and stimulation. At one time he was inclined to the opinion that electrical potentials play an important role in the functions of various types of organs such as nerves and muscles. It was from this wide interest in all living organisms that he gradually developed a specialized interest in plant physiology.

Bose decided to work with plants because these were simpler living organisms than animals and were easier to experiment with. His work on plants, however, was strongly biased towards physics. In fact, he showed that plants responded to stimulation and became tired after repeated stimulation. Their response decreased when a poison was introduced, and increased when a stimulant was given. In fact a stimulant could be used as an antidote to a poison. He built an apparatus consisting of tin wires dipped in distilled water and the response of the inorganic system was recorded in a galvanometer. He showed that substances like a small quantity of soda added to the water increased the electrical response of the system whereas oxalic acid, when added to the water, decreased the response. In one series of experiments, Bose, after demonstrating the parallel effects in plants and ordinary non-living systems, said to his audience in London, "Amongst such phenomena, how can we draw a line of demarcation and say here the physical process ends and there the physiological begins? No such barrier exists. Do not the two sets of records tell us of some property of matter that is common and persistent?"

A similar experiment was made by Bonhoeffer, a well-known German physical chemist, with iron wire suitably treated. It is interesting to quote Bonhoeffer's remarks: "It is indeed most astonishing that iron wire and nerve, which from the chemical point of view differ so enormously



ly, function in such a similar way. It does not seem credible that the various functional properties in which the two systems resemble each other could be independent or show such accidental similarities. The existence of a threshold of activation, of a refractory period, of a transmission of activation, of a tendency to give rhythmic reactions, and a suggestion that the so-called accommodation effects are not missing in the model, indicate that all these properties, so uncommon in ordinary chemistry, are in some way related to each other.

"Credit goes probably to Bose for constructing the first inorganic model of electrical response to stimulation shown by living tissues. He was also correct in his first interpretation of the response phenomena being a skin effect, but later his experiments with metal wire models led him to the molecular disturbance theory of response."

The models discussed above have a great deal of similarity in response to stimulation in living systems, but they are inadequate in certain respects. In living systems the responses are usually of such character as to favour the continued existence of the individual or species, i.e., the normal responses to stimulation have a regenerative or adaptive character. This is also true of the complicated responses in higher animals. Till recently no inorganic models were suggested which imitated the behaviour of the central nervous system in higher animals. Now, however, people today are thinking of electronic brains, self-propelled missiles, and radar-directed anti-aircraft guns. Such mechanisms have greater similarity to the purposive action in higher animals. A new science called 'cybernetic' has recently developed which deals with the entire field of control and communication either in machines or in animals.

We have today, in our vision of things to come, various kinds of automation which in a great measure bring the world of the non-living close to the living systems. It is perhaps time to ask ourselves some deeper questions; questions that Bose himself intuitively felt but did not put into words. Has matter itself the in-

herent property that gave rise to life? What is this deep-seated property and what are its manifestations? How can we seek it?

### The Spiritual Unfoldment of Man

*Prabuddha Bharata* writes editorially:

The supreme goal that is presented before man, according to Indian thought at its highest, is this state of self-realization, i.e., the full manifestation of the divine essence that is hidden in the heart of everyone. Since this spiritual unfoldment is a gradual and progressive attainment, the values that are implied by, and attributed to, Truth must be brought into being in the life, thought, and action of everyone that treads the spiritual path. The supreme Reality is described as the repository of Truth, Goodness, and Beauty; or rather, they are the very essence of Reality. This 'trinity of values', then, must be acquired and cherished by all who wish to live a purposeful life and work for attaining the high destiny that is promised for man.

The destiny that is promised for the man of self-knowledge is verily the highest. He climbs the very Mount Everest of the spiritual realm. He becomes the Spirit, one and identical with it. The Upanishads declare that the knower of Brahman becomes Brahman (*Mundaka Upanishad* III.2.9.) To that supreme goal, man's life on earth must be constantly prepared and directed. For human birth is a rare opportunity that is given to the soul, and it is in the soul of man that such a spiritual unfoldment becomes full and complete. It is a pity, indeed, if man, after having got this rare privilege of human birth, does not strive after self-realization. Therefore, it is that the *Kena Upanishad* counsels man to take to spiritual life, saying: 'If one has realized here (in this very life), then there is truth; if one has not realized here, then there is great destruction. The wise ones, having realized (Brahman) in all beings, and having turned away from the world, become immortal' (II.5). In this realization, human life finds its fulfilment. May we all strive to realize the Self in this very life.

# FOREIGN PERIODICALS

## Manifesto by Tibetan Leaders

The International Commission of Jurists in its *Preliminary Report*, July, 1959, publishes a manifesto presented to Sri Jawaharlal Nehru, Prime Minister of India, in the summer of 1958, by Tibetan leaders :

Tibet, independent and peace-loving, has a theocratic form of Government with His Holiness the Dalai Lama as its sole Ruler. Its language, culture, traditions are completely different from those of China. Yet, in the year 1949, when the Communists subdued the whole China, they declared to the whole world through the radio that China wanted to "liberate" Tibet.

The Chinese suddenly attacked the eastern regions of our country from eight different directions. Being a non-violent and peace-loving country, Tibet had no stock of arms and ammunitions, and the legal Government of the country approached the United Nation's General Assembly for justice and to check the further advance of the Chinese invasion. Receiving no reply from that Assembly, we approached the Security Council at its session at Lake Success. To our greatest disappointment both of our appeals were ignored and remain unanswered to this day. It was under these circumstances that the Chinese forced our Governor at Chamdo to submit to their dictates and to make the Government of Lhasa surrender. To the Governor was dictated the so-called "17-point agreement," which he had to translate into Tibetan. Then he was forced to sign it on behalf of the Government of Tibet by the threat of further troops being sent into Tibet if this was not done. No document is legal without the official seal of the Cabinet duly sanctioned by the Dalai Lama, but the Chinese made a seal of their own for the purpose (and this seal is still in their possession); therefore the agreement was never properly signed.

Since that time the Tibetans have suffered untold agonies. The Chinese Communists have gradually deprived us of all our political rights. Our Government, right from the top to the provincial and district offices, has been made powerless and today we are governed completely by the Chinese. Soon after their occupa-

tion in 1951 the Chinese organised the Regional Military Commanders and abolished our National Army, and the Commanders and Vice-Commanders of our own forces were enlisted with the Communist forces to bring them into line with the forces of occupation. During 1953-54 the Chinese tried to establish their Military and Political Committee to abolish the Tibetan Government. But the bitter opposition of the people prevented this. By the end of 1954 the Chinese managed to take the Dalai Lama to China and there he was forced to agree and confirm the autonomous status of Tibet submitting to establish the Regional Autonomous Government of Tibet. In 1955 the Dalai Lama returned to Tibet. In 1956 the Chinese in order to consolidate their hold on Tibet, formed the preparatory committee of the Regional Autonomous Government of Tibet. This Committee is directly governed by the Peking Government. All its members both Chinese and Tibetans must be approved by the Peking authorities and all its decisions must first be confirmed by them. They have installed their own agents in that committee with fifty-fifty representation of Chinese and Tibetans, and have used those Tibetan puppets to influence the decisions of the Committee. Thus politically the Tibetans have been made completely subservient to the Chinese overlords.

Economically Tibet used to be self-sufficient for its food supply. But today million of Chinese are living on our people and our food situations is desperate. The people in the East and N. East are facing a famine. The Chinese, besides laying hands on our current crops, have forced our people to open our centuries-old granaries. They have also taken away our reserves of gold and silver bullion. In the southern and central regions they have destroyed thousands of acres of agricultural lands by giving priority to "national highways" and to the building of barracks and arsenals. In the East and North-East regions the Chinese have introduced the Communist method of land-reforms. In these areas half the population are peasants and the other half nomads. To effect their land reforms the Chinese have imported masses of their settlers and distributed the

agricultural land of the Tibetans among them. They have in this way introduced the collectivisation of farms. In this process the Chinese have made the despoiled Tibetan farmers work twelve hours a day, with daily ration, insufficient for a single meal. In the distribution of property they have not even spared the Tibetans' personal requisites of every-day life such as rugs, rooms in the houses and articles of clothings. Our Tibetans are expected to treat these Chinese settlers as their aunts and uncles, and share all their property equally with the immigrants. The nomads too are victims of these so-called reforms. Their flocks of sheep and cattle, their wool and dairy products are all being confiscated by the alien Government.

In the name of education they have opened schools of various denominations, organised training centres such as "Youth's League," "Women's Association," "Workers' Party", and they are trying their utmost to enlist as many as possible of our young men and children. In this way they have made thousands of homes unhappy by selling their children to China for the so-called advancement of their education. None of these children are being trained or educated for any constructive purposes. There are no Tibetan engineers, electricians, chemists or doctors. They train our youths to distrust each other. They are trying to indoctrinate the young Tibetans' minds and to strengthening the forces of communism in our land. As a result they have divided families: son against father, wife against husband, and thus alienating Tibetans from their own culture, tradition and home-land.

In the matter of religion they have their own schemes to subvert the very bases of Buddha's Teachings. Our religion teaches love for all and malice for none. The Communists in their struggle to spread the Marxist ideology have used our well-known Monk scholars to mislead the simple Tibetans. In this endeavour they made Geyshey Sherab Gyatso, one of the well-known monk scholars, propagate their own doctrine by writing pamphlets and translating their various books and articles. They have also used the Panchen Lama as a puppet to advance their political purposes in Tibet. Pamphlets and articles of propaganda have been spread all over Tibet since 1948-1958, and communism is

being preached to all our people. In Kumbum (one of the famous monasteries in the east) the Chinese have actually made our head-lamas study Marxist Dialectics. Ordinary monks they try to overcome by such material arguments as this: The Monks are made to remain in their cells and try to procure food by prayer alone. If the food is not miraculously produced, this is supposed to prove that God does not exist. Meantime the Communists prevent the monks from using their God-given natural powers to procure food, torture them by hunger into abandoning their simple faith. The Communists preach day in and day out to our simple people and monks that religion is nothing short of an opium to distract the human mind from hard work. They have used hundreds of these monks as labourers in the building of roads and barracks. They have stopped the monasteries from sharing the usual food reserves and thousands of monks starved to death for this reason. They have forced many of our monks to marry and move to China to earn a living. They have laid hands on the capital of these monasteries and even subjected to tax the very idols and statues. Such has been the battle of Marxist ideology against our spiritual heritage.

Outwardly they are telling people that they have come to Tibet to protect and help the Tibetans and to build roads, hospitals and air-fields. As a matter of fact the roads are being built to connect Tibet with the Chinese mainland in order to

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transport millions of their armed forces to the far-flung areas of Tibet. In making these thousands of miles of roads they have used Tibetans as forced labourers and thousands of them have died for want of food and proper care. Their hospitals are not meant for these poor victims but are mainly to use for their armed forces. The Tibetans even in the towns are not allowed to use these army hospitals. The big air-fields that they have built are mainly for the purpose of bringing in fuel, arms and ammunitions. Tibetans are not even allowed to pass near these air-fields, guarded so heavily by our oppressor. All these constructions are mainly for the purpose of consolidating their hold on Tibet and to suppress and preserve the conquered land and people of Tibet.

To us Tibetans the phrase "the liberation of Tibet," in its moral and spiritual implications, is based as a deadly mockery. The country of a free people was invaded and occupied under the pretext of liberation—liberation from whom and what? Ours was a happy country with solvent Government and a contented people till the Chinese invasion in 1950.

In view of all these facts the Tibetans approached the Chinese to conciliate. But all our efforts went in vain. Instead we are subjected to untold cruelty. The people of eastern Tibet revolted against the Chinese in February 1956. This spontaneous uprising brought about further repression by the conquerors. They have desecrated religious buildings and destroyed monasteries, razed villages to the ground and killed thousands of our people. They have also used poison gas. Bombs have been thrown on innocent children and women. More than fifteen thousand people have been injured in these battles. Life in all parts of Tibet has become unbearable. So much so that more than thirty thousand people in central Tibet round about Lhasa the capital left their hearth and home to the far-off valleys and gorges. It is feared that trouble may also flare up in these areas. Many places in Kham and Amdo are still scenes of upheaval and turmoil. Our patriots are fighting hard in those areas. Some of the Amdos who fled to the mountains are still not giving up their fight for freedom, suffering at least a hundred casualties a day.

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### Boys' Towns in Italy

This is an excerpt from an article in the *Indian Affairs*, March-April, 1959:

The Second World War, which raged for long years, had serious consequences on many thousands of young boys who found themselves deprived of any form of moral or material support. Minors accustomed to unlimited freedom, experts in every method which would procure them an easy form of living, they formed a mass which existed on the boundaries of society. The problem was to bring them back to the centre of this same society and teach them the principles of good citizenships and productive living.

It was because of this that the more traditional, but still valuable, forms of assistance, such as homes and institutes, were flanked with a new undertaking which took the form of special communities for minors. These communities later assumed the name of 'villages', 'republics' or 'towns' and their objective was to house those minors whose lives were led principally in the streets and to offer them education and a strong moral upbringing.

Experts who studied this idea came to the conclusion that greater success would be obtained through launching an educational system which correctly considered the undisciplined moral and material state into which the boys had fallen. This led to the idea of *self-government* which meant combatting unlimited freedom with the principle of liberty controlled by responsibility, disloyalty with the understanding of the given word, promoting confidence in educators and companions, defeating irresponsibility through explaining the advantages of accepting certain responsibilities and contrasting dishonesty with honesty. In other words, such a form of 'self-government' would reflect on the satisfactory progress of the community and would appeal to the instincts of the boys themselves. It would also permit the staff of the community much greater freedom in imposing those principles which would prepare satisfactory new elements for their rightful place in society.

The experiment called for the creation of a particular psychological atmosphere in which the boys could be assured of the understanding of others and in which they would meet qualified persons in whom they could place their trust. Every attempt, in fact, has been made to ensure that they are themselves able to discover many natural laws of daily life, and so describe them to their companions after any related problems have been thoroughly discussed and understood.

Each boy—belonging to an organized group often composed according to age and professional tendencies—should feel himself closely associated with the collective good and pledged to a struggle to promote common advantages.

Each of the communities may be said to represent a complete society in miniature. The boys are given the opportunity of selecting their own mayor and councillors, organizing labour, educational facilities and cleaning, a banking organization, a shop, restaurant, etc., electing a judge or group of judges able to punish those who transgress regulations, and generally setting up the necessary administrative services.

Although it is not claimed that the idea of a 'Boys Town' (or Republic or Village) has provided a radical solution to the educational and moral problems which arose during the immediate post-war, it has proved to be an excellent means of curing many of the ills which arose after the Second World-War.

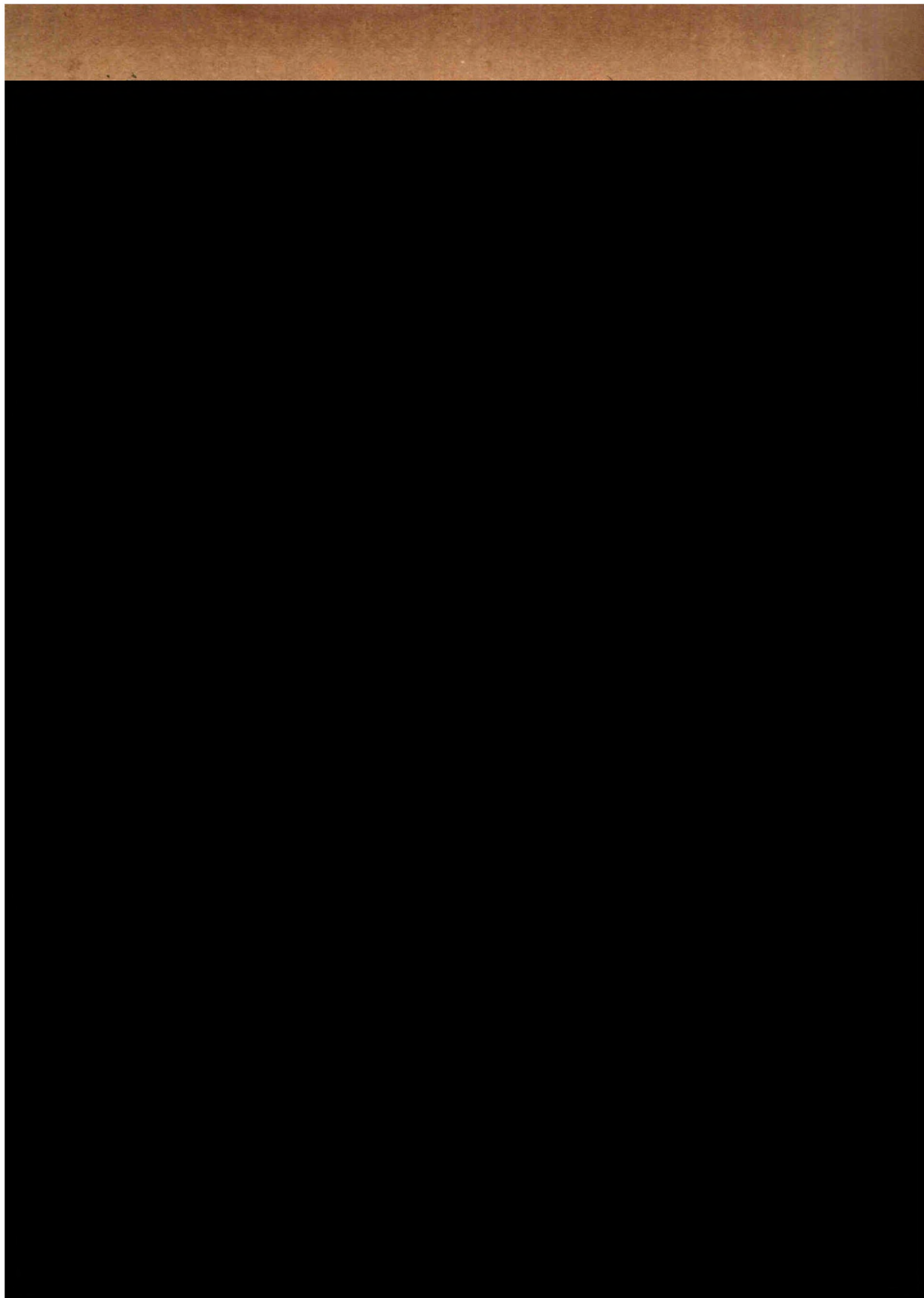
Other movements with the same objectives as the 'Boys Town' organization have followed the principle of setting the boys among foster parents who assume responsibility for their training.

However, returning to the system of special communities for minors, it is an accepted fact that Italy, by using such forms, has saved many thousands of boys who now have an opportunity of taking their place in society with dignity and serenity.

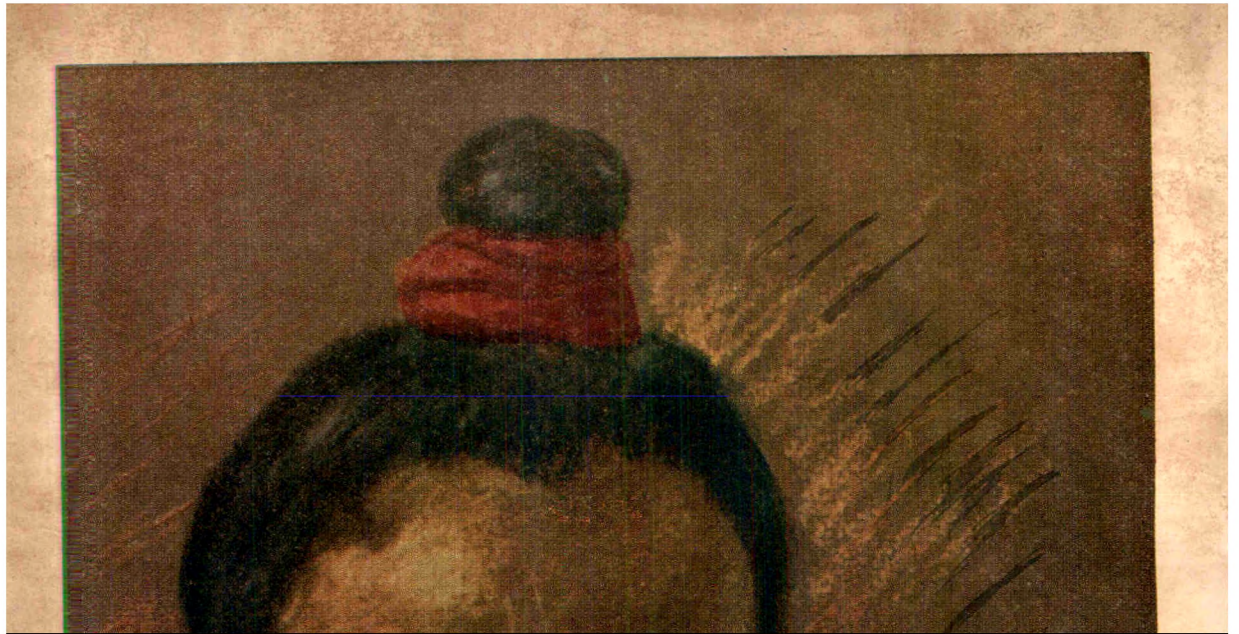
At the present moment, 52 of these communities are operating in Italy, housing 6,296 boys and adolescents of over six years of age. Approximately one milliard lire are spent every year on their maintenance and education.

Territorial distribution of these 'Boys Towns' appears somewhat irregular, but this fact is fully justified when it is realized that this work of moral and material rehabilitation is the result of the tenacity and courage of individuals who have defied every type of obstacle to further their intent. But such irregularity in territorial distribution becomes much less apparent if the average number of elements assisted is calculated according to the more embracing geographical areas of North, South, Central and Insular Italy.

This geographical grouping reveals that the number of minors housed in these 'Boys Towns' is much greater in the southern areas. This means that the benefits offered function in direct relation to the economic status of the zones concerned.









Founded by—RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE

# THE MODERN REVIEW

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## NOTES

### The I.M.F. and the I.B.R.D.

The recent annual meetings of the Board of Governors of the I.B.R.D. as well as the Board of Governors of the I.M.F. will be remembered long for several remarkable developments in structure and operations of these two Bretton Woods Twins. The two most important developments are: the increase in the resources of the I.M.F. and the I.B.R.D. by increasing the quotas of the member countries, and the creation of the International Development Association. The private inflow of capital to different countries in the post-war years is being supplemented to a great extent by long-term loan operations by the IBRD for developmental purposes. At the last annual meeting of these two institutions held in New Delhi in October 1958, the Board of Governors took the decision to enlarge the Bank's resources through an increase in the Bank's capital.

IBRD: Accordingly, the Directors of the Bank recommended that the authorised capital of the Bank be raised by \$7,000 million. But the actual amount of increased subscriptions went up to as much as \$8.8 billion (i.e., \$8,800 million). Therefore, with effect from September 16, 1959, the authorised capital of the IBRD has been raised from \$10,000 million to \$21,000 million. The Bank's authorised capital

has been more than doubled and this step has been taken with a view to augmenting the resources of the Bank so as to enhance its lending capacity. India's original share of subscription to the IBRD was 400 million dollars. Now after the increase, her share has been doubled to \$800 million. Prior to the increase of the subscriptions of the member countries, the subscribed capital of the Bank stood at \$9,556.50 million. Of this amount, \$1,911 million were paid in and the balance amount of \$7,645 million remained subject to call being regarded as contingent liability to meet the Bank's own obligations.

After the increase in subscriptions the amount of subscribed capital now stands at \$18,357 million and of this amount \$1,973 million have been paid in and will be available for the ordinary operations of the Bank. While the larger part of the increased capital of the Bank has been effected by doubling the subscriptions of the member Governments, many member countries have made special additional subscriptions, in addition to the general 100 per cent increases. This additional contribution of subscriptions have been made in order to raise the capital participation of these member countries in view of their larger economic growth in recent years. In recent years the Bank was handicapped in enlarging its loan opera-

tions on account of its limited resources. The increase in the operating capital of the Bank will not only enable it to increase its lendings, it will also help the Bank to raise loans in international money markets in larger amounts. Seventeen member countries, including West Germany, Japan and Canada, have made such special additional subscriptions to the share capital of the Bank.

It may be recalled that every member country has been called upon to pay only 20 per cent of its quota at the first instance. The remaining amount of 80 per cent remains as callable liability which serves as a guarantee fund for the bonds and other obligations of the IBRD. Of India's total subscription of \$800 million, only 20 per cent or \$80 million have been paid in and the balance amount of \$720 remains on call. Formerly, India occupied fourth position in the rank of subscribers to the Bank's capital. After the enhancement of the subscriptions, India has been relegated to the fifth place. France and Germany now jointly hold the fourth place.

Ever since the Bank started operations thirteen years ago in January 25, 1946, its loan commitments amounted to \$4,604.3 million up to August 31, 1959. Of this amount, \$274 million have been repaid to the Bank, \$112.3 million have been cancelled or refunded and the Bank has sold \$523 million to other investors. The total amount of the Bank's funded debt was \$1,905 million on 31st August 1959.

Among the borrowers of the Bank, India has received the largest amount of loans. Up to the end of June 1959, India's borrowings from the Bank stood at \$550.61 million. No other single country has received loan accommodations for so large an amount. In the rank of borrowers, Australia comes next to India with a total borrowing of \$317.73 million, followed by France with \$302.50 million. In 1958-59, India received three loans, \$85 million for the railways, \$25 million for the D.V.C. and \$25 million for the Koyna hydel project. India has been granted loans for the development of her railways, electric power, iron and steel industry, ports, civil

aviation and also for increasing her resources of industrial finance. In recent years a consortium of foreign commercial banks of the USA, the U.K., West Germany, Canada and Japan have participated in the loan operations made by the IBRD to India, particularly in the purchase of locomotives.

In another direction the World Bank is trying to help India and that is in the direction of bringing about a settlement in the dispute between India and Pakistan about the division of the Indus water. On this point the annual report of the Bank states as follows: "The engineering plan on which a settlement would be based involves a system of works estimated to take about ten years to construct, and to require expenditures in India and Pakistan aggregating \$1,000 million, partly in foreign exchange and partly in local currencies. Over and above the amounts that would be provided towards the cost by India and Pakistan, it is envisaged that financial assistance would be forthcoming from the Bank itself and from friendly Governments. The Bank has already opened discussions with representatives of the Government of Australia, Canada, Germany, New Zealand, the United Kingdom and the United States, and it is believed that other countries may also wish to provide financial support."

The *World Economic Survey*, 1958, points out that during the year 1957-58, the export earnings of the underdeveloped countries fell by about 7 to 8 per cent. The Reports says: "This drop reinforced by a continuing, albeit slight, rise in the import prices of manufactured goods in the face of industrial recession represents a loss in import capacity equivalent to about six years' lending to the underdeveloped countries by the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development at 1956-57 rates." Mr. Black points out that the trade restrictions imposed by developed countries have caused this recession in the export earnings of the underdeveloped countries.

✓ The I.M.F.: While the IBRD's authorised capital has been doubled, the share

capital of the IMF has been raised by 50 per cent of the original. The original capital of the IMF was \$10,000 million. The resources of the IMF has been increased by raising the respective quotas of the member countries by 50 per cent. In addition, West Germany, Japan and Canada have made special contributions in subscriptions in proportion to their rapid economic growth in recent years. The IMF's resources will thus be increased by \$5,100 million, and the total authorised capital will consequently come to \$15,100 million. Its gold holdings will be raised from \$2,300 million as at present to \$4,600 million when these additional subscriptions have been fully received. The IMF in its annual report states as follows on this point: "The significance of this increase in the Fund's resources is not to be measured only by the extent to which these new resources are drawn upon. A stand-by arrangement that is not followed by use of the Fund's resources is as important as a stand-by under which a drawing has been made; and in the same way, the increase in the Fund's resources may still have great importance, even if, for some time to come, drawings on the Fund do not reach substantial amounts. The essential objective is, above all, the creation of a feeling of confidence among Fund members that, even if the reserves directly under their control are considered not adequate to meet every eventuality, they can safely make their decisions with respect to the freedom of payments and trade without having to pay undue regard to such temporary balance of payments difficulties as may from time to time occur."

The three most outstanding developments in the international monetary field are: increase in the financial resources of the IMF and the IBRD following the Delhi meeting in 1958; adoption of external convertibility of the sterling and thirteen other European currencies, and the measures adopted by the primary producing countries to check the creeping inflation by introducing stabilisation programmes.

The freeing of the sterling and other

currencies for external payments purposes also led fifteen other countries of the world to adjust their exchange control system to suit the new developments in the exchange pattern of the world. It may be pointed out that ever since its inception the Fund has been pleading for adoption of full convertibility of all the currencies of the world. In its view, the freer the trade and exchange, the less will be the disequilibrium in international payments position. As regards the convertibility of currencies of non-resident accounts, the IMF says that the road has been opened to the elimination of discrimination in trade and payments practised on balance of payments grounds. That improvement in reserves and in balance of payments positions which made possible the move to non-resident convertibility itself also facilitated a greater freedom of trade. It goes on to say that it was, therefore, natural that the move should be associated in some countries with a further liberalisation of trade, and it is to be expected that countries will be able to make further progress along these lines. The Fund intends to continue its study of the remaining restrictions—and especially the remaining discriminatory restrictions—and in the meantime, it is urging its members to eliminate discrimination as rapidly as is feasible.

The Managing Director stressed the need of stabilisation in the internal economies of the member countries. In his view, stabilisation has been more or less achieved and inflation has been halted. He says that when stabilisation has been achieved by a considerable number of countries, problems, new and old, would arise as regards both economic diagnosis and the finding of proper remedies. The world would be confronted with the problems as how to mitigate booms and depression; how best to combine economic expansion with reasonable stability; how to ensure proper debt management and how to mitigate the difficulties in the balance of payment of the countries of the world. The difficulty will also arise when the export prices of a country will show a downward trend.

These are the problems that fall under Article I of the Fund Agreement. This Article stresses that while promoting exchange stability, the Fund will also strive to facilitate the expansion and balanced growth of international trade, and to contribute thereby to the promotion and maintenance of high levels of employment and real income, and to undertake development of productive resources of the members as primary objectives of economic policy. The IMF thinks that now as the transitional period after the war draws to its close, more attention should be paid by it to these general objectives of the IMF. But the achievements of these other objectives of the Fund depend to a large extent on the actions and policies of the individual member countries and the Fund will have to extend direction and confidence to these countries in the pursuit of their economic policies. It must be remembered that the Fund is neither a super-Government nor the central bank of Central Banks. Therefore the policies of individual countries shall continue to be wielded by their own Governments, and the Fund will play the role of an adviser and moderator.

The Fund stresses the need for monetary stability and it gives a note of warning to the member countries that they should not cherish any complacent view about the present expanding trends in the economy. In the opinion of the Managing Director, world inflation is over. The excessive liquidity inherited from the war has been worked off and credit policies have become more effective. "Output has risen, competition is fiercer, and the resistance to cost and price increases has grown in strength. If we look back to past periods of economic history, we find that a persistent decline in raw material prices has more than once been an indication of the cessation of general price increases. Since more and more currencies have become convertible, and since supplies of goods are readily available in most lines from a variety of sources, no individual country can—without grave risks—afford to deviate from the inter-

national price trends. Naturally, countries must seek to avoid these risks; and when they make more and more efforts to balance their budgets or, at least, to reduce their fiscal deficits, many of them do so not only as part of an anticyclical policy but also for balance of payments reasons."

He says that the present expansion needs must be carefully watched because a pronounced investment boom would involve not only progress but also strain, and could have consequences if it were allowed to get out of hand.

What Mr. Per Jacobsson says about the stability in economic growth requires to be read between the lines so far as underdeveloped countries are concerned. In these countries inflation has not come to and, rather it is progressively on the increase, accelerated by the impact of growth economy launched both by the public sector as well as the private sector of these countries. People are holding excess liquidity or purchasing power, but to that extent consumer goods are not being available to neutralise the excess holdings of purchasing power of the people. Output is rising but not always in a progressive proportion. As a result of creeping inflation, costs, both of goods and of living, are rising. Credit control also is not very effective.

N. R.

### **Industrial Finance Corporation**

The annual report of the Industrial Finance Corporation of India for the year ended June 1959, reveals a declining activity of the Corporation. During 1958-59, the Corporation received 26 applications for loans for an aggregate amount of Rs. 11.16 crores, as against 48 applications for Rs. 14.88 crores in 1957-58. During 1958-59, 19 loan applications were sanctioned for aggregate sum of only Rs. 3.79 crores, the corresponding figures for the previous year being 22 loan applications for Rs. 7.78 crores. The total amount of loans sanctioned since its inception up to the year under review stands at Rs. 66.69 crores. Of this, the amount so far disbursed comes to Rs. 42.32 crores.

The gross income of the Corporation exceeded Rs. 2 crores during the year under report, registering a substantial increase from the preceding year's figure of Rs. 1.55 crore. The net profit, after making a provision of Rs. 37.71 lakhs for taxation, comes to Rs. 35.37 lakhs, as against Rs. 28.20 lakhs in the previous year (1957-58). The major part of the loans sanctioned by the Corporation was meant for new undertakings, that is, those which started production after August 15, 1957.

A state-wise analysis of loans sanctioned by the Corporation indicates that there has been inequitable distribution of the loans. Up to June 1959, in Bombay 59 units received loans for an aggregate amount of Rs. 19.49 crores. For the same period, in Madras 22 units received loans for an aggregate amount of only Rs. 9.47 crores. In West Bengal 27 industrial units received loans for a total amount of Rs. 6.33 crores; in Uttar Pradesh 15 units received Rs. 5.60 crores. This shows that Bombay has been shown much favour or rather partiality in the distribution of loans. Other States should have much larger proportions of assistance. What India wants is neither concentration of capital nor the concentration of industries only in one or a few provinces. The strategy of economic growth demands that as far as practicable industries should be fairly distributed all over the country. The old concept of the localisation of industries on account of natural and economic advantages have become effete in the modern background of planned economic growth. Further, from the view-point of creating employment opportunities, it is imperative that a national institution like the Industrial Finance Corporation should cater to the needs of all underdeveloped regions of the country in the matter of disbursing loan accommodations. Bombay is highly industrially developed with a well-developed capital market. Industrial concerns there can fall back upon various private sources. But other parts of the country, like the Uttar Pradesh or Madras Pradesh or Kerala are comparatively underdeveloped. The country expects more economic sagacity from an institution which has been endowed with providing

the life-blood to the industries in the form of industrial finance. The Corporation should take a more balanced view of the entire economy and its foremost view should be to create employment opportunities throughout the country by catering to the needs of budding industries in different regions. To concentrate its loan operations in Bombay is reminiscent of the proverb—"to carry coal to Newcastle." Other provinces, like, West Bengal or Uttar Pradesh have problems of unemployment and there is great potentiality for industrial development in these States. But these States are rather ignored by the Industrial Finance Corporation in its loan policy. This is a point which deserves attention by the Union Government.

Further, in recent years there have grown up so many financial institutions in the country, both in the public sector as well as in the private sector, that the IFC seems to have lost much of its importance which was attached to it during its inception in 1948. The new institutions, like the Industrial Credit and Investment Corporation, the National Industrial Development Corporation, the Refinance Corporation, and the State Finance Corporations have thrown the IFC into the background of economic development in the country. The leadership that was expected of it in the field of industrial finance has not materialised and it is being far outpaced by the newer institutions, as stated above. The declining trend in its loan commitment when the country is in need of larger amount of industrial finance, reveals that the industries are rather reluctant to approach it for assistance because of its indifference to the growing needs of the industries of the country.

Loan assistance to Co-operative Societies has been a marked feature of the activities of the Corporation during the past four years. The loans sanctioned by the Corporation to Co-operative Societies alone up to the end of June 30, 1959, amounted to Rs. 14.94 crores. This sum is distributed among 28 societies all of whom, except one, are engaged in sugar manufacture.

Industry-wise, the most significant advance in the course of the year under review was made to the sugar and cement

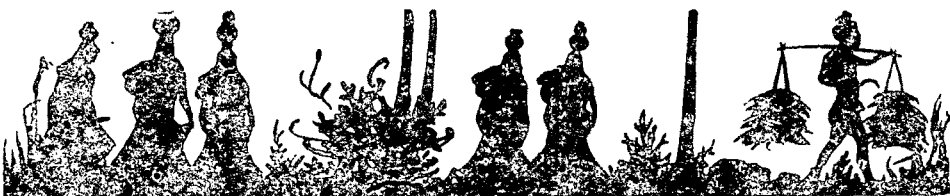
industries, these two together accounting for as much as 67 per cent of the total amount of loans sanctioned during the year. An industry-wise classification of the loans made by the IFC shows that the food manufacturing industry (including sugar) has been the recipient of the largest amount of loan during the year under review. The food manufacturing industry has received Rs. 20.72 crores out of the total loans of Rs. 66.69 crores. Textiles industries come next with a loan receipt of Rs. 9.72 crores. Basic industrial chemical industries occupy the third place among the borrowing industries with Rs. 7.66 crores and the paper and paper products occupy the fourth place with Rs. 5.71 crores.

The Chairman of the Industrial Finance Corporation, in his annual address to the share-holders states that the augmentation of internal resources by themselves have not proved to be a solution to the real difficulty in the matter of going ahead with the normal function of granting long-term loans to the industries. The main difficulty in the matter has been the lack of foreign currency funds to meet the situation created by the stringent measures imposed by the Union Government by restricting during the last few years the import of necessary industrial raw materials and machinery. The Chairman says that the fall in loan application is to a great extent on account of these import restrictions. The solution to this difficulty lies in obtaining a substantial foreign currency loan from financial institutions like the World Bank or from Government-sponsored institutions like the Development Loan Fund of the USA. The Chairman points out that the Corporation made an application to the IBRD for loan assistance, but no assistance has so far been forthcoming from the World Bank.

During the year under report, the Corporation under-wrote a preference share issue for Rs. 50 lakhs. The Corporation's share of commitment in this under-writing operation is Rs. 37.50 lakhs. That although the under-writing operations have been successful, still there is some difficulty in the matter. In the event of the Corporation having been left with any shares of this issue which is under-written, the Corporation cannot hold them under the provisions of the Industrial Finance Corporation Act for more than seven years without the prior permission of the Central Government. The provision, coupled with the fact that the Corporation is not authorised, under the IFC Act, to invest directly in the equity or preference capital of any industrial concern has meant the closing to it of a profitable line of investment of its surplus funds.

Another comparatively new field of the Corporation's activities has been the guaranteeing of deferred payments on behalf of industrial concerns to foreign manufacturers of capital goods. In view of the increasing restrictions imposed by the Government of India on the issue of cash import licences, the scheme of guaranteeing deferred payments has proved a fruitful field of assistance to the industrial concerns in the country. The Corporation desires that it should be enabled to participate in the current scheme for the utilisation of the dollar credits placed at the disposal of the Government of India by the Export-Import Bank of the USA. The Corporation should, however, make rapid strides in the field of under-writing issues for new concerns.

N. R.



### Enemy or Friend ?

It is about time our people were told by our leaders at New Delhi, as to how to differentiate between friend and foe. These last few years, after the Bandung Conference—which was preceded by the visit of that Machiavellian politician, Mr. Chou En-lai,—we were being told how far and wide “We” the Indian People, have succeeded in spreading the Message of Peace and Co-Existence in this Wicked World. The lullaby of *Pancha-Sheela* soothed the Indian People, while the rest of the world went through the nightmare of the Cold War—with occasional bloody interludes of shooting wars, as in Korea, Indo-China, Egypt and lastly in Algeria. We were further told that so long as the two of the greatest nations of the world—great in numbers if not in might—kept faith along the lines enunciated at Bandung, the balance between War and Peace will be maintained, even though at a precarious level. It was also stated by our great ones that so long as the milleniums-old bonds of amity between the same two great nations lasted, Asia and Africa would be able to proceed from strength to strength in the cause that was enunciated by the Light of Asia. And who are these great friends, whose record of amity and spiritual accord has truly written a golden chapter in the history of Man? They are China and India.

But all along, while this lullaby of Peace was being intoned, there were discordant notes from across the oceans of the West. We were told that all that remained on the mainland of China, so far as the famed Chinese culture and philosophy of life were concerned, were the mute memorials of the past, its temples, mausoleums and its ancient stones and potteries. We were further told that the last true descendants of the China of old, who kept the glorious heritage of the past alive in their hearts and as such truly represented the China of Ancient Glory, were those who had crossed over to Formosa. And since they were the true inheritors of the old traditions of Chinese culture, and since they had kept alive the Eternal Flame of Cathay's glory, it is only right that they should carry the name and keep the seat of China at the United Nations.

But our wise men differed. They are real-

ists they claim and as such they are unable to accept the shadow for the substance, the spirit for the concrete crude Mass. And it is along these lines of argument that they have been pleading at the bar of the United Nations for the inclusion of The Democratic People's Republic of China in that august body. Indeed even in this year 1959, of Indo-Chinese crisis, our spokesman at the U.N.A. has repeated his plea. It is true that after the news of the Lachh incursion had reached him there has been a slight change in his tone, which gives us a ray of hope. Perhaps Mr. V. K. Krishna Menon has not progressed along the path to Nirvana as far as our beloved Prime Minister. In a report emanating from the United Nations on October 23, he is reported to have stated as follows to the correspondents:

“There is now news of incidents in another part of our frontier which—if the reports are true—is a more sensitive area because it is not an uninhabited area. We have administration posts there, and if this news is true, it is one of those things that we will take serious notice of. China will have to go from our territory. There is no question of that.”

“Mr. Menon made his remarks about the latest incidents, while answering a question as to why his Government continued to support the admission of China in the United Nations in view of the frontier troubles between the two nations.”

“Our support is not based on whether we like them or they like us,” he declared, “China's presence at the United Nations is necessary for world purposes. You cannot have a disarmament agreement, for instance, without bringing her in.”

“The Defence Minister said that so far as ‘incursions’ into India's territory was concerned, India would never permit any part of her territory to be occupied by anyone else.”

We are not very clear about the logic in Mr. Menon's argument for the inclusion of People's China in the United Nations Assembly. Of what earthly use would be the inclusion of a nation that primarily believes in “the force of arms and breaks faith, even with a friendly nation like ours, without the least qualm, for the sole consideration of expansion of territory



and power, at this juncture in the negotiations for disarmament? Does Mr. Menon really believe that People's China would disarm, really and truly and wholeheartedly? She might enter into such engagements as might give her an opportunity to develop her armed strength in secret, we think, but nothing more, unless she is convinced, in her own way, that to persist with her greed for territory and lust for power would end in a catastrophic disaster for herself. And that conviction will only come to her when her armed might is matched by equal, if not superior might—which we have failed to do even after five years of continuous aggressive moves on her part, thanks to the Pancha-Sheela obsession of Pandit Nehru and Mr. V. K. Krishna Menon.

This brings us back to the original query, how to differentiate between friend and foe, in this maze of *Pancha Sheela*, *Akimsa*, *Peaceful Co-existence*, *et seq*? And we would further beg leave to ask about the distinguishing features between "incursion with occupation" and "invasion with aggression", with clear statements about the tempo and extent of assaults and quantum of losses, in terms of men and territory, to be suffered before we can call the intruder an aggressor and proceed to meet force with force?

We append elsewhere two long statements, made before and after the Ladakh incursion, by Pandit Nehru. The words are different but the tune of the lullaby is much the same. It is apparent that Pandit Nehru is still dreaming of peaceful sway over the Land of Ind, much in the same way as he has been for the last five years, and is uttering the same sequence of words of wisdom for our benefit.

Is it not time now for action instead of words? The Chinese have been given five years to build roads and move large forces to all the possible areas from which the Himalayan barrier can be breached. The People of India had been kept in ignorance, for years together, as is revealed in the White Paper issued by the Ministry of External Affairs, covering the period 1954-59. The reasons for this deliberate policy of keeping the nation in darkness is given by Pandit Nehru in his letter to

Mr. Chou En-lai, dated September 26, 1959, in which he said:

"At a number of places your forces assumed a threatening attitude; at others they actually came into our territory. Such incidents, concerning as they did the integrity of India, were very serious. But in our anxiety not to create feelings against your Government we deliberately avoided giving publicity to them."

What were the consequences of such paradoxical reasoning? Nothing that spells either peace or honour to our people. Indeed it has encouraged not only the aggressor, but also given ample time to the disruptive forces in our midst to give full play to their powers of evil.

The only way before us is that of *Kshatra Dharma* unadulterated with any esoteric sanctions against force. Forces of Evil will predominate over all humane considerations otherwise, as they have since the dawn of history.

Friend or Foe, we have to assess the consequences of his aggressive acts on a straight basis along the lines of hard realism. The situation calls for urgent measures to be undertaken on the assumption of major aggression from across the Himalayas. No abstract considerations should be allowed to prevail when the soil of our fatherland has been intruded into and the blood of our soul has been spilt. He is indeed a strange friend who has persistently encroached upon our territory and met the friendliest of pleas to desist either by assuming an attitude of injured innocence or by turning a deaf ear towards us. Since it has now come to totally unprovoked armed attacks on our guards, followed by fabricated stories regarding the ownership of the terrain and the sequences of the incidents, we can no longer put faith in his protestations. Pandit Nehru might try to find solace in the friendly traditions of the past two-thousand years—which traditions are partially made of the substance of dreams—but the evil portents of the future cannot be hidden behind their rosy folds. We cannot forget that a little over twenty years back another Prime Minister called for "Peace

in our time, O Lord," on the floor of the Mother of Parliaments, and that heart-felt cry only encourages the Mad Man of Central Europe to start a conflagration, from the consequences of which the civilized world has hardly recovered in full as yet.

The situation calls for preparedness on the physical and not the metaphysical horizon. What folly for a Defence Minister to speculate about the ineffectiveness of World Disarmament without China being in the U.N.A., when his own country cannot restrain China from breaking through the most formidable natural fortifications with impunity!

No, no Mr. Krishna Menon, there must not be any more idle speculations now. We do not want to cry havoc—indeed if we do not persist in our folly there would never be any need to do so. But we do not want *Devatatma Himalayas*, the Abode of Gods of our Epics, to be defiled and lost.

There can be no peace, nor disarmament in the world, so long as a great nation like China persists in acts of violence and aggression. Therefore, there would be enough time to sing hymns of brotherly amity and peace, where and if Disarmageddon truly dawns.

#### Good Neighbour Policy At Last?

We hate to put a query at the end of the caption of this note, but there have been so many disappointments in the past, that even the glad tidings of complete accord being reached at the final conference on border disputes, is not free from a haunting shadow. We hasten to congratulate the delegations, from Pakistan and India, led by Lt-General Sheikh and Sardar Swaran Singh respectively, on their successful solution of problems that have kept two near neighbours in a state bordering on open war for over a decade.

There can be no question that if a truly lasting settlement is finally arrived at, both the countries and their nationals would gain far far more than any apparent loss they might suffer, provided the spirit of give and take is prevalent on both sides.

It is idle to speculate any further until

the final settlement is signed, sealed and accepted by both countries and all cause for border disputes finally settled, once for all. It is good that Pakistan's President, General Mohammed Ayub Khan, has given the agreement his approval and has declared that it had reduced tension between the two countries and cleared the way for resolving other outstanding disputes.

#### The British Elections

(The British elections held on October 8 returned the Conservatives to power with an increased majority in the House of Commons. The Conservatives with 366 seats have an overall majority of 102 seats, and 108 more than Labour. The party position in the new Parliament is: Conservatives and allies 366, Labour 258, Liberals 6. The Conservatives gained 29 seats and lost 6, the Labour Party gained five seats but lost 28, Liberals gained one seat and lost one. The following table gives a comparative picture of the total votes of parties in the 1959 general election and percentages of the poll, with the comparable figures in 1955 (the time of last elections):

|                | 1959             | 1955             |
|----------------|------------------|------------------|
| Conservatives: | 13750935 (49.4%) | 13310891 (49.8%) |
| Labour         | 12216166 (43.8%) | 12405254 (46.4%) |
| Liberals:      | 1640761 (5.9%)   | 722402 (2.7%)    |
| Communists:    | 30897 (0.1%)     | 33144 (0.1%)     |
| Others         | 223949 (0.8%)    | 288038 (1.0%)    |

In the 1959 general elections 78.7% of the electorate voted, compared with 76.8% in 1955.

Though the Conservative victory was never in doubt, the margin of their victory—they have actually increased their Parliamentary majority—has evidently come as a surprise. The Conservative victory has come as a great disappointment to the colonial people's of Africa who had expected a better deal from the Labour Party. The victory has demonstrated the British voters' preference for the *status quo*. The mentally alert section of the people—some of whom were far from being

supporters of the Labour Party—had stressed the need for a change of government in the interest of British democracy itself. But the voters have refused to take any chance. The French elections, in which the right wing was victorious, and now the results of the British elections, have led a few here to speculate with regard to the thought that the political trend in the world is towards a swing to the right and therefore, perhaps, the best solution for India's political tangle may also be in the same direction.

The conditions obtaining here are, however, not so clearly defined as in Britain. The British people are far more advanced than us where economic development, educational indices and the standard of living are concerned. Together with that their political consciousness is more developed through long experience and closer contact with their political parties. Purely doctrinaire or abstract reasoning does not sway them to that extent as it does here. This may conceivably have led them to decide that might justifiably give a trial to the party that will maintain the *status quo* for the time being.

But considering the urgent need for a dynamic upward change in the speed of economic growth in all underdeveloped countries in general, and in India in particular, any hesitation in the march forward for a wayside halt, under the present conditions, would undoubtedly spell disaster for the nation concerned. It is, therefore, of necessity that India must move forward along radically positive lines for her economic, social and political development. All that needs change, in the light of world movements in politics at the present, is far less emphasis on purely abstract theories and the complete replacement of fanaticism with realistic appraisal of circumstances and reasoned solutions thereof, without any handicaps derived from utopian ideals or purely doctrinaire "axioms".

The most prominent feature of this election, as noted by the *Economist* of London is the increased role of campaigns in swinging the votes in this election, as compared in the previous elections. The increased coverage was given by the press on the Labour platform, and the sustained interest of the voters in public

meetings. The Labour party had drastically cut the number of public meetings, apparently with the mistaken idea that television had "killed" meetings. It realised the mistake rather late in the day. "But there is no doubt that this election has shown that mass assemblies addressed by party leaders and open-air meetings are well worthwhile," writes the *Economist*. It further adds: "Another remarkable fact is the widespread evasion—legally and illegally—of the limit on expenses. This has happened even down at the constituency level, especially in marginal seats—and both sides have been offenders. Moreover, as more and more campaign activity is centralised, through regional and national headquarters, more and more money is spent outside the control of the law."

The full analysis of the causative factors leading to the defeat of the Labour Party, with such an increased margin, is not as yet available. But press speculations indicate that there is a realisation in the Labour party executive, that too much reliance had been placed on doctrinaire and purely hypothetical considerations, and too little on the pressing problems—of the every-day variety—affecting the well-being of the electorate. Class-war and the other time-honoured doctrines and shibboleths of organised Labour seemed to have carried little significance to those, who are outside the trade-union ranks. The housewife, for instance, who was able to maintain a small positive balance after making both ends meet, during the Conservative regime, was possibly far more reluctant to face the stresses and strains, which the Labour Government, prior to the Conservative coming to power, had not been able to mitigate despite all theoretical advancement of the "common-citizens" cause, through the establishment of a purely hypothetical "Welfare State."

Perhaps, another reason was that 'Socialism,' 'Nationalisation,' etc., are all very well in theory, but while it was being brought into being, the political sponsors and their following of the organised Labour wing, did not have to bear the actual stress and strain to the extent that the common citizen outside the unions had. And added to that is the lack of consideration usually displayed by organised Labour for the sufferings of the innocent third party in

mass movements like strikes, which has a cumulative effect, on the electorate, however short public memory might be.

To sum up, the British Elections of 1959 carry no lessons where we are concerned. For Reason and Logic are both at a heavy discount in the political forum of India of today, for all the existing parties, Left, Right, Centre, and all. They and their leaders are all laws unto themselves. So, whatever need there be for any lessons?

### New British Cabinet

The new British Cabinet announced by Mr. Harold Macmillan on October 14 does not offer any surprises. The Cabinet "big three," Mr. Selwyn Lloyd (55), the Foreign Minister; Mr. Derick Heathcoat Amory (50), Chancellor of the Exchequer; and Mr. Richard Austen Butler (56), Secretary of State for the Home Department, retain their positions in the new Cabinet belying earlier speculations about the imminence of a change in the Foreign Office. The notable omission is Mr. Alan Lennox-Boyd, Colonial Secretary in the outgoing cabinet who has been replaced by Mr. Ian Macleod (45), the former Minister of Labour. Mr. Lennox-Boyd had become closely associated with a tough colonial policy, while it will not be correct to make him the sole target of criticism for the policies the change of a personality could certainly create a better psychological atmosphere if the British Government should like to open negotiations with the people of colonial Africa. There have been a few other adjustments of portfolios but the Cabinet as a whole substantially retains the previous look.

S. S.

### Ne Win in India

General Ne Win, Prime Minister of the Union of Burma, who was on a visit to this country, in the beginning of October is in more than one way an extremely remarkable personality. A former clerk in a sub-post office in Rangoon, General Ne Win is one of the revolutionary leaders, who took a prominent part in the wars of liberation against Japan and Britain. After

the achievement of Burmese independence though he was primarily concerned with military tasks his services were always available to tide over difficult political situations. Thus during the grave days of 1949 when the Burmese Government had been threatened by the insurgents on one side and the Kuomintang guerillas on the other, he had been called upon to shoulder the responsibilities of the Deputy Prime Minister and Home Minister, in addition to being the Chief of Army staff. It is a remarkable testimony to the personality of the man that when General Ne Win's name was proposed as Prime Minister on the floor of the Parliament of Burma on October 28, last year, there was not a single dissentient vote against his nomination.

General Ne Win's rule is not exactly democratic, as he himself has pointed out. It is a sort of a military dictatorship but with this difference that it is not in power by usurping the authority of a constitutional organ and, what is more significant, is pledged to abrogate itself in favour of a fully formal democratic government at the earliest possible opportunity. The political impasse which made military rule the only sensible alternative was brought about by the politicians who failed to rise above petty personal and factional squabbles. In the course of a discussion in the Chamber of Deputies on the Bill providing for compulsory military training for men and women to enable Government to raise auxiliary defence forces in case of an emergency, General Ne Win explained his stand with the following words: "Militarism comes to a country when the Army seizes power, or the Government of the day is manipulated by the Army from behind. To prevent militarism, I shall do my best to see that there is no army seizure and no pulling of strings by the Army to make an elected Government do its bidding."

This then is the declared perspective against which the Government's achievements have to be judged. The care-taker Government, as General Ne Win's wholly non-legislature cabinet, functioning with Parliamentary approval is generally known,

has so far not been able to carry out its pledge of establishing law and order, holding free and fair elections, providing full democratic rights to the people and bringing down the abnormally high prices of commodities. The target date of holding elections by April 1959 could not be kept and the Burmese Constitution had to be amended to suspend Section 116—if only for a temporary period—to make room for General Ne Win's non-legislature cabinet to function until the next General Elections are held. This was however necessitated again by the inability of the various political parties to agree upon democratic functioning—the Government had to set up a committee under the chairmanship of Colonel Kyaw Soe, Chief Intelligence Officer, Ministry of Defence, to probe into the political crimes and make a bi-monthly report—who were therefore unable to oppose the proposal for deferring the target date for holding elections.

Burma suffers not only from internal economic and political instability, she has the additional handicap to work under a standing threat upon the integrity of her territory from north. There were reports of repeated violations of her borders in recent years and also earlier this year and though a joint committee of Chinese and Burmese representatives have for a long time been engaged on the task of demarcating the Burma-China border the progress made so far has been disappointing from the Burmese point of view. It may not be out of place to recall here that it was through the personal intervention of the Indian Prime Minister that the Chinese Government had agreed to demarcate the Burma-China frontier along the MacMohani Line though China has now come out with a declaration of absolute non-recognition of the said line—the contradiction involved in recognizing one part and not recognizing the other of the same thing (Simla Convention) notwithstanding.

The common problem of the two countries with regard to their respective boundaries with the People's Republic of China, which have assumed urgency after

the recent Chinese actions and declarations, naturally formed an important subject of discussion between the Burmese Prime Minister and our Prime Minister at New Delhi. It would not be unwarranted to conclude that India's firm declaration about her adherence to the MacMahon Line as the only recognized boundary line between India and China would by itself serve as an indirect guarantee of the integrity of the Burmese border with China. The people of India would naturally endorse every action of their Government which seek to help neighbouring states to extricate themselves out of their difficulties.

— S. S.

### **Iraqi Portents**

The repeated attempts to kill Major-General Abdul Karim Kassem, Prime Minister of Iraq, is a further reflection of the extremely uncertain state of affairs in Asia, and in the Middle-East in particular which has been passing through a long period of political turmoil. On the first occasion Premier Kassem was driving in a car along Rashid Street in Baghdad in the evening of October 7 when he was shot at by four or five persons. He was wounded in the shoulder but he managed to kill one of the assailants. The second attempt on his life was made on October 15 in the hospital where he was receiving treatment—but fortunately he escaped injury. Premier Kassem's wound are not serious, it has been stated; we fervently hope it is so, details of the incident are not available and it is not possible to know what was the nature of involvement in this criminal act. Iraq has had to pass through so many convulsions during the past fifteen months which were ideal for creating personal animosities of an extreme type; and political terrorism was not exactly unknown in the country. While a purely personal vendetta cannot altogether be ruled out of consideration, the political and other developments in Iraq and the adjoining countries during the recent past would strongly suggest the existence of a political motive behind the attempt to kill General Kassem, who has

demonstrated his determination to build Iraq into a strong, independent and democratic state which has enraged extremists on both sides both within and without Iraq.

S. S.

## Goa

Even twelve years after the achievement of Indian Freedom Goa, an integral part of India, remains under foreign domination. What seemed impossible in 1946, is a fact in 1959—much to the chagrin of Indians both in and out of the Portuguese possessions in Goa, Daman and Diu. And yet we have no one else to blame but ourselves. In 1946, the Portuguese regime in India was tottering under the impact of the National Liberation Movement and there was even a gesture on the part of the Portuguese Government for talks on the question of the future of its possessions in India after the British had left. As the late Dr. Tristao Braganza Cunha, the great Goan national leader observed, we failed to cash in on that advantage because the Government of India went back on Gandhian principles on the question of the liberation of Goa and allowed itself to be swayed by narrow and outmoded legalistic considerations urged upon by bureaucratic officials and thus offered the Portuguese imperialism a golden opportunity to consolidate its position in India and elsewhere.

Despite its evident inefficacy in straightening India's relations with Portugal, which is so obstinate in maintaining its dictatorship as to declare Goa and its other territories in India as an integral part of Portugal itself and trying to give it the appearance of reality by subjecting the brave people of Goa to indescribable brutality and torture to adopt the Portuguese language and culture, the Government of India has persistently maintained this legalistic outlook completely oblivious of the fact that the legality of imperialism was wholly inapplicable for a nationalist movement which was also the Indians' own experience at home as they had to brave the batons and bullets of the Government

to undo the alien relationship imposed upon India by the British imperialism. From the very outset of Indian freedom thus the Government of India imposed restrictions upon the intercourse between Goa and other parts of India, leaving the Goan patriots above in their fight against brutal dictatorship which was being backed openly by two of the world's mightiest powers—Britain and the USA. The Portuguese Government was not slow to see the hesitation of the Government of India and it took quick measures to stamp out the opposition through the adoption of the worst repressive measures which were illegal even by the dictatorship's own definition of law. It arrested and deported the most selfless and active of Goan political leaders and decapitated the popular movement. On the other hand it encouraged the formation of a treacherous sect advocating the separateness of Goa from India. It stands to the credit of the valiant people of Goa that even the most concentrated torture of Salazar dictatorship has failed to break their will to be free and the separationist movement has fizzled out for all practical purposes.

To leave the people of Goa to fight for their freedom would amount to a betrayal of a trust and, as the experience of the past twelve years has shown, a political folly. It is equally beyond doubt that the Portuguese Government cannot for ever go on defying the Indian stand provided the latter is sustained with a strong will and a clarity of purpose. The Government of India must be firm in resisting all external interference in her stand on Goa and should step up her diplomatic activity to convince the other powers of the utter absurdity of their stand in favour of Portugal. A legalistic approach, which is by its very nature static, cannot solve the problem of a dynamic nationalist movement for the freedom of Goa. Malaya, Indonesia, Formosa and Thailand are juridically foreign states; yet the Government of China in Peking maintains that all Chinese residents there are Chinese unless they declare themselves otherwise. The Government of India should at least

have the morality to defend the honour and property of the people who openly announce themselves as Indian citizens braving even physical dangers to their persons. It is to be hoped that the various Indian nationalist sects who recently joined together in a convention in Bombay would utilise this renewed strength of unity in holding the problems in clearer perspective and by putting before the nation a unified course of action which the Government of India could be urged to follow.

Portugal's plaint at the International Court at the Hague, demonstrates beyond any mistake, the extent to which the sovereignty of the Indian Government on its own soil, could be assailed legalistically in an International Court of Justice, thanks to our confused and totally illogical stand on the question of Goa.

S. S.

### Algeria

After the acceptance by the Algerian nationalist leaders of President De Gaulle's offer of peace with self-determination, the initiative for action now decidedly rests with the French Government. It speaks of a remarkable statesmanship on the part of Algerian leaders that they have not allowed any bitter feelings created by over four years of relentless French terror to overcome their judgment while they were considering the French President's offer. Frankly, the offer does not amount to much. It differed from General De Gaulle's earlier proposal for a truce only in the fact that the French President has now agreed to consider self-determination by the Algerians four years after the effective establishment of peace. The statement is vague in more than one respect and all its apparent merits could be nullified by an adverse interpretation of the clause in the President's offer that France would guard her access to the Sahara, and arrange for the regrouping and resettlement of those Algerians who wished to remain French. To even the most superficial observers it would be apparent beyond doubt that the Algerian leaders have demonstrated their earnest desire for peace through negotia-

tions with France. It is, therefore, quite a reasonable statement on their part that no free determination of the wishes of the people of Algeria is possible in the presence of an occupation army of a million men as are their demands that the national integrity of Algeria must remain inviolable and that France's exploitation of the oil-rich Sahara should not be recognized as a right of ownership.

S. S.

### Solomon Bandarnaike

The assassination of Solomon West Ridgeway Dias Bandarnaike, Prime Minister of Ceylon, comes as an ill portent for the political future of Asia. That this uneasiness is well-founded has been corroborated by the attempted assassination of another Asian statesman, Premier Kassem of Iraq. Mr. Bandarnaike was preparing to leave for the Parliament House on September 25 when he was shot at six times from point-blank range allegedly by a Buddhist priest named Somarama Thero, who was a visiting lecturer in eye diseases at the College of Indigenous Medicine. The Premier died the following morning.

Conditions in Ceylon have been uncertain for some time past and the late Prime Minister had a hard time in steering clear an independent course. The economic conditions have been worsening and the Government was unable to stop the rot. It was further unable to root out the corruption and high-handedness of the priesthood which has entrenched itself into a very strong position in the national life of the country. The new Premier, Mr. Wijayananda Dahanayaka has reassuringly promised to continue the late Prime Minister's policies—both at home and abroad, but the circumstances call for determined action to be taken.

The clamping of emergency measures immediately upon the receipt of the report of the assassination suggests that the Government feared a political plot behind the murder. This was followed by a strict censorship upon the press, the justifications of which have, however, not been made clear. The opposition parties have openly accused the Government of the responsibility having followed policies which have encouraged the Prime Minister's



murder in an indirect manner. If the imposition of the censorship is designed to curb the critics of the Government's weak policies to the reactionary elements, as it seems to be, such a policy is badly calculated to deliver the country from its present sufferings. The censorship has been lifted at the time of writing, so perhaps, the emergency is clearing up.

S. S.

### Pandit Nehru on Chinese Incursions

We append below two news-reports, taken from two issues of the *Hindu*, dated Oct. 22 and Oct. 25, respectively, of Pandit Nehru's statements on the Chinese incursions. The first one, dated Oct. 21, was made at Calcutta prior to the news of the Ladakh incursions had been communicated to him and the second one contains two statements made by him at Meerut on Oct. 24, after he had received the news of the Ladakh incidents:

Calcutta, Oct. 21.—Prime Minister Nehru said here to-day that he did not think there was any "major idea" behind the recent Chinese incursions into Indian territory.

Mr. Nehru was replying at a Press conference here this evening to a question whether Chinese incursions on India's territory were an isolated incident or part of a policy.

He said: I could not say that. But I am inclined to think that all these are tagged on to Tibet. There were no Chinese forces on the other side of the border before the Tibet rebellion. But after the rebellion Chinese forces came partly to crush the rebellion and partly to stop the Tibetan people from coming over to India, or contact the people whom the Chinese imagined to be connected with the Tibetan rebellion. All these happened but what other things there might be, I cannot say.

Obviously, they have not given up their claim to slices of Indian territory which was in their maps. Mr. Nehru said.

Mr. Nehru said he had not received any answer to his last letter to Mr. Chou En-lai sent three weeks ago. But in various statements, general remarks had been made on behalf of the Chinese authorities

that they would settle these border affairs peacefully but, he said, there had been no precise approach.

The Prime Minister said the Chinese were still occupying certain territories, which according to India, were south of the McMahon Line.

The Prime Minister was asked about reports that a Chinese party entered West Bengal in the Kalimpong area recently. He said he could not say anything definitely on the actual position, but he had seen certain reports in newspapers only this morning.

Mr. Nehru was asked if he looked at the recent visit of Mr. Khrushchev to U.S.A. as part of an attempt to close up East-West differences. Mr. Nehru said one thing was clear in this visit and that was that Mr. Khrushchev was eager and anxious for an understanding between what was called the East and the West.

Mr. Nehru said he had no doubt that Mr. Khrushchev wanted peace and was anxious for a settlement. "But about China, of course, I cannot take the liberty, as the Press could, but I feel that the same eagerness for peace is not present there."

"I consider Soviet Union first of all as having reached normalcy after a revolution. Secondly, I consider Soviet Union as a territorially satisfied power. I do not think they want any territory at all. Of course, they might have a desire for supremacy in economic and other fields. But China has not got over the first flush of its revolutionary mentality."

Meerut, Oct. 24.—Prime Minister Nehru said here to-day that the border conflict between India and China was causing grave anxiety but "I do not say that there will be war with China" on this issue.

Mr. Nehru, who was replying to questions put to him at a Congress workers' meeting on the latest attack by Chinese troops on an Indian police patrol in southern Ladakh, said: "Our border conflict with China is a question which has caused us and continues to cause a lot of anxiety. I do not say that there will be war with China (on this issue)."

"China is a big country and so is India a big country and whenever there is tension and conflict between two such countries, its burden is very great." Mr. Nehru said, "On this matter we have to act with restraint and responsibility and not be swept away by emotions."

The Prime Minister who spoke on the border problem for a few minutes warned against "brave talks" indulged in by some people who vociferously suggested "attack China."

Mr. Nehru called on the people to forget their petty quarrels when India was faced with the border problem with China. Mr. Nehru briefly referred to the Chinese attack on an Indian patrol on October 21 in the Ladakh area and said, "You must have read in the newspapers what happened on our border in Ladakh where we had our chowkie (outpost). The Chinese troops, according to reports received by us, came forward and without any provocation or reason, opened fire and threw grenades on our police patrol."

The Prime Minister did not refer to the total number of casualties inflicted on the Indian patrol but paid a tribute to a member of the Indian party, Karam Singh, for his bravery and courage in boldly facing the surprise attack by an overwhelming Chinese force. "Karam Singh who was a very brave and courageous man was killed in this attack by the Chinese on our patrol," Mr. Nehru said.

Explaining to the Congress workers the difficult nature of the terrain where the Chinese attack took place, Mr. Nehru said: "Remember, this place is 17,000 feet above sea level. In such a place, no tree, not even a blade of grass, grows. There are only bare rocks and on these bare mountains, even the snow cannot collect. It is terribly cold there and our people have to dig trenches below the ground . . . Our police and army have to defend our border in these difficult conditions."

But Mr. Nehru added, "There are some people in our country who indulge in brave talk and demand 'attack China.' These people say this quite smugly because they do not have to go themselves to these areas."

Later addressing a largely-attended public meeting here Mr. Nehru said that the Chinese attack on the Indian Police patrol in Ladakh would "certainly further spoil the relationship between India and China" and was bound to have an adverse effect on other parts of the world.

"Whatever step we take (to meet the situation), we will have to ponder it over and not take it in anger or passion."

Mr. Nehru said: "In to-day's newspapers you must have seen big banner headlines on what happened recently on our Ladakh frontier. The Chinese swooped upon some of our police patrol at our post, opened fire and used even mortars. Seventeen of our men were killed. About five or six were injured."

"This incident has great significance."

"Among those who were killed was one of our able officers, Karam Singh, who for many years in this mountainous area had undertaken difficult tasks full of danger in patrolling our border. It is a thing of profound sorrow that such a good and brave officer should die so suddenly."

"We are also filled with sorrow over the death of 16 other members of the police party."

"Apart from this (incident), Mr. Nehru said, "there are other big things which are tied with this question of Ladakh border. This is so because the atmosphere of the friendly relationship between India and China for the past few months has been vitiated."

Mr. Nehru referred to India's friendly relations with China in the past and said: India's desire from the very beginning was that the relations between the two countries should be good and friendly. In the history of the world one would not perhaps find another example, where two big neighbouring countries like India and China, had never, for two thousand years, any war between them. It is quite an extraordinary thing. Whatever were the relations, cultural or trade relations, they were of a different category. Two thousand years ago, Buddha Dharma went to China. It was respected there and adapted to the conditions prevailing there. Later, thou-

sands of people from India, Bikshus, went to China and many people came from China to India because she was the land of the Buddha. Thousands of people flocked to the famous universities of Nalanda and Taxila and one of the Vice-Principals at Nalanda University was a Chinese scholar who had come to study there.

It was a remarkable phenomenon of history that there was no disunity between Indians and Chinese whether in the relationships between the two countries, or in their relations in other Asian countries like Indo-China, Burma and Sumatra where they met. "When we became free and there was a revolution in China, it was clear that our desire was that we wanted to remain on the friendliest terms with them. They (China) may follow what path they like and we follow our own path. There was no reason why we should not have friendly relations, even though our paths may differ. Our friendship with China was based on this basis."

It was not a good thing that this atmosphere between India and China "has been vitiated a little of late," Mr. Nehru continued. "It is not good for us not for China, nor for Asia, because its effects will spread far and wide, over other countries also.

"In these circumstances, therefore, in whatever step we take, we will have to ponder over and not take it in anger or passion, but in a far-seeing way so that, no bad effect may fall on Asia and the world."

Mr. Nehru said he was stating this because by reading the news in the newspapers, "it is clear that the normal feeling of people in India would be to get angry and consider this unprovoked Chinese attack on our patrol in Ladakh as intolerable.

"It is no ordinary affair as mortars and grenades were used by the Chinese."

Mr. Nehru said it was India's "firm opinion" that the place where the incident occurred was "part of Ladakh, of India and not of China."

"But even supposing that near this border there was some difference of opinion over a patch of territory, then is this the way of dealing with it as the Chinese have done, to send their armies and try to take it by force, rain-

ing bullets on our patrol and killing our people?" Mr. Nehru asked.

The Prime Minister said the development in this area was a new development. "By new development I mean that a few months ago the Chinese were not in that area." It was a mountainous area, where the monsoon clouds did not reach. There was hardly any rain and it was "terribly cold" there.

Mr. Nehru said that the Indian checkpoint in the area was set up some time last year. It was set up not for war purposes but to check the people coming and going.

"So this incident near the checkpoint was not the right thing and not the proper thing," he said. "This incident has certainly further spoiled the relationship between India and China and it is bound to have an adverse effect on the other parts of the world.

"I am sorry about it. It is clear that if anyone tries to adopt the attitude of threat and force against us, it will have the opposite effect on India.

"It is clear that our country is not one which will bow down before anyone in the world because of threats or because of any fear.

"It would be against our honour to leave our chosen path and not to protect our frontiers," Mr. Nehru said amidst cheers.

"We have to remember along with this that while taking all steps to protect our frontiers we do not do anything merely in anger or passion. We have to take whatever steps are necessary with a calm mind."

Mr. Nehru then referred to India's policy of solving all problems through peaceful means and said that in facing the intrusion of Chinese into India, she had to take all steps based on thousands of years of experience. "After all, thousands of years of experience of India is before us. We should not allow ourselves to be swept away by anger that is the way of the inexperienced. Every problem should be solved through peaceful means."

India's voice had been raised firmly in the world in the defence of peace. "We have, therefore, to ensure that in dealing with problems relating to our own country we do not set a different example. It will not be proper for us to do so."

"We have to combine these two things, namely, working and striving for peace, making friends with others, of solving problems through peaceful means and at the same time ensuring full protection for the integrity of our frontiers and guarding the honour of our country. These two things can be combined," Mr. Nehru added.

The Prime Minister then referred to Indo-Pakistan relations and said that the recent meeting between Ministers and officials of the two countries had resulted in agreement, after prolonged consultation, for putting an end, "to the nuisance of border-firing" on the eastern frontiers. They would have seen from the newspapers that the troubles in the eastern border had been settled.

"I do not say that all big problems between India and Pakistan have been solved," Mr. Nehru added. "The border questions on the eastern frontier between

the two countries have been settled on paper and I believe that what is settled on paper would, to a very great degree, also be a settled matter in reality except for any minor incident that might occur by chance.

"But for this also we have arranged that even if by chance something happens, then it must be nipped in the bud."

India and Pakistan had still many problems to solve some of which caused anxiety, Mr. Nehru added. "So this is a welcome step that the two countries have successfully settled the border questions on our eastern frontiers."

Mr. Nehru referred to the canal water dispute between the two countries and said that talks had been held on the issue in the United States and elsewhere for some time. "I hope that this problem also will be solved soon," he added.

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### C. R. DAS

#### A Character-Sketch

By DR. LAL BAHADUR, M.A., LL.B., Ph.D., D.Litt.

C. R. Das was a man of marked personality, intellectual capacity and energetic patriotism. His great qualities of head and heart, his unbounded charity, his stupendous sacrifice were well known and appreciated throughout the civilized world. Complete self-effacement in the service of the motherland constituted his distinguishing characteristic and his great soul rose above the temptation of personal gain.<sup>1</sup> He inspired love in all sections of Indian population and M. A. Jinnah went to the length of remarking that he was one of those leaders in the country, for whom the Muhammadans had the greatest respect and he commanded the confidence of the Musalmans, as much as any Musalman leader.<sup>2</sup> His inimitable liberality, selfless philanthropy and matchless uprightness from the start of his career went a great way towards shaping his future character.<sup>3</sup> At the very commencement of his legal career at the Calcutta Bar, he made it a point of honour to join his father in seeking the protection of the Insolvency Court<sup>4</sup> and as soon as he found his position in his profession secure, his first thought was to remove the stain of insolvency. This was the first time, as Mr. Justice Fletcher declared, that a discharged insolvent publicly accepted his old liabilities and applied for a formal discharge of his insolvency.<sup>5</sup> No further evidence is required to substantiate his high sense of integrity.

1. The Legislative Assembly Debates (Official Report), Vol. VI, Part I (20th Aug. to 3rd Sept., 1925): Third Session of the Second Legislative Assembly, 1925; pages 17 and 18. From Pt. Motilal's speech.

2. *Ibid.* P. 20. From M. A. Jinnah's speech.

3. *Chitta Ranjan* by Sukumar Ranjan, Calcutta, Dec., 1921, p. 5.

4. India for Indians (speeches by C. R. Das): Ganesh & Co., Madras, 2nd Edition; 1910: From Motilal Ghose's Foreword, p. ii.

5. *Ibid.* p. iv.

He had an irresistible passion, from the very beginning of his conscious life, for looking after the Indian interests and while he was in England where he had gone to qualify himself for the Indian Civil Service, he made political speeches in connection with the election campaign of Dadabhai Naoroji and some of these speeches were very favourably noticed by the English and the Indian Press.<sup>6</sup> How strongly he felt for India is further evidenced by the fact that in 1892 when he was still in England he took serious exception to the speech of James Maclean—a member of the Parliament—who said that Indian Muhammadans were slaves and the Hindus were indentured slaves.<sup>7</sup> Chitta Ranjan Das at once convened a meeting of all the Indians in London as a protest against this offensive remark and delivered a powerful speech. London was in a state of excitement and the Liberals convened a huge meeting at Oldham under the Presidentship of Gladstone and, on being invited to make a speech on Indian affairs, C. R. Das drew the pointed attention of his British audience to the high-handedness practised by the British Government in India. He said, inter-alia, "We now find the base Anglo-Indian policy of tyranny; the policy of irritation and more irritation, of repression and more repression; the policy which has been beautifully described by one of its advocates as the policy of pure and unmitigated force."<sup>8</sup>

Chitta Ranjan had a remarkable adaptability to changing circumstances. He was well-versed in the literature of Western countries and in England, he grew a thorough-bred Englishman in dress and manners,<sup>9</sup> but he switched over to a life of remarkable simplicity when he joined the Non-violent non-co-operation movement. Dr. B. C. Roy revered him all the more for his great

strength of mind in discarding long-standing habits. Recalling his admiration of Chitta Ranjan, he said, "It may be comparatively easy for some people to give up their source of income, but to my mind, to abjure a habit which had grown for years—habit of smoking and drinking—in one day indicated strength of mind and character which was unique."<sup>10</sup>

Dr. B. C. Roy was a frequent visitor to his house as a medical practitioner and he knew for a fact that Chitta Ranjan overnight gave up his drinks and smoke.<sup>11</sup> He also gave up his princely practice at the Bar and renounced all the comforts and luxuries that wealth could give and to which he had been accustomed all his life.<sup>12</sup> Entering the Non-violent Non-Co-operation Movement meant much to him; it meant the sacrifice of his roaring legal practice and consequently of money but, more than this, it meant a sudden and violent change in his mode of life.

Chitta Ranjan Das was born in Calcutta on the 5th of November, 1870. His father Bhuban Mohan was a well-known Attorney of the Calcutta High Court and for sometime he was connected with Bengali Journalism.<sup>13</sup> Chitta Ranjan got his early education in the London Missionary Society School, Bhawanipore, whence he passed the Entrance Examination in 1886. He was subsequently admitted to the Presidency College, Calcutta, whence he graduated in 1889; taking his Bachelor's Degree in Arts and thereafter he sailed for England.<sup>14</sup> Though he came out successful in the open competitive examination for the Indian Civil Service his name was chucked off from the list of probationers and evidently owing to his political activities in England, he was not con-

10. B. C. Roy by K. P. Thomas: West Bengal Pradesh Committee, 1955: p. 121.

11. *Ibid*: p. 120.

12. Deshbandhu Chitta Ranjan: *Brief Survey of Life and Work*, Provincial Conference speeches, 1927. Published by Rajen Sen, 26, Nivedita Lane, Calcutta and B. K. Sen, 9, Anthony Bagan Lane, Calcutta; p. XIX.

13. *India for Indians* by Chitta Ranjan Das: From Motilal Ghose's Foreword. P. i.

14. *Chitta Ranjan*: p. 5.

6. *Ibid*: p. ii.

7. *Chitta Ranjan* by Sukumar Ranjan: p. 7.

8. *Chitta Ranjan* by Sukumar Ranjan: p. 7.

9. *Ibid*: p. 6.

sidered fit for the Civil Service.<sup>15</sup> It was good that he was thus spared by the British Bureaucracy to serve the cause of Indian Independence. He was, however, not a loser even in money, for, as a lawyer, he earned a good deal and during the last three years preceding his participation in the Non-co-operation Movement his income was about fifty thousand rupees a month.<sup>16</sup>

C. R. Das was, from the outset, convinced that the Europeans came to India to make money and were unwilling to concede any political authority to Indians. He believed that the Europeans were conscious of the fact, that, if *Swaraj* was obtained, the powers of Magistrates and Collectors, mostly Englishmen, would appreciably be curtailed and all possibility of writing "my dear so and so, will you see this done and will you see that done,"<sup>17</sup> would disappear. In spite of his foreign education, all his politics was in the Oriental background. He once said, "I find in the conception of my country, the expression also of divinity. With me nationality is no mere political conception borrowed from the philosophy of the West."<sup>18</sup> Brought up by an ideal mother, he regarded his country as the other self of his mother. He was moved to tears by the sweet remembrance of his noble mother whose sense of duty was exceptional, whose piety exemplary and fortitude unique.<sup>19</sup> C. R. Das's attitude of mind did not admit, therefore, of any doubts regarding the hostility of Britishers to Indian aspirations and he was convinced, that dependence on British goodwill in the matter of India's liberation would be futile and all efforts to base expectation on that would unmistakably go in vain.

15. *Ibid*: p. 8.

16. *Ibid*: p. 15.

17. *India for Indians*, 1918; From his Presidential Address at the Hindu-Mohammadan Mass Meeting held at Calcutta in October, 1917, to protest against the internment of Muhammad and Shaikat Ali: p. 2.

18. *Ibid*: p. 9: From C. R. Das's address in a large meeting of the people of Mymensingh held in October, 1917, to formulate a scheme of responsible Government for India.

19. *Chitta Ranjan*: p. 19.

C. R. Das's attitude to Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms was, however, not rigid. He was prepared to offer co-operation to them provided it was necessary to advance India's cause. He was definitely of opinion that India should work the reforms so far as it might be possible for the early establishment of full responsible Government. "We are", said he, "not opposed to co-operation, if co-operation helps us to attain that. We are not opposed to obstruction, when that helps to attain our political goal."<sup>20</sup> But once he had entered the Non-co-operation Movement he gave it his unstinted support and he regarded it as the only method of warfare,<sup>21</sup> open to the Indians. He also said that any power that in any way hampered or embarrassed the self-realization and self-fulfilment of the Indian Nation was an enemy of India and should as such be resisted.<sup>22</sup> He had no faith in Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms and he was soon convinced that the system of the Reformed Councils with their steel-frame of the Indian Civil Service covered over by a dyarchy of deadlocks and departments was absolutely unsuited to the nature and genius of the Indian People.<sup>23</sup>

It was this man of iron—who had entered the Non-violent Non-co-operation Movement with the sole object of advancing the cause of India's independence. He courted arrest, along with the members of their family and they suffered all-round in the services of the country. Subhas Chandra Bose was his lieutenant.

20. Report of the Thirty-Fourth Session of the Indian National Congress held at Amritsar on the 27th-31st December, 1919, and 1st January, 1920: p. 157.

21. Report of the Thirty-Sixth Indian National Congress held on the 27th and 28th December, 1921: From Deshbandhu's message: p. 17.

22. Report of the Thirty-Sixth Indian National Congress held on the 27th and 28th December, 1921: From Deshbandhu's message: p. 22.

23. Report of the Thirty-Seventh Indian National Congress held at Gaya on the 26th-31st December, 1922: p. 37.

## DEMOCRACY IN ACTION IN INDIA

By D. V. REGE, I.C.S. (Retd.)

ON the 15th August, 12 years ago, India achieved her freedom, somewhat unexpectedly. The Congress which was the only organised political party fighting for freedom in the country is certainly entitled to some credit for this achievement. But the claim sometimes put forward that the Congress party secured the freedom of the country is untenable. Going to jail by a few thousands of people and the not-very-effective non-co-operation movement could not have shaken the mighty British Government. It was the time spirit, the British Government's weakness after fighting two World Wars, coming in power of the Labour Government in the United Kingdom after the Second World War and the Indian National Army raised by Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose with its repercussions on the Indian Army and Navy which were mainly responsible for the British Government's decision to quit India. This explains why there has been no national upsurge of patriotism, of putting the country's interests above one's interests even in a free India. Barring a microscopic minority, the majority of the people do not show any consciousness that they are now a free people and are responsible for their country's honour and prestige.

The Congress party which has been ruling over India (except for a couple of years in Kerala) since the advent of freedom has, under the inspiring leadership of the Prime Minister, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, done a lot of good to the country. It has, with the willing assistance and co-operation of the Indian Civil Service and the Army, preserved the cohesion of the country and has nipped any fissiparous tendencies in the bud. Another signal achievement was the liquidation of the 700 and odd Princely States and full credit for this is due to the late Sardar Vallabhabhai Patel. The Indian freedom would have been incomplete without the absorption of these mostly tiny autocratic States. The Union Government is also entitled to credit for the Five-Year Plans, the big river valley projects which will supply water for irrigation and power for industrialisation, steel and fertiliser plants and for the Community Development project which pro-

mises to change the face of the rural areas in the near future. It has framed a Constitution, largely based on the British model, for the country, held two huge elections based on adult franchise and coped with the stupendous refugee problem consequent on Partition in a fairly adequate manner.

Its foreign policy of non-alignment and peaceful co-existence has been largely successful and has raised the status of India in the world. Though we are militarily weak, our voice is listened to with respect in the international gatherings, as we have acquired a just reputation for judging every issue on merits and for supporting the just and right causes. This policy may not have secured us fast friends, but it has also not created any enemies for us. The case of Pakistan stands on a different footing. It was born out of hatred for India and is unfortunately persisting in that policy in spite of our best efforts to follow a good neighbourly policy. It must, however, be admitted that our foreign policy has been ineffective in securing freedom of Goa from the Portuguese rule. The Chinese, after declaring adherence to Panch Sheel and shouting '*Hindi-Chini Bhai Bhai*', have recently shown their teeth and have already annexed a part of our territory. If this experience teaches us to lean a little more on the side of the Western democracies without being their camp follower, good may be said to have come out of evil.

This bright side of the medal is impressive enough, but the other side is equally impressive, if not more. The Congress party had a wonderful opportunity of laying down sound and healthy conventions about administrative matters, but it has unfortunately failed to do so. Taking the Public Service Commissions as an instance, we find that the independence given to them by the Constitution is almost nullified in actual practice by Governments. Not only are appointments of members usually made on regional, communal and political grounds, but care is also often taken to appoint such persons as would be amenable to the influence of Government, as the appointment in States lies with the Governor, i.e., with the



Chief Minister in actual practice, though their removal rests with the President. Such appointments virtually defeat the purpose for which the Commissions were created by the Constitution. There has been no instance in living memory in which the advice of the Civil Service Commission was not accepted by Government in the United Kingdom, while here we find the spectacle of one Union Home Minister saying in Parliament that Government is not a rubber stamp of the Union Public Service Commission and of a Chief Minister of a State stating in the Assembly that the ultimate responsibility of making appointments rests with Government as the Ministers are the elected representatives of the people. If this argument is carried to its logical conclusion, judicial decisions also should not be binding on Government as judges are appointed and not elected in our country. The tendency to belittle the status of the Commissions must be checked, as the future of the country largely depends on the proper and impartial selection of officials by them. Of course, this presupposes that suitable persons are appointed on the Commissions. Members are ineligible for re-appointment under Government after their retirement, while no such disability attaches to judges. Is the independence of the judges of less importance than that of the members of the Commissions?

The administrative machinery left in a sound condition by the British has already started cracking. This is due to (i) large-scale emergency recruitment to I.A.S. and I.P.S., the two pillar services, of people of different ages and from different walks of life. This has robbed the services of *esprit de corps* which is essential for their proper functioning. (ii) Ministerial interference in the day-to-day administration. Ministers also discourage frank expression of views by senior officers with the result that Government hardly gets frank and fearless advice. (iii) Fear of punishment has largely disappeared, as a defaulting official is almost sure of escaping punishment if he has any political backing. Good work is not sure of reward if pitted against flattery and nepotism. This has led to remarkable inefficiency in administration and deplorable delay in disposal. (iv) Officers are not sure of Government support if they take decisions in important and controversial matters with the

result that they are naturally inclined to take the line of least resistance. Unless the tone of the services is strengthened and they are assured of support in their *bona fide* actions and unless the ministerial interference is reduced to the minimum, the administrative machinery will not yield the results expected of it.

Corruption has become rampant and is eating into the vitals of our country. No energetic action has been taken by Government to root out corruption even when scandals after scandals were brought to their notice, except recently in the Mundhra affair which also ended in less than a whimper. It is true that cases of corruption are often difficult to prove in a court of law, but departmental action ending in dismissal or removal from service and compulsory retirement after 25 years of service should be freely resorted to against officials who have a reputation for corruption. Even if such action results in injustice in a few cases, there is no other way of dealing with this canker in our body politic. The appeals of our leaders to tighten our belts to contribute to the Five-Year Plans do not evoke much response, as people feel that a portion of their contribution will go to feed corruption.

Though our accepted ideal is 'socialistic pattern of society', it is generally felt that money bags have a big pull with Government. No effective and stern action has been taken against black-marketeers, profiteers and tax-evaders. The ever-increasing cost of living is becoming a nightmare to the middle-class and salaried people. There is a limit to people's patience, and if Government does not control the prices of necessities of life, an explosive situation is bound to arise.

The Congress was agitating for reorganisation of provinces on a linguistic basis since the mid-twenties, but when it came into power it did not seem to be enthusiastic about it. The Government, however, hastily announced its decision to form the Andhra Pradesh as a result of some disturbances and could not then resist the demand for linguistic States elsewhere. While redrawing the map of India on more or less linguistic basis, the only exception made was the bilingual Bombay State which came into being after the attempt to separate Bombay city from Maharashtra was foiled by the martyrdom of 105 people who were shot

down in the blood-bath that took place in the city in 1956. As a result of this unjust imposition, Congress lost heavily in Maharashtra and the Gujaratis too showed signs of dissatisfaction as they did not naturally like to be in a permanent minority in the bilingual State. The threat of mass upsurge from 1st November, by the Samyukta Maharashtra Samiti and the Maha-Gujarat Parishad viewed in the light of the Kerala episode and the approaching general elections have led the Congress High Command to review the position and two new States of Maharashtra and Maha-Gujarat comprising all their linguistic areas are coming into existence in the next few months.

The reorganisation of States has led to border troubles and the most vocal has been the Bombay-Mysore border dispute. Though assurances were given at the highest level that this dispute would be solved in the Western Zonal Council or otherwise, nothing was done for the last three years to settle this question. People in the area cannot be fairly blamed for starting a peaceful agitation in these circumstances. As Government's policy that the dispute should be solved by negotiation between the two Chief Ministers concerned failed due to the intransigence of the Mysore Chief Minister who considered it as a 'settled fact,' it is now proposed to appoint a Mediation Committee to go into the question. In view of the functions assigned to it, the Committee is not likely to serve any useful purpose and will only mean further waste of time. Gujarat, too, has some border troubles with Maharashtra. As it is essential to fix the boundaries of Maharashtra and Gujarat States in the Bill to avoid constant bickerings in future, the best course would be to appoint a Boundary Commission, as suggested by the States Reorganisation Commission. The Commission should have a Supreme Court Judge as Chairman and two prominent M.P.s, one from each house of Parliament and unconnected with the three States concerned, as members, and to implement their recommendations fully. Nobody can then have any legitimate grievance. What is essential is that whatever principles may be adopted

by the Boundary Commission, they should be uniformly applied to all border disputes and not bent to suit each different case as was done by the States Reorganisation Commission.

Though conversions are permissible under the Constitution, no country in the world will tolerate fraudulent conversion of its citizens. Foreign missionaries with enormous financial resources are converting our people, specially Scheduled Tribes, by taking advantage of their ignorance and poverty. Large-scale conversions will pose political problems in future, as they have done in the past. This growing evil can be considerably checked by enacting that all conversions must be registered before a First Class Magistrate who will satisfy himself that the conversion is genuine and not induced by material considerations.

In the British days, there used to be communal riots on the issues of music before mosques and cow-slaughter on Id day. The Muslims were lying low for some time after the partition but are now again raising their heads and starting communal trouble, thinking that the secular Government will not take any strong action against them. Government has failed so far to lay down a firm policy in these matters in spite of judicial pronouncements rejecting the so-called rights of the Muslims to object to playing music before mosques on public roads and the Supreme Court's decision that cow-slaughter can be prohibited under the Constitution. On the other hand, by shaking hands with the Muslim League in Kerala for election purposes, the Congress High Command has done a distinct disservice to the country.

The above short account of the achievements and failures of the Congress party illustrates in fact the working of democracy in India, as the party has been in power continuously since independence. In spite of its shortcomings, it is the only party even now to shoulder the responsibility of carrying on the country's administration. Its long enjoyment of power is chiefly responsible for its present

decadence and growing unpopularity. It furnishes a good example of Lord Acton's dictum that power corrupts and that absolute power corrupts absolutely. It will be for the good of the Congress party and of the country if it sheds the undesirable elements that have crept into it and adopts a strong, just and impartial attitude on the problems facing the country. But it is very doubtful if it can or will ever do so. Though outwardly there is a parliamentary form of democracy in India, there is, in fact, a benevolent dictatorship, as whatever Pandit Nehru strongly wills does happen. With all his faults, he is the supreme symbol of India's unity and progress. It is up to him, therefore, to shed his usual weakness and indecision and put the country firmly on the right path. If he fails to do so, what will happen in India after him is anybody's guess.

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## SOME THOUGHTS ABOUT THE LOCATIONAL ASPECT OF INDUSTRIES

BY PROF. T. S. KATYAR, M.A., M.COM.

### Definition

Man is a political animal and, like most of them, possesses a gregarious nature. In the industrial world, special industries, akin to men and animals, tend to be located at particular places, and this tendency ultimately leads to an important economic phenomena, centralisation of industries.

By localisation is meant the concentration of different industries in different localities, which in its international aspects is usually termed Territorial Division of Labour.<sup>1</sup> An industry concentrated in certain localities is commonly, though perhaps not quite accurately, described as a localised industries.<sup>2</sup>

### Need for Proper Location<sup>3</sup>

Division of labour is based on varying ability and advantages of specialisation. The adaptation of the tasks to varying

aptitudes is conducive to greater efficiency. Similarly the adaptation of occupations and industries to resources is a cause of regional division of production.<sup>4</sup>

The industrial development which has taken place so far, is somewhat lopsided and narrow, both in spread and in its benefits. It has neither been able to confer equal or equitable benefits to the different regions of the country or to the different sections of the vast population. For instance, the concentration of cotton textile industry in Western India and sugar industry in Northern India are responsible for too much congestion in certain towns and greater benefits to certain provinces. They do and can easily be shifted to Eastern and Southern India respectively.

The industrial cities like Kanpur, Bombay, Ahmedabad, Nagpur, Calcutta, Jamshedpur and Madras enjoyed certain advantages and grew like a snowball and in spite of the operation of decentralising tendency, congestion has not been relieved. During the war time new industries also sprang up in old towns and the housing problem has further been rendered acute. Nearly 2,00,000 people in Bombay live on the pavements and footpaths and the shortage of housing in the city is very acute. Refuse has increased by several

1. P. S. Lokanathan: *Industrial Organisation in India*, p. 55.

2. Marshall: *Principles of Economics*, p. 222.

3. Rallan: *Organisation of Industries*; P. S. *Industrial Organisation in India*; P. C. Jain: *Problems in Indian Economics*; R. Balkrishna: *Regional Planning in India*; T. R. Sharma: *Location of Industries in India*; Barlow Commission's Report, Part II; P. E. P. Report, Chapter V; Government Publication; *Location of Industries in India*; *Social Cost of Industry*.

4. T. R. Sharma: *Location of Industries in India*, p. 253.

hundred tons and there was a strain on every utility service. It is only providence that has saved us from an epidemic.<sup>5</sup>

The high average mortality in industrial towns in spite of the existence of far superior social, maternity and health services, in comparison with rural areas, is due to smoke, noise, overcrowding and the presence of poverty, which in cities appears to be an aggravated evil.

The long daily journeys which the working people have to undergo involve a reduction in their real income both on account of the waste of time and energy and the high travelling cost affect the well-being of the nation as a whole. The disease and vices in the centres of industrial congestion, and the vagaries of starvation and famine and mal-nutrition and epidemics in non-industrial regions have been partly the inevitable consequences of the unplanned industrial growth and uneven distribution of industries in different regions of this country.

Even from a purely conomic point of view it is felt that excessive specialisation and dependence on one or two industries carry with them great risks which the present protracted depression has fully illustrated both in India and England.<sup>6</sup> The dependence of Lancashire and Bombay on the cotton textile industry is well-known.

Excessive concentration increases land values which place a burden on industries, make rebuilding more expensive and thereby increase the difficulty of town planning.<sup>7</sup>

The present concentration, in brief, of industries in particular regions has already created problems of socio-economic or social charater—creation of slums, conges-

tion and conflicts bred disease and poverty—which call for a remedy in the form of planned location of new industries of the future, a redistribution of the existing industries as far as possible and a centralised system of production with a view to “remove the present contrast between a few great cities of wealth and surplus and thousands of poverty stricken, deficit villages.”<sup>8</sup>

Diversification of industrial activity means less voilent depressions and less excited booms since the various industries will not move in exact accord. Birmingham affords an example of the ability of an industrial centre to survive depressions owing to the varied nature of its industrial activity.

Every cheapening of the means of communication, every new facility for the free interchange of ideas between distant places alters the action of the forces which tend to localise industries. With the development of cheap hydro-electric power in India, the future location of industry is bound to be affected. Moreover, the improved pucca roads in rural areas and the cheap motor transport is changing the transport relations considerably. The motor-car has potentially opened up new frontiers of human settlements.

The proper location of industries has been advocated on the grounds of equal distribution of wealth in the country. Industrial development must not be confined mainly to a few provinces and States but as far as conditions permit, should be extended in a rational manner over the whole of India so that depressed and under-developed areas may be reduced and the standard of living of the common man may be raised. The differences between Bombay and Bengal over the division of Income-tax pool will automatically be reduced to the minimum, if in future central Government directs the establishment of new industries in other States, whose contribution, in due course, to it, will increase.

5. A remark made by Mr. M. N. Modak, on December 7, 1944, the then City Engineer of Bombay, on the occasion of addressing a meeting of retired Parsi Officers.

6. P. S. Lokanathan: *Industrial Organisation in India*, p. 253.

7. *Barlow Commission's Report*: pp. 86-87. “There is a clear correlation between smoke pollution of the atmosphere and the excess mortality of the towns in Northern England.”

8. Quoted by P. S. Lokanathan, p. 53, from *Recent Economic Changes, U.S.A.*, Vol. I, 1929, p. 215.

The P.E.P. Committee stressed the vital need of "Balanced Regional Development," so as to avoid the undesirable social, economic and strategical consequences of uncontrolled growth to industry and of excessive industrialisation and urbanisation of large areas. Indeed, the development of industries on rational lines will not only yield benefits of diversified economy but also bridge the yawning gulf between rural backwardness and lopsided, parasitical, urban growth.

There is a growing feeling that the State should actively intervene to secure the desired pattern of industrial localisation. Industry is a growing organism and the only means of arriving at the form which is ultimately desirable, is by training its growth in the required directions.

In an industrially less developed country like India the problem of redistribution is much easier than in a fully developed country like England, which has almost reached the limit of industrial expansion and where the question of redistribution and relocation raises the different problems of industrial delocalisation and transference.<sup>9</sup>

In India the divergence of actual from the optimum pattern of location is greater because the knowledge of the individual entrepreneur in India about economic facts is much more limited than that of his confrere in the West. Finally, the size of the country and its limited economic progress so far are further arguments in its favour.<sup>10</sup>

Public opinion<sup>11</sup> in most of the leading

9. T. R. Sharma: *Location of Industries in India*, p. 269.

10. R. Balkrishna: *Regional Planning in India*, pp. 304-5.

11. The P.E.P. *Report on the Location of Industries* in Great Britain concludes that a state regulation of location is essential in the interest of community. The Scott Commission on Land Utilization in Rural Areas was in favour of regulatory action even though it could be only with reference to certain categories of industries. E. H. Bullock: *Planning Tomorrow's Britain*, p. 32—quoted by Dr. R. Balkrishna, *Regional Planning in India*, p. 293. The Barlow Commission was in favour of some

countries is definitely against industrial concentration in certain regions and big cities on account of social, economic and strategical dangers involve in such development. "To secure the best national uses of the resources of the country the Government should control the geographical distribution of population and industries. The best way of bringing this about was to secure for every region or area a variety of industry and employment as a safeguard against chronic depressions. Industry and population should be dispersed from the most crowded areas and the worst towns and cities should be remodelled in order to loosen up the central areas of congestion and to create a more decentralised type. New industries should only be encouraged to settle where there are suitable markets, labour, transport and power and proper social conditions, for the workers."<sup>12</sup>

### Government and Location

Since August 15, 1947, the foremost and fundamental change has taken place in the structure of State and consequently in its true meaning. Previously it was a foreign bureaucracy, which was ruling the country and was responsible for its actions not to the people of the country but to somebody else.<sup>13</sup> State Intervention now is necessary in the economic and social field for correction of the economic and social ills, better utilization of natural resources, raising the standard of living and self-defence.

definite action being taken to remedy the evils of industrial concentrations. The idea underlying the pamphlet on *Location of Industry in India* by the Economic Adviser to the Government of India is that direct State action can be efficacious only in preventing an overgrowth of industrial towns, but for securing better distribution of industry voluntary means may be more fruitful. The Federation of British Industries speaking on behalf of industry was prepared to accept a policy of discouragement for location in certain areas and encouragement to other.

12. Flora Stephenson and Phoebe Pool: *Targets for Tomorrow*, No. II, p. 33.

13. Qureshi: *The State of Economic Life*, p. 10.

The choice among sites is no longer entirely free as in unplanned economy has influence in favour of some as against others by means of its tariff policy, public utility policies, hydro-electric development, grants to local bodies, town planning schemes, etc.<sup>14</sup> Public expenditure in providing facilities to industry is an argument for public control of location. A policy of uncontrolled location affects the wider interest of the nation.

The P.E.P. Report on Location of Industry in Great Britain observes, there must be a large number of wrong locations in all countries and if there were a magic carpet to transport industries it would largely be in demand.

Our Government, like most of the governments of the world, and the order of the day, has given itself to a policy of planned economy.<sup>15</sup> & <sup>16</sup> In countries like the Soviet Russia, the location of industries and town and country planning are natural adjuncts to planned economy. Public ownership of land and major industries makes it possible to plan for the best interest of the whole community.<sup>17</sup> In Soviet Russia the Five-Year Plan of industrial development were so constructed that there was a shifting on industrial capital in favour of under-developed regions.

The Indian National Congress in 1924 through Swaraj Party in Assembly declared: "The industrial development of the country has always had very high place in the programme and policy of the party and all proposals for granting discriminatory protection to vital national industries will continue to receive the sympathy of the party."<sup>18</sup> A new milestone was reached

when in 1929 the Party agreed to a constitution which will provide protection of indigenous cloth and control by the State of key industries and ownership of mineral resources. The Economic Programmes Committee in 1947 regarding location and control of investment and Licensing said, "Regional self-sufficiency should be the aim with regard to all types of industries. . . . . Location of industry should be so planned as to make a district of average size having roughly a population of 10 lakhs, as nearly self-sufficient as possible in respect of consumer goods which supply the daily needs of the people. Control of investment and licensing of new undertakings should be resorted to for the purpose of effective co-ordination and harmonious development of different types of industry." The objective of the Congress is the establishment of a Co-operative commonwealth and Welfare State. . . . . for this purpose acquisitive economy has to be progressively changed into a socialised economy.<sup>19</sup>

The Government of India's Industrial Policy Statement<sup>20</sup> of 6th April, 1948, authorises the Government to regulate and control the location of a number of industries in consultation with the governments of the provinces, and States at all stages. It also adumbrated the establishment of the Central Industrial Advisory Council. The Planning Commission,<sup>21</sup> also favoured the dispersal of industries in the wider national interest and stated that the extent to which the pattern of industrial location in the country could be changed within a short period was undoubtedly limited and referred to a certain measures of encouraging incentives.

The Industries (Development and Regulation) Act, 1951 gives the Government of India power to control and regulation of

14. R. Balkrishna: *Regional Planning in India*, p. 285.

15. & 16. Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru, while addressing the meeting of the National Development Council on November 9, 1954, said: "I do feel that we have arrived at a very definite stage in planning and in our work."

17. T. R. Sharma: *Location of Industries in India*, p. 269.

18. A.-I.C.C. Publication: *Resolutions on Economic Policy and Programme*, p. 2.

19. *Ibid.*, p. 87 (*Planned Development*, A.-I.C.C., Ajmer, July, 1954).

20. Govt. Publication: *Industrial Policy Statement*, 1948.

21. It was recommended by the Industries Conference.

22. Govt. Publication: *Planning Commission's Report*, p. 443.

industries. It authorises the registration of existing industrial undertakings, licensing of new industrial undertakings as well as those for producing or manufacturing new articles.<sup>23</sup> Each industrial unit is licensed and while giving the licence the Licensing Committee specifies the conditions as to the location of the undertakings and the minimum standards in respect of size.<sup>24</sup> Further, no owner of an industrial undertaking other than the Central Government, shall effect any substantial expansion of an industrial undertaking which has been registered or change the location of the whole or any part of an industrial undertaking which has been registered except under, and in accordance with, a licence issued in that behalf by the Central Government.<sup>25</sup> Moreover, the Act also empowers the Central Government to assume management or control of an industrial undertaking in certain cases.<sup>26</sup> Finally Penalties have also been provided for contravention of certain sections.

According to the Pamphlet,<sup>27</sup> the two important objectives to be achieved are a more even distribution of industries between regions and a planned development of industrial towns to eliminate social evils. The first objective will be further urbanization, a necessity in India, by the creation of towns of optimum size. The brochure, however, favours voluntary effort and seems to draw its inspiration from Barlow Commission report. It is categorically stated that in a country like India it will be extremely dangerous for the State to arrogate to itself the right to determine the location of individual undertakings. The subsequent arguments neither explain the peculiar position of India in this respect nor

how it will be more dangerous in India to assume such power. The factors favouring voluntary effort instead of indicating any dangers inherent in a policy of State control may speak in favour of State control and direction. The pamphlet admits that in an under-developed country like India the scope to attain desired pattern is greater, hence the State must also be vested with greater powers. Moreover, when a desired pattern is the objective, effective State action is essential, for individual entrepreneur never think in terms of general pattern but only in terms of the profitability of the individual location. It is an admitted fact that industrial location is a matter of fundamental importance to the social structure, because only through a wise direction of industrial location can a better distribution of population be achieved. Thus, if at all there is anything peculiar in the circumstances obtaining in India it is in favour and not against a policy of state control over location of industries.

The State shall play a still more important part in future in the industrial field. The country already has a powerful State-owned public sector in Industry but on account of the conditions, at present, prevailing in the country, the private sector is both important and necessary in the industrial development of India and should be given adequate freedom to develop,—within the limits of the National Plan and subject to the conditions laid down by it. It should function as a part of the National Plan keeping before it the national good and not merely the individual or group interest.<sup>28</sup>

### Measures of Control

Measures of control of industrial location may combine measures for encouraging industries<sup>29</sup> to grow in certain areas and measures for discouraging them from developing in already congested areas. These are also known as 'positive' and 'negative' measures for control of industrial location. Of these two types of measures, it would be

23. Govt. Publication: Industries (Development and Regulation) Act, vide Secs. 10, 11 and 11A.

24. The Registration and Licensing of Industrial Undertakings Rules, vide Secs. 11 and 12.

25. Govt. Publication: Industries Act, Sec. 13. (d) and (e).

26. *Ibid.*, Sec. 18A.

27. Govt. Publication: *A Study on Location of Industries in India*.

28. A-I.C.C., Ajmer Session, July, 1954.

29. Govt. Publication: *First Five-Year Plan, Industrial Incentives*, pp. 435-36.



advantageous for the State to place greater emphasis on encouragements (incentives) because it would proportionately reduce the odium of control to be exercised and more effective in getting a desired result than discouragements (deterrents). Encouragements may consist of a creation of facilities in the selected areas in the form of public utility services, free grant of land, location of government defence factories, provision of improved amenities and services, offer of subsidies to prospective industries in particular area, exemption from payment of octroi duties, terminal taxes, sales tax and other such charges,<sup>30</sup> participation in the scheme of financing enterprise, grant of loans at low rates of interest, assurances on the part of the State to place orders with concerns that have been developed at their instance in certain areas, readjustment of pays to attract people at these areas, concessions in the grant of import licences<sup>31</sup> and the creation of Trading Estates.<sup>32</sup> With regard to deterrents it may be observed that they are less effective in yielding results and more difficult in practice to apply. A few deterrents may be permissible if it is the considered view of the State to prevent any further industrialisation in certain regions. Deterrents may refer to reduction in the block grants to certain areas, abolition of derating to new factories a higher local rates and taxes for new industries, persuasion of industrialists to locate their plants in certain backward regions, and the levy on established industries for the benefit of new concerns in selected areas. Control over capital issues have been in operation for several years but it has played so far a somewhat negative role.<sup>33</sup> Penalties mentioned in Sec. 24 of the Industries (Development and Regulation) Act are deterrents in their effects. Moreover, deglomerative factors have the same effect.

30. A.-I.C.C.: *Resolution on Economic Policy and Programme, 1924-54*, pp. 29-32.

31. Govt. Publication: *The Registration and Licencing Rules*, Sec. 22, p. 6.

32. They have been suggested by Barlow Commission.

33. Govt. Publication: *Five-Year Plan*, p. 435.

Finally, absolute prohibition is the most effective but it should be used only in extreme cases.<sup>34</sup>

### Atomic Energy<sup>35</sup> and Location

The atomic energy attracted the attention of people when in December 1942, a graphite uranium pile in Chicago gave rise to the first self-sustaining nuclear reaction ever produced by human agency producing energy by the fission of uranium nuclei at the small initial rate of half a watt.<sup>36</sup> One gram of fissionable material liberates about 1000 kw. days of energy hence 1 lb. will liberate about 450,000 kw. days, which is equivalent to roughly 1250 kw. years.

Deposits of uranium, in 1940, were estimated at 100 lbs.,<sup>37</sup> and somewhat smaller amount of thorium, but at present the possibility for the quantity is double. In the past many of the deposits of uranium and thorium were considered uneconomically workable because demand for uranium as a source of radium and for colourising ceramics and for thorium mainly for the incandescent mantles, was relatively small. However, they are not rare elements and they may be as plentiful as zinc, lead, tin and much more common than mercury and gold.

It will find its outlets besides atom bomb in the propulsion of naval vessels, submarines, aircraft where a large cruising range without refueling is an important feature and production of electricity in remote regions. Oak Ridge has become synonymous with the atomic energy and is more than a 'cradle of Atomic Age' for the atomic age is growing to maturity at Oak Ridge. This is the largest of the nation's atomic energy centres.<sup>38</sup>

34. Dr. R. Balkrishna: *Regional Planning in India*, p. 310.

35. The atom is a promising new and relatively plentiful source of energy for replenishing the world's dwindling source of energy.

36. A. J. Brown: *Applied Economics*, p. 227.

37. S. Glasstone: *Foundations of Atomic Energy*, 14-128. U.S.A. 'abounds about 720,000 lbs.

38. U.S.I.S. Publication: *The Peaceful Atom*, p. 28.

Although a nuclear fire resembles a chemical fire there are a number of striking differences.<sup>39</sup> Firstly, the quantity of heat produced per unit weight of fuel is vastly greater than in a chemical fire. For instance, 1 lb., of atomic fuel releases 26000 times the amount of heat produced from burning a pound of coal. Alternatively, 1 gram of fissionable material is equal to 1,500 tons of coal. Secondly, whereas for all practical purposes, a chemical fire can exist only in an atmosphere in which oxygen is present but nuclear fire requires billions upon billions of the incredibly small invisible atomic fragments called 'neutrons.' Thirdly, unlike chemical fire, a nuclear fire cannot be ignited until a certain minimum amount of fuel, i.e., 'critical mass' has been assembled. Fourthly, a number of materials can be made to burn in a chemical way but U.235 is only one naturally accruing substance for nuclear fire. Finally, nuclear fire is invisible and like X-rays its radiations are dangerous. Atomic ashes remain "hot" in a radio active sense for very long periods of time and must therefore be handled with utmost care.

Till the building of 'Experimental Breeding Reactor'<sup>40</sup> it was said, "unless the problem of breeding is solved, there is a question as to the ultimate contribution of nuclear fission to the world supply of energy. But we have progressed from the purely research phase to the usable power for practical phase.<sup>41</sup> The principle of atomic power has been proved, all that remains is to cut the cost. The situation today in atomic energy (power) is not vastly different from the situation in the oil industry when the first diesel engine went into submarine. The diesel, like the reactor, served its first practical purpose in the submarine.<sup>42</sup>

The atomic energy is not restrictive of

industrial location in any completely rigid way, since its transmission is easy.<sup>43</sup> It will really help in the decentralisation of industries, movement of population from thickly-populated to thinly-populated areas, a rise in the standard of living of the depressed, undeveloped and underdeveloped regions. The crux of the world problem, the problem of population will be solved, to a considerable extent, by increased production and redistribution of population. The atomic energy, like the electricity, will act as an important deglomerating factor but will be much more effective than electricity.

The many parts of the world rich in certain resources will find it possible to process their raw material cheaply at home and ship out the much lighter and less bulky final product. This will not only reduce the cost of the final product to the consumer, but it bids far to change industrial and economic geography of the world.

It would remove the differences between places and so would reduce the advantages of particular locations for those industries which use most and least power in proportion to another factors of production. The civilization of the west, which is essentially a coal civilization,<sup>44</sup> may change itself into atomic one.

It would remove one of the limitations which now prevent the development of power-using industries in those relatively few well-inhabited areas and those large uninhabited areas to which it is technically impossible to supply reasonably cheap power from present sources. It would, therefore, make it possible to colonize and industrialise the remote and waste spaces of the world.

The planned development of some remote or inhospitable areas for strategic reasons will be facilitated for it may help planting in such regions relatively small settlements that are re-

39. George Dean: *Report on the Atom*, pp. 145-46.

40. George Dean: *Report on Atom*. It was built at Argonne National Laboratory, Idaho in 1951, p. 180.

41. *Ibid.*

42. Samuel Glasstone: *Foundations of Atomic Energy*, p. 163.

43. Due to weightlessness it can be carried to any part of the world. From the central station distribution is made through 'Assembled Ores' for use in a small reactor.

44. Govt. Publication: *A Study on Location of Industry in India*, p. 50.

quired for the exploitation of special resources. Though the cost of electric energy from atomic power will not differ outstandingly, in one direction or another that derived from another sources of power will make up the world shortage of energy, change the whole technique of production, promote the substitution of machinery for labour, affect the mobility of labour, confer equal benefits over all regions, affect the commerce of the world, rush up the utilization of inaccessible resources and raise the standard of living of the masses.

As the control of atomic energy is the responsibility of State, it will be in a better position to direct the location of industries and shift of population easily that it has been able to do so far. It will not only promote regional planning but may also save the human civilization from the throes of the future destructive war through shifting of industrial activity to remote (safe) areas and rational distribution of population.

The atom is a two-facet demon, representing Ram (the constructive use) and Rawan (the destructive use) of the great Hindu Epic: *Ramayan*, and like boomerang, it will cut both ways but with different consequences, that it, the destructive use will annihilate the modern civilization, and its constructive use will not only preserve the modern civilizations of the world but would assimilate them and thus a common world civilization may usher in. The world, year in and year out, on account of the latest, quickest and cheapest means of transport, will become still shorter. It would open up a new chapter for the human race. Yet the economic consequences of the very cheap and unlimited power are not likely to be cataclysmic.<sup>45</sup> People could not realise in the initial stages that the electric energy which has done wonders, at present, will change the face of the earth. Similarly, Mr. Brown seems to be considerably under-valuing the importance of atomic energy.

The use of atom and hydrogen-bombs by belligerent nations will be nothing short of opening the third eye by Lord Shiva.<sup>46</sup> The

attitude of the Indian people and the efforts of our Prime Minister, the would-be world leader and apostle of peace, would deface the demon, the destructive one of the atomic boomerang.

### CONCLUSION

The State must take a keen interest, through positive and negative measures, in the regulation and control of location of industries with a view to the better utilization of the available resources, avoidance of social cost of industries, more equitable distribution of benefits all over the country and raising the standard of living of the masses.

In the matter of industrial location de-glomerating factors are becoming more powerful but in view of the Atom and Hydrogen-Bombs<sup>47</sup> and for taking a leaf out of the Russian's victory in the Second World War, strategic factors must have due weight in the locational distribution of industries. It will be better to have munition factories—and ordnance depots in remote, invulnerable and unopen places. Further, consumer goods industries must be dispersed, as far as possible, to consuming centres so that the public may not suffer heavily due to war. Though wisdom lies in striking a judicious balance between the economic and strategical considerations but in several cases the latter must have more weight for national security.

As the Government of India<sup>48</sup> has already accepted the principle of decentralised production, it is essential that the relationship between cottage and small-scale industries and

greater than the Hiroshima Bomb, hence, it is the deadliest *Weapon of Mass Destruction Invented so Far* and threatens the very existence of man and civilization. Reports indicate that Russia has been trying its hands at some kind of Nitrogen Bomb which is expected to be more powerful than even the H-Bomb.

47. *P.E.P. Report*, Page 18: Considerations as safety from aerial attack in case of warfare make it necessary to take industries to locations into the interior of the country, away from river banks and away from open towns even if this involves some loss of economic advantage.

48. *A.-I.C.C.: Resolutions on Economic Policy and Programme*. p. 18.

45. A Brown: *Applied Economics*, 243.

46. S. N. Agarwal: *Towards a Socialist Economy*, p. 131-32. "The destructive power of H-Bomb is six to seven hundred times

large-scale industries must be determined, the field of operation, as far as possible, must be clearly demarcated, the possibilities of complementary production must be explored to the fullest extent, and that the planners must always keep these important considerations in view while drawing out, amending or supplementing the Plan. Cottage and small-scale industries and large-scale industries, both in Private and Public Sector, should be dovetailed.

According to the Registration and Licensing Rules<sup>49</sup> each application for a licence or permission for changing the location of the whole or part of an industrial undertaking is to be accompanied by a Treasury Receipt for Rs. 50/-. The amount of deposit firstly may be reduced to Rs. 10 and secondly if the change is for the undeveloped or underdeveloped region as declared by the Government, not only the fee should be refunded but some subsidy may be granted on the basis of the cost of locational change. Thus the resultant imbalance due to haphazard development can be quickly corrected.

The Government of India should make a study of split locations, i.e., the splitting up of the different processes of the same industry between different localities with a view to speed up the process of decentralisation, to give a fillip to the growth of medium and small-scale industries, the emergence of optimum-size towns, to cushion the industrial areas against the shock of industrial depressions, to cut short to the minimum the industrial problems and to root out the problem of unemployment.

The Planning Commission should collect data regarding underdeveloped and undeveloped regions together with the respective industries likely to be developed there and also the type of organisation which could suit them. It will also be better to announce simultaneously, in certain cases, the possible indirect encouragements to be conferred on the industries to be started in undeveloped regions. The undertakings of these areas must also be eligible for preferential treatment in the grant of import licences by the Government. In addition

to creating of favourable conditions in backward areas for industrial development in general, some special measures<sup>50</sup> may be taken to attract new industries to such areas. The Industrial Finance Corporation for India, the State Industrial Finance Corporations, Industrial Credit and Investment Corporation may give some favourable treatment in the grant of loans, etc., to industrial establishment in these areas. It is difficult within initial stages to induce private industry to choose a new location where such facilities are inadequate. Special encouragements, in the Second Five-Year Plan, should be given to particular industries which are suited to the backward areas. Effective propaganda should be carried on by the Government of India through Chambers of Commerce, Employers Associations, and Provincial and District Planning Departments.

A systematic policy of the shifting of industries to countryside is greatly desired in view of the better utilisation of hydro-electric power, increased urbanisation of rural areas<sup>51</sup> correcting the economy of India, solving part unemployment problem of rural areas, strengthening war and industrial economy, for developing community centres into optimum and ideal towns, which will become the diffusion centres of modern culture into countryside, and raising the standard of living.

Rationalisation is necessary in many industries in at least three directions: (a) Improving the location of factories, (b) improving the method of production and (c) reducing the number of labourers per unit of machinery and bringing the factories to a maximum economic size. Proper location, therefore, is an integral part of rationalisation, which is the need of the hour.

The industrialists in the early stages resented the Industries (Regulation and Development) Act and Rules made thereunder

50. Govt. Publications: *Location of Industries in India*, Appendix II.

51. Excessive ruralisation is one of the most undesirable feature of Indian Social Structure. In Great Britain 80 per cent of the population live in Urban areas whereas in India it is only 16 per cent.

49. The Registration and licensing of Industrial Undertakings Rules, 1952 refer sub. Sec. 3 of Sec. 7.

but now it seems they have reconciled themselves. Criticism, however, has been levelled against the Licensing Authority for the grant of Licences to new industrial concerns, specially foreign firms, when in view of the assessment of demand for and supply of particular goods, new licence would not have been granted.<sup>52</sup>

At present the control of Capital Issues is administered by the Ministry of Finance and Licensing of Industries by the Ministry of Commerce and Industries. In the interest of efficiency and better co-ordination it is desirable that both the Acts should be administered by the same authority. The objective, correcting the defects of industrial pattern and regional distribution, cannot be achieved by the negative action of the two Acts unless favourable atmosphere, i.e., suitable economic environment is created through positive methods by the Government in the underdeveloped regions. The Planning Commission, in the Second Five-Year Plan, should take this important aspect into consideration.

The remedial measures in cases falling under Secs. 16 and 18A of the Industries (Development and Regulation) Act do not allow any scope for devising alternative methods such as those prescribed in Sec. 153-C of the Indian Companies Act. This defect must be remedied and there should be a tie-up between the provisions of the Indian Companies Act and that of the Industries Act. The Government should build up its managerial personnel for handling public enterprises so that instead of appointing Managing Agents, experienced

officers should be lent to manage the concerns. Under this Act the installation of plants, assembling of imported goods should be discouraged and genuine manufacture should be encouraged. The Government of India, while permitting the establishment of new industrial units with foreign participants should pay special attention to the terms of their collaboration with a view to ensuring that they are consistent with the Government's economic policy as well as the larger interests of the nation.

It may be said at this stage that an expert Board of 5 to 7 under the Planning Commission, representing all shades of economic opinion, should be constituted to study the resources and potentialities of the different parts of the country, initiate and conduct research on the various aspects of the problem of location and development of industries and demarcate the country's different zones with reference to their suitability for industrial development and recommend suitable changes from time to time in legislation, policies and measures that may be required for the industrial development of the country.

The distribution of industrial activity in India is extremely uneven both absolutely and in relation to population, because the importance of the control and regulation of industrial location was not realised in the past. Moreover, a considerable proportion of the industrial development in the First Five-Year Plan is by way of expansion of existing industrial unity. In the Second Five-Year Plan dispersal of industries, development of backward and undeveloped areas, the strategical considerations, the urbanisation of rural areas and both the negative control of the location of industry and the positive policy of encouraging the development of backward areas should form an integral part of systematic co-ordinated policy of economic reconstruction.

52. Private discourse with Dr. Ram Gopal, Assistant Secretary, Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry, New Delhi, on 26th June, 1955. The Chamber represented the cases of a number of industries, namely, Wooden Screws, Bore Hole Turbine Pumps, Barrels and Drums, Spindle Tapes and Beltings, etc.



# THE ROLE OF PERSONALITY IN HISTORY

By HARSH NARAIN

That the course of history is determined by the activities of great men is a view as old as Herodotus, the Father of History. From the time of Herodotus down to recent past, historians, who are rightly dubbed military historians, have been taking it for granted that all history is wrought by great men or rather military conquerors. To Thomas Carlyle, however, goes the credit of first formulating the idea as a more or less self-contained philosophy of history.

"The History of the world," says Carlyle, "is but the Biography of great men."<sup>1</sup>

He divides society into Heroes and ordinary mortals, the leaders and the led, commanders and obeyers, and cites the analogy of a ship which cannot round Cape Horn without a rigid division between commanders and obeyers.<sup>2</sup>

In his work on the subject, he delineates six types of Heroes:<sup>3</sup>

- (1) the Hero as Divinity, such as Odin.
- (2) the Hero as Prophet, such as Mahomet;

- (3) the Hero as Poet, such as Dante, Shakespeare;
- (4) the Hero as Priest, such as Luther. Knox;
- (5) the Hero as a Man of Letters, such as Johnson, Rousseau, Burns, Goethe and
- (6) the Hero as King, such as Cromwell, Napoleon.

All these Heroes are history-makers in their own arenas, however restricted. Goethe is described as a "world-changer and spiritual revolutionist."<sup>4</sup> Carlyle admits that Dante's "arena is far more restricted" than that of Mahomet but has no doubt that "it is far nobler, clearer; perhaps not less but more important" and that Dante will long survive Mahomet.<sup>5</sup> The historical role of other types of Heroes is common knowledge.

Carlyle describes the Hero as King, the Commander over Men, as "the most important of Great Men."

He is practically the summary for us of all the various figures of Heroism; Priest, Teacher, whatsoever of earthly or of spiritual dignity we can fancy to reside in a man, embodies itself here. . . .<sup>6</sup>

Carlyle believes in the essential unity of the "heroic quality": that all Heroes are fundamentally of the same stuff and that their outward shape—the part they would play—depends on the kind of world they find themselves born into.<sup>7</sup> I cannot resist the temptation of quoting his following passage on the subject:

I confess, I have no notion of a truly great man that could not be *all* sorts of men. The poet . . . could not sing the Heroic warrior unless he himself were at least a Heroic warrior too. I fancy there is in him the Politician, the Thinker, Legislator, Philosopher;—in one

1. Carlyle: *On Heroes, Hero-Worship, and the Heroic in History* (first published in book-form in 1841 from a course of lectures delivered by Carlyle in London in 1840), Collin's Clear Type Press, London and Glasgow, not dated, p. 23.

2. Carlyle: *Latter-Day Pamphlets*, quoted in Eric Bentley, *The Cult of the Superman*, Robert Hale Ltd., London, 1947, pp. 101-2.

3. Carlyle: *Op. Cit.*, throughout. However, as noted by B. H. Lehman, ". . . Carlyle did not limit the types of Hero to the six which he chose under the exigencies of his programme of lectures. He mentions the Hero Painter (ii), the Hero-Cavalier (Montrose) (234), and at the opening of the third lecture after reviewing his types, Divinity, Prophet, Poet, he adds: 'We might give many more names, on this same principle.' (89)". B. H. Lehman, *Carlyle's Theory of the Hero: Its Sources, Development, History, and Influence on Carlyle's Work*, Duke University Press, Durham, North California, 1928, p. 59. (The figures within brackets represent pagination of the first edition of Carlyle's book given at foot-note No. 1 *supra*).

4. Quoted in Eric Bentley, *Op. Cit.*, p. 19.

5. Carlyle: *Op. Cit.*, pp. 131-2 and 147.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 251.

7. *Ibid.*, pp. 59, 104-5, and 150-51; also pp. 41, 201, and 229.

or the other degree, he could have been, he is all these. So too I cannot understand how a Mirabeau, with that great glowing heart, with the fire that was in it, with the bursting tears that were in it, could not have written verses, tragedies, poems, and touched all hearts in that way, had his course of life and education led him thitherwards. . . . Napoleon has words in him which are like Austerlitz Battles. Louis Fourteenth's *Martials* are a kind of poetical men withal; the things Turenne says are full of sagacity and geniality like sayings of Samuel Johnson. The great heart, the clear deep-seeing eye; there it lies; no man whatever, in what province soever, can prosper at all without these. . . . Petrarch and Boccaccio did diplomatic messages, it seems, quite well; one can easily believe it; they had done things a little harder than these. Burns, a gifted song-writer, might have made a still better Mirabeau. Shakespeare,—one knows not what *he* could not have made in the supreme degree.<sup>8</sup>

In another connexion, Carlyle speaks of two types of Heroes, the Great Man and the Noted Man. The Great Man moulds his age after his own image and

the Noted Man of an age is the emblem and summary of the Ideal which the age has fashioned for itself: show me the noted man of an age, you show me the age that produced him.<sup>9</sup>

A similar typology has been enunciated by Sidney Hook, who speaks of eventful and event-making men.<sup>10</sup> He compares the role of the merely eventful man to that of "the little Dutch boy who kept his finger in the hole of the dike and saved the town." The great events wrought by the eventful man are due not to the intrinsic worth of the latter but to the fateful situation he happened to be in. Anybody could have

taken the place of the little Dutch boy, and with exactly the same results.<sup>11</sup> It is, therefore, evident that the eventful man has as little a claim to greatness as the microbe which put an end to Alexander's world-wide military conquests by killing him at the age of thirty-two. Hence it is the event-making man who is the really great man, or Hero. Also one need not always be a really great man to effect great changes in history.

We shall see later that Oswald Spengler, too, countenances a similar idea.

It appears that Carlyle sometimes—let us suppose, unwittingly—deviates from his thesis in interpreting history. After ridiculing the suggestion that the Hero is the "creature of the Time,"<sup>12</sup> he proceeds to characterize Dante as the "voice of ten silent centuries"<sup>13</sup> and to undo his (Carlyle's) original position thus:

The *Divine Comedy* is of Dante's writing; yet in truth it belongs to ten Christian centuries, only the finalizing of it Dante's. So always . . . how little of all he does is properly *his* work: All past inventive men work there with him;—as indeed with all of us, in all things. Dante is the spokesman of the Middle Ages; the Thought they lived by stands here in everlasting music. These sublime ideas of his, terrible and beautiful, are the fruits of the Christian Meditation of the good men who had gone before him. Precious they but also is not he precious? Much, had not he spoken, would have been dumb; not dead, yet living voiceless.<sup>14</sup>

Carlyle's Heriosm should not be confounded with the cult of the Superman fathered by Nietzsche, Shaw, and others, who can hardly be classed among philoso-

11. Cp. Jacob Burckhardt, who, for more or less the same reason, holds that, even though their discoveries have changed the face of the countries, discoveries are not great men. Vide "The Great Men of History," in his *Force and Freedom*, Meridian Books, New York, 1955, p. 274.

12. Carlyle: *On Heroes, Hero-Worship, and the Heroic in History*, ed. cit., pp. 21-2.

13. *Ibid.*, p. 114.

14. *Ibid.*, p. 129.

8. *Ibid.*, pp. 104-5.

9. Carlyle: *Goethe's Works*, 1832, incorporated in his *Critical and Miscellaneous Essays*, Vol. IV, Chapman and Hall, Piccadilly, 1872, p. 141.

10. Sidney Hook: *The Hero in History*, Secker and Warburg, London, 1945, p. 109.



phers of history. They apply their theory of what Eric Bentley christens Heroic Vitalism in given spheres, without any ambition to explain history.

The real successor of Carlyle, i.e., the greatest champion of the heroic interpretation of history after him, is Frederick Adams Wood, whose valuable contribution to the subject would perhaps have gone unnoticed but for the treatment he has received at the hands of Sidney Hook. Wood's position is summed up below in his own words:

Strong, mediocre, and weak monarchs are associated with strong, mediocre, and weak periods respectively in about 70 per cent of the cases. Strong monarchs are associated with weak periods, and weak monarchs (including non-royal regents) with strong periods in about 10 per cent of the cases. In about 20 per cent of the cases mediocre monarchs are associated with strong or with weak periods, or mediocre periods are associated with strong or with weak monarchs.<sup>15</sup>

Carlyle does not seriously consider the question of the how and why of the Hero. Where, in his work on the Hero, the question does crop up by the way, he contents himself with using some such rhetoric as "A messenger, he, sent from the infinite Unknown with tidings to us."<sup>16</sup> He, however, does not fall into the error of believing that the Hero is there whenever he is needed by the age. This we shall see in the sequel.

Hegel and Oswald Spengler trace the origin of the Hero to an unseen power; the former calls it the World-Spirit or the Spirit of the Age, while the latter Destiny.

Hegel's philosophy of history is based on his conception of the Spirit of the Age. According to him, every age is informed and animated by a spirit of its own, which is represented by World-Historical individuals. These individuals fulfil the will of

the World-Spirit by unfolding the spirit of their age. They perform the function of a midwife in expediting the birth and catering to the growth of the new age. Such individuals delude themselves, no less than others, into believing that they work in furtherance of their own individual aims, while the position is that they work for the World-Spirit. When their mission has been fulfilled, they are forsaken by the world mercilessly.

When their object is attained they fall off like empty hulls from the kernel. They die early, like Alexander; they are murdered like Caesar; transported to St. Helena, like Napoleon.<sup>17</sup>

This is the reason why, if they work in the service of the World-Spirit, many World-Historical individuals should come to grief at long last.

It is a rule with old-fashioned historians to identify history with military history, so much so that only military conquerors are recognized by them as Heroes. Though he does not state it expressly, Hegel, too, seems to ditto the military historian. Whenever there is an occasion to mention a great man, he refers to Caesar, Alexander, Frederick the Great, and Napoleon, and none from the non-military sphere. He speaks of Alexander as "the freest and finest individuality that the real world has ever produced. . . ." When he saw Napoleon near Jena, he exclaimed that he was witnessing the World-Spirit on horse-back. Wood's Hero is primarily the monarch, whom he regards as a "sub-variety of the human race."<sup>18</sup> But, as we have seen, Carlyle's Heroes are recruited from almost all fields of culture. He, too, however, indulges in a veritable apotheosis of the King, the "Commander over Men," whom, as we have seen, he reckons the most important of Great Men.

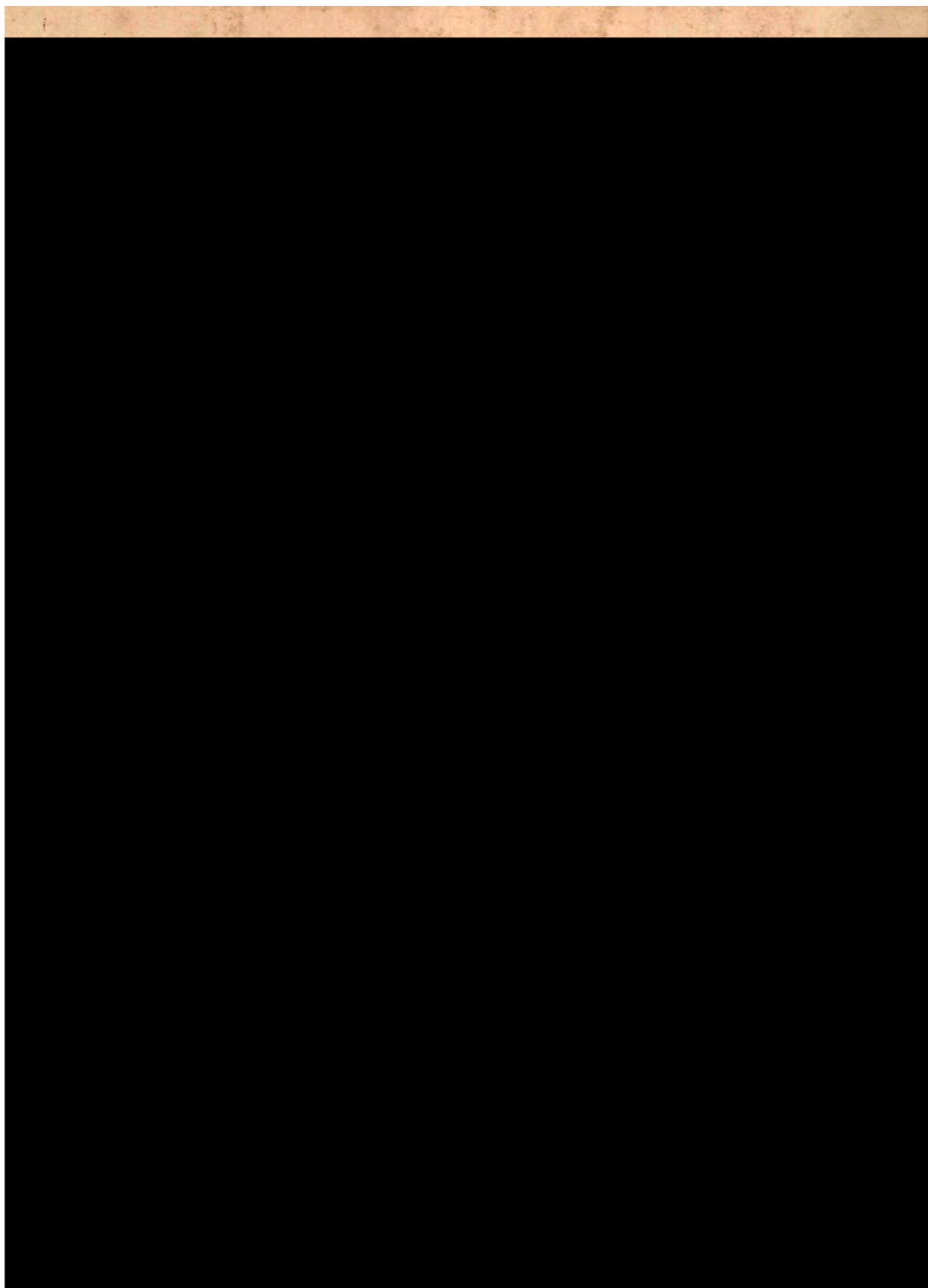
17. G. W. F. Hegel: *Lectures on the Philosophy of History*, Sibree's translation, George Bell and Sons, London, 1890, p. 32.

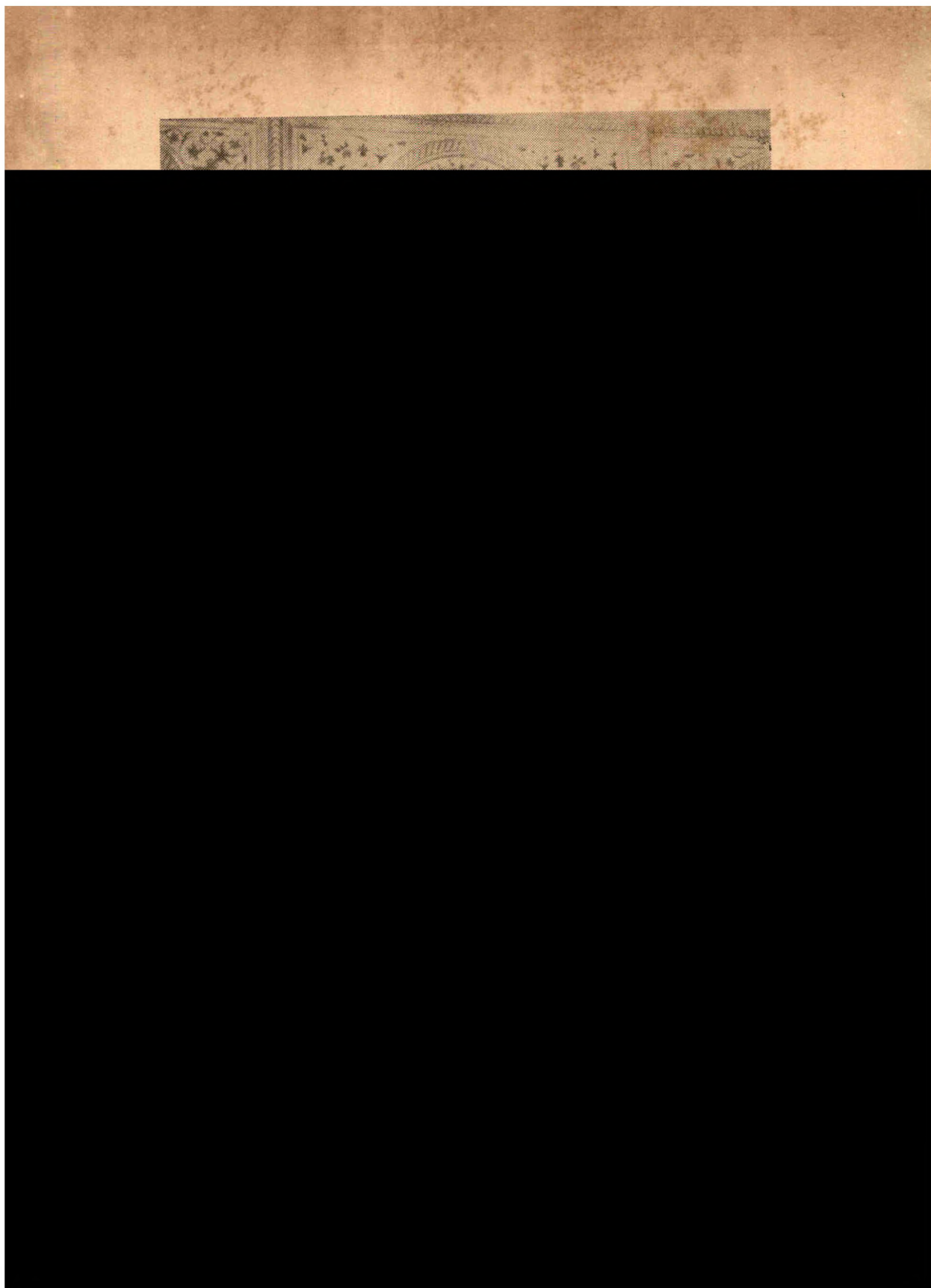
\* *Ibid.*, p. 233.

18. Wood: *Op. Cit.*, p. 275, quoted in Sidney Hook, *op. cit.*, p. 38.

15. Frederick Adams Wood: *The Influence of Monarchs*, New York, 1913, p. 246, quoted in Sidney Hook, *op. cit.*, pp. 37-8.

16. Carlyle: *Op. Cit.*, p. 63.





In their admiration for military conquerors, these Heroists were followed by Oswald Spengler who believes in the supremacy of the conqueror, the statesman, the man of fact, the active man who lives over the thinker, the "ink-slinger," the "book-worm," the man of truth, the passive man who only *knows*.<sup>19</sup> Of these two classes of great men envisaged by Spengler, the former class is said to be the more effective in history. He has no doubt that

in the history of actuality Archimedes, for all his scientific discoveries, was possibly less effective than the soldier who killed him at the storming of Syracuse.<sup>20</sup>

Indeed, Spengler has it that the man of fact has had little or no influence on the course of history. Even when the man of fact strays out of his ivory tower of speculation and takes it into his head to plunge into "actual history," his activity

is the least successful and therefore the least valuable in history. . . . He belongs . . . to no history but the history of a literature.<sup>21</sup>

Obviously, Spengler, in effect, identifies history with military history.

Spengler's man of fact is the necessary instrument or agent of Destiny which is the driving force in history and which only he can intuit. He is an expression of the "soul" of his culture even as Hegel's Hero is an expression of the Spirit of his Age.

There is to be found in Spengler also a vertical division of Heroes into Alexanders and Caesars, an antithesis already worked out by Mommsen. According to Spengler, cultures are organisms which pass through the age-phases of a human individual and which each has its childhood, youth, manhood, and old age.<sup>22</sup> A culture is so called till it attained manhood; in its old age it becomes civilization. Spengler's Alexanders are representatives and pro-

ducts of cultures; hence they are fired with the will to power and an insatiable lust for conquest and self-aggrandizement. Caesars, on the other hand, represent the decay of the culture that is civilization. They come to restore order and discipline to, and infuse life into, the dying culture.<sup>23</sup> The historical Alexander and Caesar stand respectively for romance and realism, which are the symbols of culture and civilization respectively.<sup>24</sup>

Elsewhere, Spengler suggests another significant typology: great men and successful men. These two types of men are Spenglerian counterparts of Carlyle's Noted Men and Great Men on the one hand and Sidney Hook's event-making men and eventful men on the other. There are, says Spengler,

those great persons who are endowed with such formative force that the destiny of thousands, of whole peoples, and of ages, are incorporated in their private destinies; but at the same time we can distinguish the adventurer or successful man who is destitute of inward greatness . . . from the Hero of history by the fact that his personal destiny displays only the traits of the common destiny.<sup>25</sup>

Jacob Burckhardt sets much store by the role of personality in history. His finding is summed up in the following words:

History tends at times to become suddenly concentrated in one man, who is then obeyed by the world. These great individuals . . . subsume States, religions, cultures and crises.<sup>26</sup>

The great man, says Burckhardt, comes to fulfil the will of God, the will of the nation, the will of the epoch, however selfish his conduct may appear to the naked eye. His conduct is no more subject to the ordinary moral code than that of the community for which he acts.<sup>27</sup>

19. Oswald Spengler: *The Decline of the West*, Charles Francis Atkinson's translation, Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 1947, Vol. II, pp. 11-9 *passim*, especially p. 16, and 442.

20. *Ibid.*, p. 17.

21. *Ibid.*

22. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 107.

23. *Ibid.*, Vol. II, pp. 640-65, *passim*.

24. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 38 and 349.

25. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 149.

26. Jacob Burckhardt: *Force and Freedom*, Meridian Books, New York, 1955, p. 288.

27. *Ibid.*, pp. 300-1.

Carlyle repudiates all talk of selfishness on the part of the Hero.<sup>28</sup> The Hero is sincere to the core.<sup>29</sup> He co-operates "with the real Tendency of the World,"<sup>30</sup> guided not by dogmas and codes formulated by others but by his own intuitive insight.<sup>31</sup> In this sense, he is an "original" man; "he comes to us at first hand."<sup>32</sup>

Like Nietzsche's Superman and the Leader of the Fascist, Hegel's Hero and Spengler's man of fact are beyond good and evil.<sup>33</sup> Their conduct cannot be judged save by the standards of their own. He quotes with approval Goethe's dictum, "The doer is always conscienceless; no one has a conscience except the spectator."<sup>34</sup> The fabric of the glory of the man of fact is built on the grave of morals and justice. History has ever sided with the strong and the ruthless; upholders of truth and justice invariably go to the wall.<sup>35</sup>

Max Weber's concept of 'charisma' is, broadly speaking, akin to Carlyle's concept of the heroic. The former's 'charismatic' leaders are as representative of the various compartments of culture as the latter's Heroes. 'Charisma' is the principle of creativity found in the man of genius and is opposed to 'routine.' Charismatic heroes are characterized by an utter disregard of routine. Though not unmindful of the multiplicity of the causes of historical change, Weber regards charismatic leaders as truly revolutionary forces in history. They reject "all rational economic conduct."<sup>36</sup> But what about those charismatic conquerors who go down in history as pirates and hankerers after booty? Are they the less charismatic for that? Weber's reply is in the negative.

28. Carlyle, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 270-1.

29. *Ibid.*, pp. 62-3, 74, 164-6, and 201.

30. *Ibid.*, p. 86.

31. *Ibid.*, p. 165.

32. *Ibid.*, p. 63.

33. Hegel: *Op. Cit.*, p. 32 and Spengler, *Op. Cit.*, Vol. II, p. 442.

34. Spengler: *Loc. cit.*

35. *Ibid.*, p. 507.

36. H. H. Gerth and C. Wright Mills (ed.): *From Max Weber. Essays in Sociology*, Kegan Paul, London, 1947 (actually published in 1948), p. 247.

Charismatic political heroes seek booty, and, above all, gold. But Charisma . . . always rejects as undignified any pecuniary gain that is *methodical and rational*.<sup>37</sup>

Arnold J. Toynbee assigns to the extraordinary individual almost a key position in his scheme of historical evolution. According to him,

the source of action is never the society itself, but is always some individual soul . . . the action which is an act of creation is always performed by a soul which is in some sense a superhuman genius . . .<sup>38</sup>

A living civilization is, on Toynbee's view, characterized by its active response to the challenge of the environment which it meets through its group of creative individuals, through its "creative minority." When, however, the creative minority loses its salt, that is, creativity, it becomes "dominant minority" inasmuch as it then holds its sway in society not by its virtues but by force, pure and simple.

Toynbee's creative individuals are of two types: conquerors and saviours.

In a growing civilization the creator is called upon to play the part of a conqueror who replies to a challenge with victorious response; in a disintegrating civilization the same creator is called upon to play the part of a saviour who comes to the rescue of a society that has failed to respond because the challenge has worsted a minority that has ceased to be creative and that has sunk into being merely dominant.<sup>39</sup>

The growing society is said to be on the offensive and the disintegrating one, on the defensive. Hence the need of the conqueror by the former and of the saviour or defender by the latter. This vertical division of Heroes into conquerors and saviours corresponds to the one into Alexanders and Caesars found in Spengler

37. *Ibid.*

38. Arnold J. Toynbee: *A Study of History*, Oxford University Press, London Vol. VI, 1948, p. 175.

39. *Ibid.*, p. 177.

## II

Striking contrasts to the great-man conception of history are presented by the environmentalistic, the sociologistic, and economic interpretations of history. Environmentalists like H.T. Buckle and Huntington hold that the credit of the wonders worked by historical individuals goes as a matter of fact to the environments in which they live, move, and have their beings. Sociologists like Herbert Spencer attach all importance to the state of the society in which the great man flourishes. Economic interpreters like Karl Marx emphasize the role of the socio-economic structure of society in determining social change. They generally agree that the great-man conception of history is right so far as it goes, but they feel, it does not go far enough: it does not care to analyze the greatness of great men. They have no doubt that great men are of vast historical importance and that their presence or absence makes much difference to the course of history. But unlike the Heroist their faith in the fecundity of the situation is boundless, so that they are pretty confident that a great man will be there whenever social forces so demand, that given favourable social forces he is bound to emerge. Spencer writes:

If, not stopping at the explanation of social progress as due to the great man, we go back a step, and ask, whence comes the great man? We find that the theory breaks down completely. . . . .the origin of the great man is natural; and immediately this recognized, he must be classed with all of her phenomena in the society that gave him birth as a product of its antecedents. Along with the whole generation of which he forms a minute part, along with its institutions, language, knowledge, manners, and its multitudinous arts and appliances, he is a *resultant* . . . Before he can remake his society, his society must make him. All those changes of which he is the proximate initiator, have their chief causes in the generations he descended from. If there is to be anything like a real explanation

of those changes, it must be sought in that aggregate of conditions out of which both he and they have arisen.<sup>40</sup>

There can be no denying the fact that, as environmentalists as well as Spencer maintain, the great man is a resultant of his antecedents. No cause, no effect. But this is not the point at issue. Invoking the too *general* law of causation to explain the particular phenomenon of the greatness of a great man is far from explaining it. William James likens the method to the "Oriental method" of replying any and every question by the unimpeachable truism "God is great".<sup>41</sup> The real point at issue is: Anthropological-sociological conditions favouring, is a great man bound to emerge? Buckle and Spencer say, yes. But the question is, why is it that anthropological-social conditions are relatively constant while the rise of great men which is described as a resultant thereof is relatively inconstant? Bertrand Russell notes that no genius appeared in the field of experimental science from the time of Archimedes to the time of Leonardo da Vinci.<sup>42</sup> Kroeber finds that England gave birth to

no geniuses at all between 1450 and 1550 and a whole series of geniuses in literature, music, science, philosophy,

40. Herbert Spencer: *Study of Sociology*, Kegan Paul, Trench and Co., 1, Paternoster Square, London, Eleventh Edition, 1883, pp. 33-5.

41. William James, 'Great Men and Their Environment,' *The Will to Believe and Other Essays in Popular Philosophy*, Longman's, Green and Co., New York, 1921 Impression, p. 234.

Tolstoy, whose explanation of the heroic in history is, "In the last analysis we reach the circle of infinity" (his *War and Peace*, Macmillan, 1943, Second Epilogue, p. 1328), is exposed to the same charge. "The last analysis" is wholly irrelevant to history and historiography. "In the last analysis" not only the Hero but everything else, too, is reducible to infinity, as admitted by Tolstoy himself, *loc. cit.*

42. Bertrand Russell: *Freedom and Organization*, George Allen and Unwin, London. 1934. n. 230.

and politics between 1550 and 1650. Similarly with the Germany of 1550-1650 and 1700-1800 respectively.<sup>43</sup>

These phenomena are far from explicable on the basis of the situational determinism of Spencer and others. The position is that the question of the birth of a man of genius is biological rather than historiological. Historiologically, his birth must be regarded as an accident, for the simple reason that biology is not determined by history. William James notes a remarkable parallel, not noticed before, between the fact of social evolution on the one hand and of zoological evolution on the other. He writes,

The causes of production of great men lie in a sphere wholly inaccessible to the social philosopher. He must simply accept geniuses as data, just as Darwin accepts his spontaneous variations. . . . He (the great man) acts as a ferment, and changes its (the environment's) constitution, just as the advent of new zoological species changes the faunal and floral equilibrium of the region in which it appears."

Indeed, Spencer will have to tackle the problem of co-ordinating biology with history so that the former may manufacture geniuses for the latter to order. More will be said on the point in the sequel. James is at the height of his ingenuity when he writes,

Can it be that Spencer holds the convergence of sociological pressures to have so impinged on Stratford-on-Avon about the 26th of April, 1564, that a W. Shakespeare, with all his mental peculiarities, had to be born there,—as the pressure of water outside a certain boat will cause a stream of a certain form to ooze into a particular leak? And does he mean to say that if the aforesaid W. Shakespeare had died of cholera infantum, another mother at Stratford-on-Avon would needs have engendered a duplicate copy

of him, to restore the sociologic equilibrium,—just as the same stream of water will reappear, no matter how often you pass a sponge over the leak, so long as the outside level remains unchanged? Or might the substitute arise at 'Stratford-att-Bowe'?<sup>45</sup>

Frederick Engels, Karl Marx's *alter ego*, would answer such questions in the affirmative with the reservation that the substitute might be a little different. He writes:

That such and such a man and precisely that man arises at a particular time in a particular country is, of course, pure chance. But cut him out and there will be a demand for a substitute, and this substitute will be found. That Napoleon, just that particular Corsican, should have been the military dictator whom the French Republic, exhausted by its own warfare, had rendered necessary, was chance; but that, if a Napoleon had been lacking, another would have filled that place, is proved by the fact that the man was always found as soon as he became necessary: Caesar, Augustus, Cromwell, etc. While Marx discovered the materialist conception of history, Thierry, Mignet, Guizot, and all the English historians upto 1850 are the proof that it was being striven for, and the discovery of the same conception by Morgan proves that the time was ripe for it and that it simply had to be discovered.<sup>46</sup>

That is, to say, difficult as it is to spot out the man who is destined to play the Hero in a given situation, it is necessary that some one must play the role. Karl Marx goes to the length of declaring,

Every social epoch needs its great men, and when it does not find them it invents them, as Helvetius says.<sup>47</sup>

45. *Ibid.*, p. 235.

46. Engels's letter to Starkenburg, dated January 25, 1894, incorporated in *Karl Marx and Frederick Engels Selected Works*, Moscow, Vol. II, 1951, p. 458.

47. Karl Marx: *The Class Struggle in France*, incorporated in *Selected Works*, ed. cit., Vol. I, p. 177.

43. A. L. Kroeber: *Configurations of Culture Growths*, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1944, pp. 10-1.

44. William James: *Op. Cit.*, pp. 225-6.



This is true not only of statesmen and military generals but also of thinkers. A given situation is bound to give rise to a given ideology, which will invariably seek its spokesman. In case one who has been chosen by a certain ideology to be its spokesman disappears from the scene on account of death or otherwise, the ideology will be on the look-out for a substitute who is bound to come forth. Advocates of the great-man conception of history would contend that, had Marx died in his cradle, the world would have been very different from what it is today. Marxists, on the other hand, have it that in the event of his death infantum, Marx would have sooner or later been succeeded by some one else at the behest of the inexorable logic of the situation. In Engels's passage quoted above it has been suggested that Marx's was not the solitary attempt to propound the ideology he did. Elsewhere he mentions the name of Joseph Dietzgen, a German tanner-thinker, as one who discovered the materialist dialectics independently of him and Marx and even of Hegel.

And this materialist dialectic..... was, remarkably enough, discovered not only by us but also, independently of us and even of Hegel, by a German worker, Joseph Dietzgen.<sup>48</sup>

This standpoint is shared by such determinists as Spengler who is confident that

Goethe might—possibly—have died young, but *not* his "idea." Faust and Tasso would not have been written, but they would have "been" in a deeply mysterious sense, even though they lacked the poet's elucidation.<sup>49</sup>

G. V. Plekhanov, a great follower of Marx and Engels, thus describes the process how if one Hero dies another takes his place:

When a given state of society sets certain problems before its intellectual representatives, the attention of prominent minds is concentrated upon them until those problems are solved.

48. Engels, *Ludwig Feuerbach and the End of Classical German Philosophy*, incorporated in *Selected Works*, Vol. II, pp. 350-1.

As soon as they have succeeded in solving them their attention is transferred to another object. By solving problem X, a given talent A diverts the attention of talent B from the problem already solved to another problem, Y. And when we are asked: What would have happened if A had died before he had solved problem X?—we imagine that the thread of human intellectual development would have been broken. We forget that had A died, B, or C, or D might have tackled the problem....<sup>50</sup>

The Marxist thesis outlined above has been a source of much confusion both in Marxist and anti-Marxist thinking. Before we deal with it any further, it seems imperative to give a brief account of some intriguing observations of Marx and Engels in regard to the historical role of great men and embellishment of their (Marx's and Engels's) position by their followers.

Marx and Engels do not share the belief that man is but a tool in the hands of the situation. History, they believe, is a co-operative enterprise between man and situation.<sup>51</sup> They take enormous care to do justice to the creative role of personality in history, even at the risk of self-contradiction. They fully acknowledge the historical role of great men in the following words:

Camille, Desmoulins, Danton, Robespierre, Saint-Just, Napoleon, the heroes as well as the parties and the masses of the old French Revolution, performed the task of their time in Roman costume and with Roman phrases, the task of unchaining and setting up modern bourgeois society. The first one knocked the feudal basis to pieces and mowed

50. G. V. Plekhanov: *The Role of the Individual in History*, Moscow, 1946, p. 43

51. Marx: *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*, *Selected Works*, Vol. I, p. 225; Marx, *Thesis on Feuerbach*, fourth thesis, *Selected Works*, Vol. II, pp. 365-6; Engels, *op. cit.*, p. 354; Engels, letter dated January 25, 1894 to Starkenburg, S.W., Vol. II, pp. 457-8 and letter dated September 21-22,

off the feudal heads which had grown on it.<sup>52</sup>

Engels pays glowing tributes to Bacon and others as under:

..... Bacon, Hobbes, and Locke are the fathers of that brilliant school of French materialists which made the eighteenth century in spite of all battles on land and sea won over before..... French Revolution.<sup>53</sup>

The great men, who in France prepared men's minds for the coming revolution, were themselves extreme revolutionists.<sup>54</sup>

Marx describes Feuerbach and Hegel as "epoch-making."<sup>55</sup> To Engels Hegel's representation of the world as a process was of "epoch-making merit".<sup>56</sup>

The above statements of Marx and Engels seem to be out of accord with their general historiological outlook. Their position has, however, been sought to be brought into clearer relief by some of their followers. Thus, according to Trotesky, "great historical forces are refracted through a personality".<sup>57</sup> Elsewhere he says,

A historic personality, with all its peculiarities, should not be taken as a bare list of psychological traits, but as a living reality grown out of definite social conditions and reacting upon them. As a rose does not lose its fragrance because the natural scientist points out upon what ingredients of soil and atmosphere it is nourished, so

an exposure of the social roots of personality does not remove from either its aroma or its foul smell.<sup>58</sup>

Bukharin describes the individual as "collection of concentrated social influence united in a small unit."<sup>59</sup> Marx himself has remarked that personality is, in essence, "the ensemble of social relations."<sup>60</sup>

According to the Marxian ideology, the great man is not a free agent of social change, but one vested, so to say, by the situation or the social forces with the power of attorney to effect social change in its or their interests. The great man, to use another happy metaphor, is just manager of the enterprise that is social change, the entrepreneur being the situation or the social forces.

The greatest shortcoming of the individualist religious ethics is that it holds the individual entirely responsible for his actions to the neglect of the situation in which they are performed. Likewise, the greatest shortcoming of the individualist philosophy of history is that it credits particular individuals with all historical activity to the neglect of the non-personal factors at the root of history. The credit of exploding this myth certainly goes to the sociologic and economic interpretations. For one Marx leaves no doubt that his thesis does not comprehend within its compass the question of how great men are born. According to him, the birth of a great man, as also of a great idea, is a matter of accident, but his or its success is otherwise a factor of historical change, being governed, conditioned, or determined by other social forces, is a matter of necessity. "Theory becomes a material force as soon (sic) it has gripped the masses."<sup>61</sup> He is of the opinion that

52. Marx: *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*, *Selected Works*, Vol. I, pp. 225-6.

53. Engels, Special Introduction to the 1892 English edition of *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific*, *Selected Works*, Vol. II, p. 91.

54. *Ibid.*, p. 107.

55. Marx, letter dated January 24, 1865 to J. B. Schweitzer, incorporated as an appendix to his *Poverty of Philosophy*, Moscow, latest, undated edition, p. 219.

56. Engels, *Herr Eugen Duhring's Revolution in Science (Anti-Duhring)*, Moscow, 1954, p. 38.

57. Trotesky: *The History of Russian Revolution*, Victor Gollancz Ltd., London, 1936, p. 115.

58. *Ibid.*, pp. 115-6.

59. Bukharin: *Historical Materialism*, George Allen and Unwin, London, Third Printing, 1928, p. 98.

60. Marx: *Eleven Theses of Feuerbach*, *Selected Works*, Vol. II, p. 366.

61. Marx: *Zur Kritik der Hegelschen Rechtsphilosophie*, quoted in J. Stalin, *Philosophy of Marxism*, People's Publishing House, Bombay, First Edition, 1945 (Reprint?) p. 20.

World-history . . . . would . . . . be of a very mystical nature, if 'accidents' played no part.<sup>62</sup>

He, however, adds,

These accidents naturally form part of the general course of development and are compensated by other accidents.<sup>63</sup>

The last clause is pregnant with meaning. It divests accidents of their *accidental* character. It is purely accidental that I should post a card to my friend on a certain day. Such is the case with each and every individual, more or less. But the postal department know it almost certain that cards, and in a given number, will be posted almost every day and they plan accordingly. And their plan succeeds. It shows that, as Engels maintains,

. . . . what is maintained to be necessary is composed of sheer accidents and . . . the so-called accidental is the form behind which necessity hides itself. . . .<sup>64</sup>

Engels's finding is that "accident apparently reigns on the surface" only and

where on the surface accident holds sway, there actually it is always governed by inner, hidden laws and it is only a matter of discovering these laws.<sup>65</sup>

Then does it mean that events are accidents only in so far as they are taken individually and that taken collectively they lose all their accidental character? Marx's statement on the subject quoted above ends with the clear reservation that

acceleration and delay are very much dependent upon such 'accidents', including the 'accident' of the character of the people who first head the movement.<sup>66</sup>

That is to say, although accidents compensate one another, so that they cannot

determine the course of history, they do so only with this difference that they often succeed in accelerating or delaying the process of change. Marx and Engels seem to dismiss this question of delay and acceleration of the pace of development as of little consequence. But this complacency on their part is far from justifiable. Max Eastman very aptly remarks:

In a world in which 'everything flows,' to hasten or to delay an event is to alter it.<sup>67</sup>

They (accidents) can not only make the path longer or shorter, but they can make it more or less 'thorny', as Kautsky says.<sup>68</sup>

Indeed, there can be nothing to vouch for the fact that accidents must of necessity compensate one another so much so that they can do little more than make the path of development longer or shorter:

Let us pause here to be clear in our minds as regards the meaning of 'accident'. Bradley defines 'chance' as the given fact which falls outside of some given whole or system.<sup>69</sup> We may replace the word 'system' in the definition by the words 'sphere of study'. Thus, what is a necessity in the sphere of biology may be an accident in the sphere of historiography. Accordingly, accident and necessity are not to be regarded as such in any absolute sense; they are relative to the given sphere of study. Hence, when it is urged that the birth of a great man is an accident, what one seeks to maintain is not that it is uncaused but that its cause is to be traced elsewhere than the given sphere of study. Marxism seeks to account not for the birth but for the success, not for the greatness but for the effective greatness of great men. The cause of the birth of great men lies outside the domain of historiography. According to Marxism, the state of society is not solely responsible for the birth of the great man. It may serve for one among a

62. Marx, letter dated April 17, 1871 to Kugelmann, *Selected Works*, Vol. II, p. 421.

63. *Ibid.*

64. Engels, *Ludwig Feuerbach* . . . , S. W., Vol. II, p. 351.

65. *Ibid.*, p. 354.

66. Marx, letter dated April 17, 1871 to Kugelmann, S. W., Vol. II, p. 421.

67. Max Eastman: *Marxism: Is it Science?*, George Allen and Unwin, London, 1941, p. 85.

68. *Ibid.*, p. 86.

69. F. H. Bradley: *Appearance and Reality, Eighth Impression*, p. 388.

number of factors involved which form the subjects of biology, anthropology, geography and other such sciences and which can by no means be regarded as determined by the state of society in which the great man is born. The birth of the great man is purely a matter of accident.

Now, is it conceivable that it is *accidental* that a great man is born at all but *necessary* that he should invariably be there to fulfil the need of the times? The weakness of the Marxian thesis lies in answering the question in the affirmative. Even such an admirer of Marx and Engels as Sidney Hook has expressed his doubts about the Marxian position thus:

The resolution of the economic contradiction is historically necessary, says Engels. The union of sperm and egg is historically accidental, he adds. How then does historical necessity get itself transformed into the realm of biology? . . . . Does Engels believe that anybody can be substitute for Caesar, Augustus and Cromwell?<sup>70</sup>

In view of the foregoing considerations it becomes incumbent on the Marxist to explain the element of necessity involved in the birth of the great man, for without such an explanation his belief that the great man is bound to be found whenever and wherever he is needed cannot have a better claim for consideration than a mere superstition.

The position is that, as Lenin once remarked, talents are not born by the hundred and hence it is not possible for nature to distribute them equitably. If an age is fortunate enough to find its Hero, it is a matter of pure chance. Ordinary historical exigencies are fulfilled even by mediocrities; but to seriously maintain that the requisite number of great men will invariably appear on the scene to meet the challenge of the times would be fatalism of the first magnitude, comparable to the faith inculcated by the *Gita* that God will himself descend to the earth to set right things that have gone wrong.

Further, that the historic situation always succeeds in finding out the historic personality

is also not borne out by recorded history. Time was historically ripe for the emergence of an iron man like *Kautilya* or *Chandragupta* who could work towards the unification of India with a view to withstanding the successive inroads of Mahmud of Ghazna and other ferocious conquerors. But none such was available. This situation failed miserably to give birth to the needed talent. Carlyle writes,

The Time call forth? Alas, we have known Times *call* loudly enough for their great men; but not find them when they called! . . . . the Time, *calling* its loudest, had to go down to confusion and wreck because he would not come when called.<sup>71</sup>

Indeed, there can be no denying the fact that had the Hero, always been at the beck and call of history, no age or civilization would have succumbed to crisis. If history is to be believed quite a number of civilizations and races have perished prematurely down the ages, which eventuality would, in all probability, have been averted by the timely emergence of a Hero strong enough to meet the situation. Indeed, if there is due provision in the scheme of things for a great man to be there in response to the call of history, there can be no cause for concern about the future of humanity.

Much is made by Marxists of the concept of the need of the times, of 'historical necessity'; but no serious attempt seems to have been made by them to define the concept. The solitary attempt of Bukharin at a definition of the term 'historical necessity' does not take us far enough. Bukharin writes:

When we say that a certain phenomenon was a historical necessity, we mean that it necessarily had to follow, without regard to whether it would be good or bad . . . . And when we speak of historical necessity, we do not mean "desirability" from the standpoint of—let us say—social progress, but the *inevitable result* of the course of social evolution.<sup>72</sup>

This definition seeks to bring home the value-neutral character of the concept of his-

70. Sidney Hook: *Op. Cit.*, p. 61.

71. Carlyle: *Op. Cit.*, p. 22.

72. Bukharin: *Op. Cit.*, p. 47.

torical necessity as well as to suggest that the course of social evolution is in a way pre-ordained. But what about the premature death of societies and cultures? Why is it that some cultures fail to run the full course of their evolution? Is their premature ruin also pre-ordained? An affirmative answer will surely lead us into the abyss of universal determinism, which even the Marxist would shudder to think of countenancing.

### III

A highly significant, though much-too-brief, contribution to the problem of the role of personality in history has been made in recent years by R. M. MacIver. He observes:

Serious trouble only begins when levels are not distinguished. From this many futile disputes arise. Take, for example, the question . . . whether the acts of individuals determine the course of history. Obviously they do. The only proper question is: How much?<sup>73</sup>

He propounds what he terms the theory of "levels of historical generality" which, in the present writer's humble opinion, promises to set at rest much of the controversy that has so long been raging round the great-man conception of history. The conquest of Chittore by Akbar the Great was of epoch-making importance for the subjects of Pratap, the ruler of Chittore, but it is of a bit lesser consequence to the historian of the Mughal rule in India, of still lesser consequence to the historian of the Muslim rule in India, of far lesser consequence to the historian of India, and of little or no consequence to "the Universal-historian, who thinks in no time-unit less than a century and no social unit smaller than a whole civilization." Likewise, even the greatest of conquests will be ignored as of little moment by a historian of modes of production if they make no difference to the system of production prevailing at the time. Likewise, again, an event of today, regarded as one of the most signi-

ficant events of the time, may well be belittled by a historian living thousands of years of hence, not because of any paucity of knowledge of details, but because of forfeiture by it of its uniqueness consequent upon the occurrence of similar or even more significant events during the period of those thousand years. Marx does not seem to have attached as much importance to the introduction of power-driven machinery as to the transition from feudalism to capitalism and the introduction, centuries earlier, of the new economic motive of profit. The former he refers to as if it were a mere incident in the subsequent development—just one of the devices of the capitalists to turn the labour-power of the workers more and more to profit. But the historian of thousands of years hence may find the differences made by the transition from feudalism to capitalism to have become almost imperceptible, but the differences made by the power-driven machinery will be impossible to overlook.

Yet this does not mean either that Marx was mistaken or that the historians of the future will be mistaken, but only that history divides into different periods at different levels of historical generality.<sup>74</sup>

In this connection, it is interesting to note that Engels had more or less a kindred distinction of levels in mind when he wrote:

The further the particular sphere which we are investigating is removed from the economic sphere and approaches that of pure ideology, the more shall we find it exhibiting accidents in its development, the more will its curve run in a zigzag.<sup>75</sup>

MacIver is of the opinion that, for events at the individual level, explanation must be sought on the same level.<sup>76</sup> Marxian denunciations of the great-man theory of history are, by and large, characterized by the confusion of levels. To account for the historic activity of the great man, the Marxist usually invokes the whole socio-economic state of society. His position implies—I am not sure how far he is

73. R. M. MacIver, *Historical Explanation* (Aristotelian Society Supplementary Volume XXI, 1947), incorporated in Antony Flew (Ed.), *Essays on Logic and Language*, Basil Blackwell, Oxford, Second Series, 1953, p. 189.

74. *Ibid.*, p. 192.

75. Engels, letter dated January 25, 1894 to Starkenburg, *S. W.*, Vol. II, p. 458.

76. MacIver: *Op. Cit.*, p. 195.

conscious of the implication—that the cause of any phenomenon is neither another phenomenon nor the conjuncture of phenomena but the total antecedent situation. To take an example which he would give were he conscious of the above-mentioned implication, the cause of the oak is not the acorn but the total antecedent situation consisting of the soil, the air, light, water, etc., etc., beside the acorn. In another writing, MacIver raises this point in the context of the general theory of causation and gives his own solution thus:

. . . when we intelligently raise the the question why, what . . . calls for explanation is always the difference between two comparable situations . . . Since then it is the differential consequence we are seeking to explain we can concentrate attention on the differential conditions of otherwise similar situations. We find, for example, that a regularity of sequence is on some occasion interrupted. What is the cause of the interruption? . . . Perhaps nothing evokes our interest in causation so much as the interruption of an orderly routine. We search for such factor that has been injected into the situation . . .<sup>77</sup>

This argument waives what MacIver calls "the crux of totality" and vindicates our notion of the cause of the oak being the acorn and of the cause of the historic activity of the great man being the great man himself. In a sardonic comment on Plekhanov's assertion that the cause of the historic activity of the great man is the socio-economic situation *in the last analysis*, Sidney Hook very pertinently remarks:

The biological cause of John Smith's existence is his parents, of his parents his grand parents, of his grand parents his great-grand parents. John Smith's election to office is the result of another series of causes, social causes. His elopement with the town-secretary stems from still another. Now, . . . it would be taxing them (great-grand parents) too much to hold them responsible for his birth . . . Plekhanov insists upon bringing in the great-grand father,

not only as the cause of John Smith's existence but of his election and elopement, too.<sup>78</sup>

In this connection, I would also refer to the distinction, stressed by William James, between necessary conditions and sufficient conditions of a given result. James likens the invocation of the general law of causation to explain the particular phenomenon of the emergence of the great man to confusing the necessary conditions with the sufficient ones.

#### IV

For want of space, it is not possible to expatiate on and develop MacIver's thesis in this paper. Here I can only suggest two lines on which a development of the thesis can be fruitfully attempted, even independently, more or less.

Marxists seem to take it for granted that there are no alternative paths of historical development, that from a given economic system only one other system can emerge, and that consequently one and only one culture can flourish on the economic substructure. But there is no reason to believe that they are correct. There may well be alternative paths of social development and the Hero may decide which path history should take. Thanks to the personality of Muhammad; the Arabs, who were before his advent, almost non-entities, became historically the most effective race of the age. It is preposterous to contend that the only course open to them was to turn into an aggressively missionary race at the hands of Muhammad.

However, the question arises: Can the hero upset the most general pattern of historical evolution? Can he, for example, manipulate history in such a way as to make feudalism follow capitalism? No, on such a fundamental level, it is the situation, the state of society, or the socio-economic forces which prove stronger; the Hero is powerless to withstand their might. Some such examples Plekhanov seems to have had in mind when he said,

The character of an individual is a "factor" in social development only where, when, and to the extent that social relations permit it to be such.<sup>79</sup>

77. MacIver: *Social Causation*. Ginn and Company, 1942, p. 237.

78. Sidney Hook: *Op. Cit.*, p. 72.

79. Plekhanov: *Op. Cit.*, p. 34.

And, considered on the level just indicated by me, he is right. But there is no reason why on a different, appropriate level, such as the one illustrated above with reference to Muhammad, the Hero should not be found stronger. Hence, if one proceeds to consider the problem of the role of personality in history, one must be clear in one's mind about the level on which the question is being raised.

Again, capacity to make history like capacity to think and know varies from individual to individual. There are those who can influence only a most insignificant part of history, there are others who can make an epoch, and there are still others who can shape the destiny of a whole civilization. Hence, MacIver is right when he says that the question that can legitimately arise with regard to the power and potency of great men to make history is not one of the possibility of making history but of the degree in which history is capable of being made on the various levels of generality.

The burden of this paper is to give the landmarks in the history of the concept of the heroic in history, and our account finishes here. Before, however, taking leave of my readers, I should like, in retrospect, to make a passing reference to a phenomenon which has intrigued the minds of many a lay student of German thought. We have seen that thinkers *par excellence* as they are, Carlyle, Hegel, and Spengler evince a passionate love for the life of the soldier. The same is the case with Nietzsche and many others. This characteristically German tendency is in evidence in Nietzsche as well. It will be a fruitful study to probe the psychological process by which these thinkers have come to love the battle-field so passionately. Some indications of the lines on which an explanation of this tendency may be sought, are to be found in the afore-mentioned Carlylian conception of the fundamental unity of the

Heroic quality. The Heroic quality is essentially one; only its manifestations are different. Hence, there is no unbridgeable gulf between the Hero as Thinker and the Hero as Soldier. It is not, therefore, impossible for the one to be enamoured of the other. This thesis also helps explain Alexander's remark<sup>80</sup> that if he had not been Alexander he would have chosen to be Diogenes. It was quite natural for the greatness of Alexander to manifest itself in the Hero as Thinker in case it did not manifest itself in the Hero as Soldier.

Carlyle's theory of the essential unity of the Heroic quality does help explain why the thinker should be able to love the life of the soldier, but it does not suggest why he should sometimes prefer it to his own. I incline to the view that this problem can be attacked by assuming that thinkers like Hegel and Spengler have two alternating moods. They think like a thinker while in one mood and like a militarist in the other. A contemporary writer speaks of

two Spenglers: one is Spengler the eugenicist, the militarist, the forerunner of National Socialism; the other is Spengler the scientist, the thinker, the philosopher, the visionary; one is the spiritual father of Hitler, the other the spiritual son of Goethe. This dual and conflicting personality must have made itself constantly felt in Spengler's soul, as it does, indeed, in the soul of the whole German nation.<sup>81</sup>

Our purpose in this paper being primarily historical, it is not possible to offer further constructive suggestions.

80. Vide Plutarch's *Lives*, The Modern Library, New York, n.d., pp. 809-10.

81. J. G. de Beus: *The Future of the West*, Eyre and Spottiswoode, London, (1932), p. 18.





## ARCHAEOLOGICAL EXPLORATION AT SHEKHA

By MRINAL KANTI PAL, M.A.

Shekha is a small village lying at a distance of about seven miles to the eastern side from the town of Hazaribagh. The exact location of the village may also be determined to a range of only one mile to the northern side of the Shilwar hill, which is just situated within a stone's throw of the Bagodar-Hazaribagh road. As regards its geographical situation it should be mentioned here that the village, with its plenty

November, 1958, when the present writer had an occasion to explore the region on behalf of the Asutosh Museum of Calcutta University, being assisted by two local gentlemen named Sri Bhupal Upadhyaya, a professor of St. Columba's College and Sri Tribeni Prasad, the District Statistical Inspector, Hazaribagh and this exploration resulted in the find of a few sculptural and architectural remains, which, stylistically belong to the 10th-11th century A.D. and would undoubtedly throw some light on the cultural and religious history of Bihar in ancient times.



Image of Surya  
(c. 10th-11th century A.D.)

of greenery and usual natural profundity in the environs of the hilly regions, is seen lying on a highly elevated mound partly bounded by a shallow stream, which being locally known as Shewane flows by its western side. Besides, there is also a large tank longitudinally bordering round the south-eastern corner of the village.

The importance of Shekha as a promising historical site was unnoticed until

### Sculptural Remains

The sculptural remains at Shekha lying scattered here and there on the mound mainly consist of two stone images of *Suryya* and *Uma-Mahesvara* as well as two decorative stone pieces, both of which apparently seem to have been used as architectural specimens in some religious establishment.\* The image of *Suryya*, carved in black stone as represented standing in *samapadasthanaka* pose and wearing *mukuta* (crown) on the head, *yajnapovita* (sacred thread) and *udara-bandha* (girdle) round the body, *hara* (necklace) round the neck, *valayas* (bracelets) on the wrists and *kundalas* (earrings) in the ears is seen holding the full-blossomed lotus flowers by the uplifted left and right hands, while on the stele there are two usual garland-bearing *Vidyadharas* appearing on either side of the halo (*prabhavali*) of the main sculpture. As regards other associated or side figures of the Sun-god, such as, *Usha* and *Pratyusha*, *Dandi* and *Pingala*,

\* The present writer offers his grateful thanks to Sri Balaram Pal of Calcutta for taking photographs of these sculptures and architectural fragments as illustrated in this article.

*Aruna* driving the chariot of seven horses and other devotees or attendants generally found to be carved on the pedestal and on either side of the lower part of the image, it should be noted here that they cannot be seen at present as the lower part of the image is buried under the earth. It is also interesting to point out that the image in situ is seen within a miniature brick temple recently made by the local people.



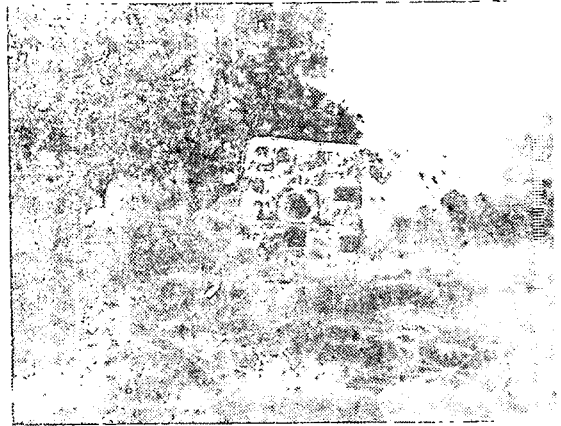
Image of Uma-Mahesvara  
(c. 10th-11th century A.D.)

The black stone image of *Uma-Mahesvara* on the other hand, appears to be a common specimen of its type so far found in Bihar. The upper part of the *Alingana-Murti* is broken away and lost, but the principal figures are almost intact. The god and the goddess are represented as closely embracing each other. The goddess is seen seated in the *Sukhasana* pose on the left thigh of *Mahesvara* without placing her leg on the back of her vehicle Lion, while the god is ordinarily represented sitting in *Lalitasana* on a plain pedestal with the pendant right leg resting on the back of the Bull placed below. It should be mentioned here that the sculpture with its scarcity of accessory figures and other attributes on the stele and

inspite of its upper portion being mutilated still possesses some notable artistic excellence in its beautiful balance and clean but soft modelling.

#### Architectural Remains

Of the two architectural remains at Shekha, the horizontal piece of greyish sandstone carved with two semi-circular mouldings in between the three miniature replicas of a temple of pyramidal shape

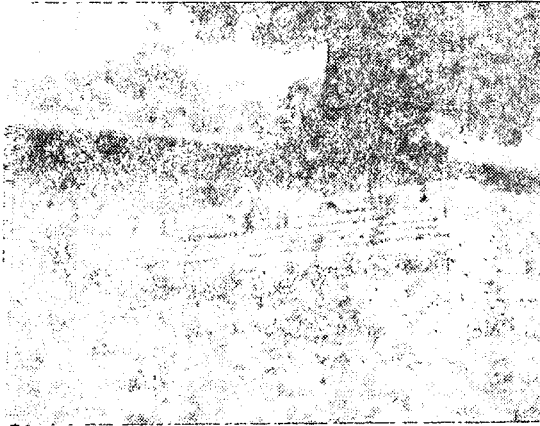


Chaitya window found to be fixed up on a partly revealed stone structure (c. 10th-11th century A.D.)

with receding terraces recalling the porches of north Indian temple type seems to be a lintel, which may have originally been set up over a door or a window of a temple, while the other obviously showing a 'chaitya' window of the tower (*sikhara*) of a temple may now be found to be fixed up on a partly revealed stone structure lying on the south-eastern corner of the mound. In this connection it should be specially mentioned here that on the same structure the decorated base of a round pillar is also seen to be fixed up just by the side of the *chaitya* window.

In view of the geographical situation of Shekha as well as its architectural and sculptural remains evidently belonging to the 10th-11th century A.D., it is not, therefore, unreasonable to suggest that the site most probably hides beneath its soil not only the vestiges of an ancient civilisation, but also the ruins of a temple belonging to the early-mediaeval period. From the study of a few pottery examples unearthed

during the agricultural operation of the surface of the mound it may also be presumed that there once flourished a habitation at Shekha at least from the Pala Period and it is not unlikely that at a certain stage of cultural upliftment the inhabitants of the place unitedly constructed a temple with a view to worship their beloved deities the probable remains of which are the contemporary images of *Suryya* and *Uma-Mahesvara*, now lying in a neglected condition under the scorching shades of greenwood trees. According to Sri D. P. Ghosh, the Curator



A horizontal piece of greyish sandstone obviously showing a lintel of a temple (c. 10th-11th century A.D.)

of the Museum, "The site of Shekha very probably conceals the vestiges of an imposing group of temples of *Suryya*, *Uma-Mahesvara* and others, rivalling similar shrine groups of other parts of Northern India".

Taking this view into consideration Sri P. C. Dasgupta, Asst. Curator of the Museum observes, "May we stretch our imagination a little bit by surmising that the site originally enveloped some Buddhist establishments, the name Shekha sounding very much like the pali word 'Sekho', the name sometimes applied for Lord Buddha?"

A general survey of the geographical situation of Shekha as well as its architectural and sculptural remains may, therefore, clearly prove that the site most probably conceals underground the vestiges of an ancient temple awaiting only the due operations of the shovels of archaeologists. It is now obvious that if more scientific explorations and excavations are carried out in this region storehouses of buried treasures may come out not only to reveal the existence of an early settlement in an obscure place like Shekha, but also to throw new light on a forgotten chapter of the cultural and religious history of Bihar in ancient times. The above suppositions that the site of Shekha probably conceals "the vestiges of an imposing group of temples of *Suryya*, *Uma-Mahesvara* and others," or that "the site originally enveloped some Buddhist establishments," may be true, but on the evidence of present archaeological data it is almost certain that the site at least mantles the ruins of a Pala temple with a central tutelary god or goddess accompanied by accessory deities, installed for pious devotees of different cults and creeds of ancient *Prachya*.



## BRITAIN'S SCIENTISTS HELP A HUNGRY WORLD

Radioactive Materials Give Agriculture New and Better Types of Plants

By J. STUBBS WALKER,

Science Correspondent of the "*Sunday Graphic*," London

Agriculture, man's oldest accomplishments, and plants have been going on since the world, as we know it, began. It is evolution is now being helped considerably by the most modern of sciences—nuclear physics. by means of mutations, or changes, that The atom is helping to grow more food for a hungry world. nature introduces in random fashion. If the changes are for the good, an improved breed results: if the changes are for the

A great deal of work has already been

**Extraordinary Results Obtainable**

Extraordinary results can be obtained from cross-breeding of the "mutated" plants; in the end the plant with the required characteristic can be developed. A

trolled radiations up to 4,000,000 electron volts.

**Easier-To-Harvest Barley**

Where particularly powerful irradiation is required, specimens are introduced into the experimental reactors at the Harwell, Berkshire, research headquarters of the U.K.A.E.A.

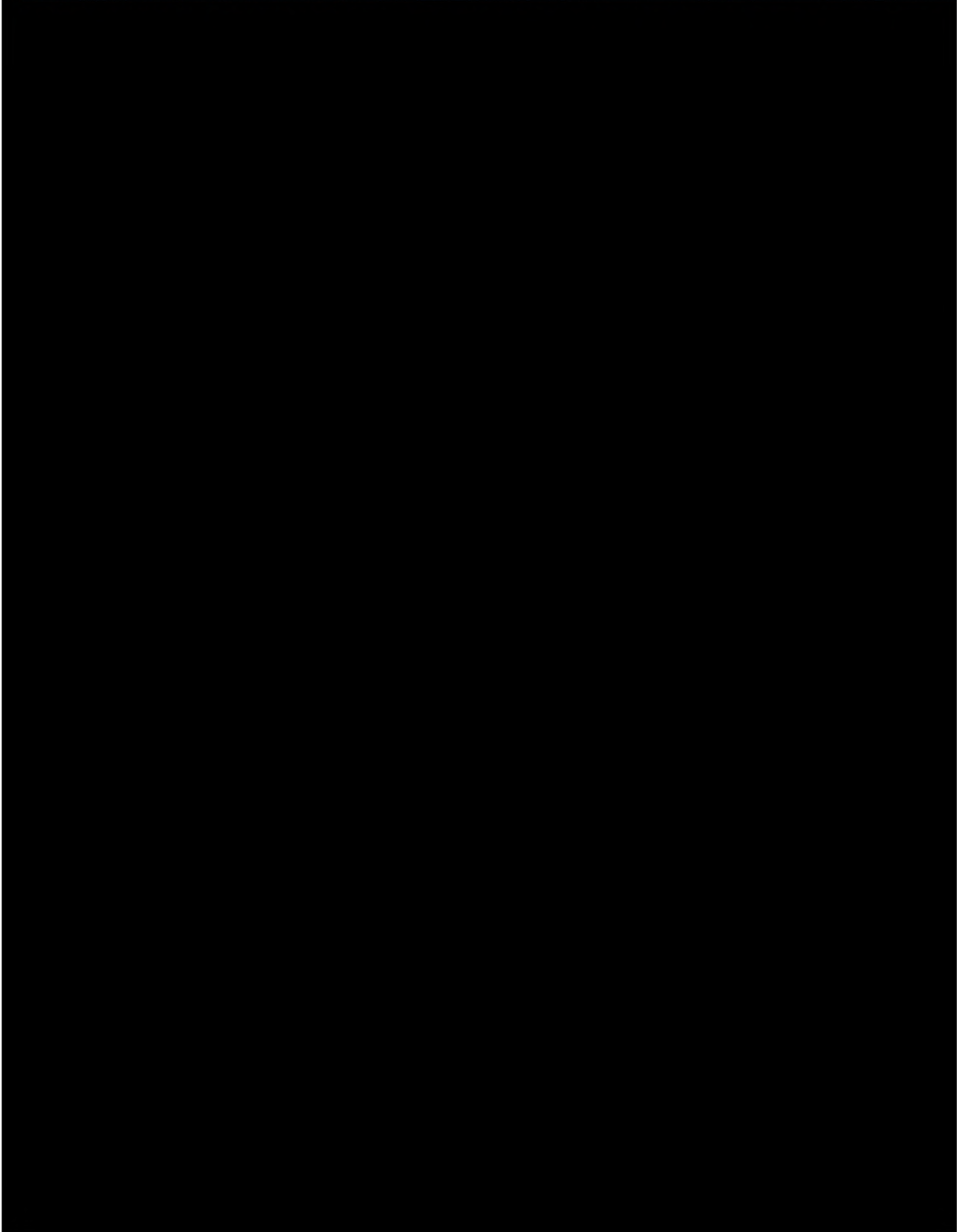
Some of the results al-







from breeding. Other cereal pests are also process can be a danger, if it is incorrectly









Washington



ons Committee



Waggoner observed that, to him, the surest indication to work out the disagreements. This, says indication of the success of the conference was the State Department Officer, is the essence the obvious lively disagreement among the students of international policy.—*USIS*.  
dents, tempered with the equally obvious inten-

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## TIBET—HALF WAY TO FREEDOM

BY M. K. TENG, M.A.

WHEN the Red Armies of China invaded Tibet his death the Tibetan power fell into decline in October 1950, it was under the pretence of and the country sank into isolation.

ence, sent a Buddhist Mission to Tibet and in return received Lama Missions. However, only after a century and a half, when Emperor Shih-Tsung embraced Taoism and set out to suppress Buddhism, this link was broken. Manchus, too, after they replaced the Ming dynasty, renewed their contact with the Lama hierarchy of Tibet. The Dalai Lama was invited to the Imperial Court and received by the Emperor as "an equal". The Grand Lama died in 1682. His death ushered in Tibet a protracted period of internecine strife, which ultimately led to the invasion of the country by Dzungar Mongols in 1716. The Manchu Emperor sent two expeditions to Tibet, expelled the invaders, found a successor to the deceased Dalai Lama, installed a Chinese Resident: 'Amban' at Lhasa, and fortified the Capital with a garrison of three thousand troops. Shadows of Chinese hegemony were for the first time cast on Tibet. In 1723, the Peking authorities ordered the evacuation of Lhasa, only to be re-occupied five years later. A third expedition was despatched to Lhasa in 1750 to suppress a local rebellion. A fourth one was also sent in 1791, this time to expel the Gorkha invaders from Nepal. These successive expeditions saw the further consolidation of the Chinese influence at the Tibetan Capital.

After the abdication of the Great Emperor Ch'ien-lung in 1796 and his death in 1799, decay set in Manchu power. With the First Opium War the Empire was disintegrating fast. Its influence at Lhasa wore off faster. In 1841, Zorawar Singh invaded Tibet. The Tibetans fought out the Dogra invaders themselves. The garrison at Lhasa had deteriorated both in organisation and discipline. In 1855, Gorkhas again invaded Tibet. The Tibetans had to reckon with the invaders alone. The Chinese rendered little help. The following year Tibet and Nepal entered into a treaty, former undertaking to pay a regular tribute to Nepal, besides paying a war indemnity and agreeing to grant free trade to her. In 1864, the Chief of Nyrong rose in rebellion. Lhasa authorities suppressed the revolt themselves and appointed a Governor there. In 1883, trouble crept up again between Tibet and Nepal. In the subsequent settlement Tibet again bound herself to pay a huge indemnity. In 1890, Chinese and

the British-Indian authorities signed a Convention stipulating the grant of rights to re-trade, communications and pasturage to the English in Tibet and the recognition of their protectorate over Sikkim. The Tibetans had persistently refused to accept the English position in Sikkim right from the time it had come under the English influence as a result of the Indo-Nepalese hostilities of 1814-16. Besides, the Convention implied a breach in the traditional exclusiveness of Tibet which the Tibetans were not ready to accept at any cost. The Tibetans repudiated the Convention outright. The Dalai Lama made overtures to Russia for help through one, Buriat Dorjief, a Mongolian Lama who was sent to the Russian Capital in 1900, and again the following year. Fearful of these developments and prompted by a general desire to force upon Tibet, the English hastened to send a military expedition to Lhasa, where the leader of the expedition, Colonel Younghusband succeeded in executing an agreement with the Tibetans under which the Tibetans agreed to recognise the Convention of 1890, and accepted to open fresh trade marts, raze all fortifications and military installations and pay a stipulated war indemnity. They also undertook, not to cede or lease the Tibetan territory, pledge revenues and grant concessions for building roads to any foreign power, nor allow any foreign power to interfere with the Tibetan affairs or send agents to Lhasa. In 1906, China recognised the Lhasa Agreement by a separate treaty with the British. The fast increasing influence of the British in Tibet drove the Chinese to adopt a more aggressive attitude towards Tibet. Towards the close of 1906, the Chinese troops under one Chao-Erh-Feng crossed into Tibet conquering the Eastern districts after much difficulty. In 1908, Chao was appointed the 'Amban'. In February, 1910, he marched on Lhasa. The Dalai Lama fled to India. In 1911, Manchos fell. On April 12, 1912, President of the Republic Yuan Shih-kai proclaimed Tibet a province of China and ordered the mobilisation of troops into Tibet. Facing strong opposition from the British and stiff resistance from the Tibetans the military campaign had to be suspended only after three months. Meanwhile, the garrison at Lhasa had mutinised, looted

the town and then the monasteries, and had ultimately been defeated by the Tibetans. The Dalai Lama had also returned from India. The defeated garrison was offered transport to China through India. On January 6, 1913, the last of them moved out of Lhasa. Along with them was the Chinese Amban.

#### SOVEREIGNTY NOT IMPAIRED

At no place the history of Sino-Tibetan relationships bears testimony to the fact that the Chinese were able to impair Tibet's sovereignty. T'sanpu monarchy was as great as its contemporary the T'ang. In many respects it was greater. The theocracy was also constituted sovereign and though the Chinese came into picture with its institution, it conducted itself absolutely free of any Chinese influence till the Dzungar Mongol invasion of 1716. Great was the strife the theocracy suffered and the unrest often burst out in armed conflicts and internecine wars. Peking authorities, however, never took any note. A chain of important events, involving protracted armed conflict and much bloodshed and ultimately leading to the deposition of Sakyapas and founding of the Sitya regime of priest-kings, went by almost unperceived by the Yuan Emperors who after the new Lama hierarchy was well in the saddle, obediently granted it the seals and tablets of recognition. As the decline of Yuan power became steep, this practice of granting seals and tablets of recognition also ceased. The decree of Ming Tai-tsu, the first Ming Emperor, inviting the leading Lamas of Tibet to receive their seals and tablets, evoked little response. In fact, the Emperor had to hasten to revive the age-old religious ties only to be broken a century and a half later by the Ming Emperor Shih-tsung, who embraced Taoism. Tibet again sank into isolation and the Chinese Court settled to indifference. Till almost the end of Ming Dynasty only peace was maintained between the two countries. During the Mings too, and after them as well, Tibet was seething with strife and dissension, internecine wars and armed conflicts becoming more frequent. Peking evinced little interest in what was brewing in the Tibetan cauldron. By the end of sixteenth

century Yellow Sect was spreading fast in Tibet and Mongolia, as a result of which the Tibetan-Mongol ties were strengthened considerably. In 1635, the Sitya Regime was overthrown by the chief of T'sang. Meanwhile, the Chief of Kham, who professed Bon religion, had risen in rebellion and was vigorously suppressing Buddhism and destroying Buddhist institutions. Mongol Chief, Gushi Khan, who patronised the Yellow Sect after protracted armed conflict and bloodshed succeeded in subduing opposition in both Kham and T'sang and found the third regime of the Priest Kings. Throughout, the Peking authorities were indifferent, though these changes were of far-reaching significance. Tibet with the powers wielded by the Dalai Lama and with the armed might of Mongols at her back overshadowed Peking. In fact, when the Manchu Emperor invited the Dalai Lama it was to seek an adjustment in this new set-up of things. The Grand Lama was received by the Emperor as an equal and with the ceremony befitting an independent sovereign. In fact, the friendly relations between the two established an unwritten concordat. The Dalai Lama by lending the weight of his name and authority to the young Manchu Regime added enormously to its prestige particularly in the dangerous Mongolia.

Undoubtedly the Chinese came to wield a considerable influence at Lhasa in the aftermath of the various expeditions that were dispatched to the Tibetan Capital after the Dzungar invasion in 1716. However, the essential sovereignty of the Lhasa Government was always understood and preserved. The extension of the Chinese sovereignty over Tibet would have involved either the elimination of the sovereignty of the Tibetan Government or its surrender to the Chinese, for the Lhasa Government did not at any time draw power from the Emperor at Peking. There is no evidence of either the Tibetan sovereignty having been impaired or having been surrendered to the Chinese in any respect and in any way. On the other hand, there is enough evidence to prove that the Tibetans retained their sovereign status. At the time of Dzungar invasion it was in response to the appeal by the Tibetan authorities that the Imperial forces were sent to Lhasa. The Amban and the gar-

garrison was left at Lhasa with the full sanction and approval of the Lhasa authorities and for the protection of the Capital from Dzungar menace which was by no means over as yet. Thus in 1747, after the second expedition had also been sent to Tibet, Imperial garrison was withdrawn at the instance of Gyurmed-namgyal who controlled the affairs at Lhasa then. Even after the third and fourth expedition as well, the theocracy continued to remain intact. It is only in that light, the right of the Tibetans to enter a treaty with the Nepalese in 1856 can be understood. It will be interesting to note the nature of reference the Treaty made to the Peking authorities. According to the Tibetan version of the Treaty both the nations agreed "to regard the Chinese Emperor as heretofore with respect". Apparently, the Tibetan authority was in no way affected by the Chinese influence. In 1864, the Tibetan forces marched on Nyrong, although the Peking authorities had expressed their disapproval of the action. The revolt was suppressed there and a governor put up by the Grand Lama. In 1883, in another settlement between the Nepalese and the Tibetans the Chinese could only act as mediators. In 1886, the Tibetans occupied Sikkim and actually took up to fight with the British although it is said the Peking authorities did not favour such a step. In 1895, Tenzing Wangpu, the Tibetan Commissioner on the Frontier Question, clearly told the English political officer at Sikkim that the Tibetans were not bound by the Anglo-Chinese Convention of 1890 since they were not a party to it; meaning thereby that the Chinese could not enter a Treaty obligation on behalf of the Tibetans. While the British expedition was on way to Lhasa, the Chinese neither defended Tibet nor made her to accept the Convention. On the other hand, the Tibetans entered a treaty with the British granting them the rights of 'the most favoured nation.' No reference was, however, made to China. Lhasa Convention was recognised by the Chinese in 1906. Where then, did the ghost of the Chinese sovereignty lurk? Evidently, the ghost had never been to Lhasa. In fact, the Chinese

had never intended to extend their control over Tibet. Their main aim—a policy, which they had always followed in relation to Tibet—was to frustrate any rapprochement between the Tibetans and the Mongols, which if effected would present a great threat to the Empire. Thus we see Emperor Shih Tsung order the evacuation of garrison from Lhasa, which had come to be stationed there as a result of the first expedition, after the Dzungar Mongols had weakened. As a matter of fact it was only after the British pressure began to be felt on the southern borders of Tibet and China set her mind to secure it for herself that the 'Amban' with the attending garrison was used, though in vain, as an effective instrument of the Chinese authority at Lhasa.

#### HALF WAY TO FREEDOM

On October 21, 1912, the Russo-Mongolian agreement was signed by which Mongolia became a virtual protectorate of Russia. In January, 1913, relentless Dorjids succeeded in getting Tibet and Mongolia sign a treaty whereunder the two countries pledged to 'afford each other aid against dangers from without and within'. The developments prompted the British to urge the Chinese for negotiations with regard to Tibet, which led to the famous Simla Conference in 1913. No agreement, however, could be reached at the Conference. With the outbreak of the First World War the issue fell into background. Friction, however, was frequent on the eastern borders of Tibet where the Chinese troops lay poised all along. In 1934, the thirteenth Dalai Lama died. That year the Chinese succeeded in establishing an 'office of the commission on Mongolian and Tibetan affairs' at Lhasa. A small group 'the Young Tibetan Party' had meanwhile come into existence in Tibet. Many of the group were patriots, but all were for independence of Tibet from the Chinese influence. They also favoured political and economic reform more or less on western lines. In 1940, the new Dalai Lama was installed. In 1941; the Young Tibetan Party was



associated with the government. Next year a 'bureau of Foreign Affairs' was established at Lhasa and the Chinese were directed to refer all communications to it. On August, 1945, China recognised the independence of Mongolia. On August, 25, Chang-kai Shek while addressing the National Supreme Defence Council declared: "If and when the Tibetans attain the stage of complete self-reliance in political and economic conditions the Chinese government would like to take the same attitude as it did toward Outer Mongolia, by supporting their independence." Recognition of the Tibetan freedom was implicit in this statement. Before long, China again fell in civil strife. On July 8, 1949, the Tibetan Cabinet decided to get rid of all the Chinese connected with the Nationalist Government of China. On October 7, 1950, Red Armies of China commenced their march to 'liberate Tibet'. While the Communists were pouring in East, India sent a note of protest to the Chinese Government. In reply, the Chinese accused India of "harbouring anti-Chinese feelings." On December 7, 1950, the National Assembly of Tibet appealed to the United Nations for help. The appeal was, however, set aside by the General Committee. On May 21, 1951, Communists dictated the terms of an agreement to the Tibetans who under the Agreement undertook to "return to the Big Family of the People's Republic of China." In return the Communists offered internal autonomy to the Tibetans and assured them that their religion would be respected and freedom of worship would be granted them. The Communists, however, chose their own way to fulfil their part of the agreement. In fact, once the bluff of 'Autonomy' had succeeded they cast it overboard. In Tibet, discontent was widespread. The Communists met it with severe repression. They left no stone unturned to stifle every cry that was raised against them. The crisis came to a head in March, 1959, when the Tibetans rose in open revolt.

#### SCARECROW OF THE CHINESE SUZERAINTY

The scarecrow of the Chinese suzerainty over Tibet, was, first brought in on

the scene by the British. In this they were motivated more by an eagerness to secure Tibet from the Russian reach—a step deemed vital for the safety of their Empire in India—than by any desire to make her political status definite. Indeed, Tibet was for long periods of her history militarily less strong than her eastern neighbour. It is only natural that the shadow of the Chinese influence should have hung over her. It was particularly so after the Dzungar Mongol Invasion of the country in 1716 and events that followed it. However, it cannot be assumed that such a relationship implied vassalage for her. In this respect, considerable, though undue, significance has been attributed to the practice of receiving seals and tablets from the Chinese Emperor and paying tribute to him. These practices appear to have been a mark of respect from a small potentate to a bigger potentate, rather than a sign of tutelage. Nepal and Burma sent tribute missions long after they ceased to have anything to do with China. So did Sikkim. A more interesting example is furnished by the Sikh-Tibetan Treaty, signed on August 15, 1842, at Ladak, according to which the Ladakis were to send annual tribute mission to Lhasa despite the fact that Ladak became a part of Sikh domains. The implications of these practices can be better understood if they are viewed against their specific background, i.e., where interstate-relationships are confined to a powerful country on the one hand and a number of less powerful countries on the other, all lying in close vicinity and linked to each other by cultural ties more than by political loyalties; and where such factors of balance as, for instance, the Peace of Westphalia introduced amongst the Nations of Europe do not operate in such relationship.

Even, if it were conceded that the long association of the two countries in which Tibet had always been militarily at a disadvantage, had earned the Chinese a title to suzerainty it goes without saying that before the first half of the nineteenth century was over the Chinese influence

had vanished from Tibet and by the time the century came to its end Tibet had shaken off its vassalage. China herself seems to have abandoned her claims in Tibet, for left apart her inability to exercise the rights and fulfil the obligations of a suzerain she did not even defend Tibet from external encroachment and aggression. She explicitly recognised the forfeiture of her rights in 1906 when she extended recognition to the Lhasa Convention of 1904. The Convention, though, it gave the rights of the 'most favoured nation' to the British did not even stipulate a reference to China. China was flung into the position of a foreign power vis-a-vis

Tibet. That it was so was clearly demonstrated only six years after when the Tibetans threw out of their country the Amban and the Chinese garrison.

Tibet was always free. When the Red Armies invaded the country it was in violation of her freedom. The Communists claimed to have come in to liberate Tibet and give her a new civilisation. That has always been an apology for aggression and territorial aggrandisement. Once, Fascists too, talked the same language. Communists might succeed with their bluff now, and escape censure at the hands of this strifetorn world. But they cannot escape it for ever.

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## ARTIFICIAL PLANETS

By VASANTHA RAO VENKATA RAO

Some four to five thousand million years back, it is said that a mischievous star in its voyage through space dangerously approached the sun and pulled off a part of the burning globe. Its mischief lies in the fact that it did not care to carry away the booty but left it there. The part of the matter thus torn out started revolving round the parent body. During the rotation was split up into about ten big slices and innumerable smaller pieces. The big slices cooled in course of time, took spherical shapes and developed crusts. They are the planets. In the natural evolution of the universe the planets are supposed to have thus come into existence. The sun with his retinue of planets, satellites, comets, meteors and interplanetary dust constitutes the solar system.

It is difficult to say whether planetary systems are rare or common. Once it was believed that by a sheer chance the sun was forced to give rise to planets. But a closer examination of the apparently single stars has revealed that most of the stars are binaries, the two bodies revolving about a common centre of gravity.

This observation indicates that huge celestial bodies are subjected to fission, which may lead to the breaking up of the parent body into two, three or more parts. When the number exceeds three or four, the outcome is likely to be a planetary system. If that be the case, planetary systems should be common in the universe.

Confining our attention to our solar system we find that there are nine planets revolving round the sun in different orbits and at different distances. The periodic times of revolution—the time taken for going round the sun once—vary from 88 days to 250 years. Our earth makes a revolution in  $365\frac{1}{4}$  days, which we call the year. The planets rotate on their own axis, or spin, the times of rotation varying from nearly 10 hours to 88 days. The earth makes a rotation in 24 hours, which we call the day. This rotation enables the planets to expose different parts of the surface to the solar radiation at different times. Mercury seems to be an exception, since it is forced to present one half of its surface to the sun permanently due to the equality of its periods of rotation on its

axis and revolution round the sun. The spinning is responsible for the apparent rising and setting of the sun.

Man has observed all these facts with great interest, patience and zeal. The scientific method enabled him to construct instruments of great precision for the collection of data and build up hypotheses. While the primitive man merely wondered at the glory of the heavens, the seasoned scientist accepted Nature's challenge and endeavoured to surpass her. To create a planet is an idea which could have been ridiculed even 50 years back. And the wonder is that man has developed the power and capacity to hurl huge masses into space with incredible velocities approaching 25000 miles an hour and add new members to the family of planets.

In the seventeenth century, Sir Isaac Newton, the man responsible for unlocking many a secret of nature, propounded the law of gravitation, which is of universal application. According to him, any pair of bodies attract each other with a force that varies directly as the product of their masses and inversely as the square of the distance between them. There is mutual attraction between the sun and the planets, the earth and the moon and every planet and the satellites that surrounds it. Of a pair of bodies the lighter body revolves round the heavier one; so, the planets revolve round the sun and the moon round the earth.

In the solar system the sun is several times heavier than the planets. The sun's mass is 1050 times the mass of Jupiter, the biggest of the planets; it is 333000 times the mass of the earth. The earth's mass is 81 times that of the moon. So it may be said that there is gravitational field around. Any unsupported body falls down to reach the surface of the earth. The force of attraction generates acceleration in a freely falling body. On the surface of the earth the acceleration due to gravity is 32 ft. per second. It means that a freely falling body has its velocity increased every second by 32 ft. per second. A body that is thrown up and freely rising has its velocity reduced every

second by 32 feet per second. The result is that with whatever force we throw a body up, it rises and then turns back only to fall downwards.

Scientists have calculated that for clearing out of the earth's gravitational pull a body must be projected with a minimum velocity of 7 miles a second or 25200 miles an hour. When that is achieved the body never turns back towards the earth but darts into the inter-planetary space. Then it is subjected to the pull of the sun and begins to move in an appropriate orbit round the sun; it virtually becomes a new planet.

So, the problem that faced the scientists was to invent the means of projecting any body with the minimum required velocity of 7 miles a second. Balloons and aeroplanes are of no use because they require air for their journey. It was observed that the rocket is the only type of vehicle that could achieve the feat at any time. In the rocket a jet of used-up gases vehemently shoots out through an appropriate port in a direction and thereby the rocket is propelled just in the opposite direction. The forward velocity of the rocket depends upon the backward velocity of the jet. The jet may be caused by some chemical. If the energy of the chemical reaction is powerful enough to produce the desired jet, the rocket attains the required velocity and soars up into space.

The type of fuel that could give the rocket such a huge power was a problem for a long time. When chemical energy is released by some method, the quickness with which the release is effected is more important than the actual amount of energy. The difference between 'burning' and 'explosion' lies more in the rate of release of energy. As Gamow says: "The burning of octane petrol mixed with the necessary amount of oxygen liberates 2500 calories per gram of mixture as compared with only 1000 calories liberated per gram in the explosion of TNT. On the other hand, the burning of a petrol-air mixture in the cylinder of an automobile engine takes about one-tenth of a second, whereas in an explosion of TNT everything is over

in only a few microseconds (millionth parts of a second)".\* The fact that the Russian scientists succeeded in putting a mass of about  $1\frac{1}{2}$  tons into an orbit round the sun shows that the problem of the fuel has been solved.

On 2nd January, 1959, Russia launched a multi-stage rocket *Lunic I*. The last stage of the rocket weighing 3245 lbs. was intended to reach the vicinity of the moon. It was estimated that it passed within 4660 miles of the moon. After five days of travel it got into an elliptic orbit round the sun and became the first artificial man-made planet. It completes a revolution round the sun in every 15 months and its distance from the sun varies from 91 million to 121 million miles. The American *Pioneer IV* launched by the army on 3rd March, 1959, also went into orbit. It weighs 13 lbs. It is expected that the fourth stage of the rocket too went into an orbit. If so, there are now three artificial planets going round the sun, if not, there are at least two, *Lunic I* and *Pioneer IV*, as a standing challenge to nature.

A rocket of the type of the *Lunic* which escapes from the gravitational pull of the earth can take one of the three paths. In its journey through space if it encounters no other force, which is most likely, it continues to travel till it is caught by the sun's force and compelled to orbit like a planet. That is what happened to *Lunic I* and *Pioneer IV*. Or, if it gets very near the moon and by that time if its velocity reaches an appropriate value, it becomes a satellite of the moon and keeps on revolving round the moon. The third alternative is that if the moon happens to lie in its path it scores a direct hit, as it happened in the case of *Lunic II*.

The greatest scientific achievement of recent times is the scoring of moon-shot. The Russian space rocket *Lunic II* was fired on the afternoon of 12th September, 1959. It was scheduled to travel for nearly 34 hours and hit the moon near about the centre, at one minute past midnight the next day. The hit was actually scored when the moon was at a distance of 233,600 miles from the earth and only one minute twenty-four seconds behind schedule.

\* George Gamow: *Atomic Energy in Cosmic and Human Life*, page 6.

It is said that it was guided by a ground-based remote control system without human participation. The last stage of *Lunic II* was designed to be guided by radio to its final destination. Its weight was 3324 lbs. without fuel. The total weight of the scientific measuring equipment, together with the sources of energy and container aboard the final stage was about 860 lbs. The signals sent back to the earth by the rocket were picked up by many observatories. It was estimated that by the time the signals were caught by the giant radio-telescope at the Jodrell Bank observatory, the rocket was 100,000 miles away from the earth.

The rocket was launched with a velocity greater than that required for clearing out of the earth's gravitational field. When it was at a distance of about 62,000 miles from the earth it was estimated that the rocket still had a velocity of about 1.8 miles a second. Its velocity at the time of hitting the moon's surface was calculated to be 2.05 miles a second relative to the moon at an angle of 60 degrees to the moon's surface.

Considering the earth-moon system alone, simple calculation shows that the earth's gravitational field extends up to a distance of 216,000 miles from the earth, so that any body that is directed towards the moon should travel that distance before the moon's pull begins to act on it. When once that distance is covered right in the direction of the moon, the body is thereafter accelerated towards the surface of the moon; no propelling force is required to maintain its motion. The velocity with which the body travels towards the moon's surface goes on increasing and unless it is checked by some means, the body hits the moon and gets smashed to pieces. The moon has no atmosphere to offer resistance to the motion of the body. *Lunic II* was not provided with retro-rockets to slow down its moonward motion. So, it hit the surface of the moon and got smashed.

The precision and accuracy with which the trajectory of *Lunic II* was calculated are remarkable. The moon is perennially orbiting round the earth. Supposing that the rocket took 34 hours to reach the target, it is evident that in that time-interval, the moon races through about 77,000 miles in its orbit. If the figure  $M_1$  represents the position of the moon at the

instant when the rocket was fired from the earth,  $M_2$  represents its position at the instant when the rocket hit the moon. The precise nature of the calculations becomes evident when one visualises the situation.

It was also said that special precautions were taken to prevent the earthly contamination of the moon. "All necessary steps were taken to ensure that no earthly micro-organisms were carried there by the rocket." This is an important aspect of cosmic flight. The presence of life in other planets is an interesting and intriguing problem. From the data of the planets collected so far, it is difficult to think that the life of the type we know on the earth exists in any other planet. It is not known whether favourable physical conditions alone were responsible for the birth of life on our planet. The earth is supposed to be receiving just the amount of radiation from the sun sufficient for the sustenance of life. The nearer planets Mercury and Venus are too hot and the farther ones Jupiter, Saturn and the rest are too cold to support life. If life is an inevitable product of natural evolution only, it could as well have developed on Mars, our neighbour, on one side, much earlier than on earth. The other neighbour, Venus, is likely to become an abode of life in future. Any contamination carried to the moon at this stage is likely to put the scientist on the wrong track in his search for

the detection of life in other worlds. And yet the moon is probably polluted; the rocket might have carried micro-organisms floating in the dark regions of the interplanetary space.

Lunics are expected to add largely to the treasure of our knowledge which is very meagre in respect of the characteristics of space beyond our limited atmosphere. The *Tass* statement said: "The research programme of the second space rocket included the investigation of the magnetic fields of the earth and the moon, a study of the radiation belts around the earth, a study of the intensity of cosmic radiation, an investigation of the heavy nuclei in the cosmic radiation, of the gaseous components of interplanetary matter and of meteorite particles." Disclosing the first results of the rocket flight it said: "Preliminary data obtained so far make it possible to state that no magnetic field has been found in the proximity of the moon. Measurements of the total flux of cosmic radiation, the fluxes of helium nuclei (alpha particles), the carbon, nitrogen, oxygen and still heavier nuclei forming part of cosmic rays were made all along the rocket's path of flight through outer space. Additional information was obtained on X-rays, gamma rays, electrons of high and low energies and high energy particles. Measurements within the earth's radiation belt were made." Further results are awaited.

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#### NOTE ON "REMINISCENCES OF SANTINIKETAN"

My article "Reminiscences of Santiniketan" which was published in *The Modern Review* for September, 1959, had been written during my last visit to Santiniketan in 1958 to my son Kula Prasad and his wife Yoyasree, the daughter of the late Surendranath Tagore. Kula Prasad has built a little house there about half a mile from the institution.

During my visit I was asked by some friends there, to write about the Women's

Section of the Visva-Bharati when it was newly started and of which I was in charge at that time.

I was an honorary worker as I have said, and my daughter Malati and I were guests of the *Ashram* during the one and a half years I was there. After I left, Malati was enrolled as a regular student and boarder.

SNEHALATA SEN

# A PLEA FOR THE REVISION OF THE DEWEY DECIMAL CLASSIFICATION SCHEDULES

By S. CHAUDHURI,  
*Librarian, Asiatic Society, Calcutta*

Classification is the language of the library, which is the conveyer and interpreter of man's intellectual, scientific and social achievements.

What should then be the system of classification which is the nerve of a library to the making of which every reader may contribute? And what should it aim at? These questions have to be faced by the librarian who has to find out an answer to them.

The systems of classifications evolved by Dewey and others do not provide satisfactory answer to the above questions. In fact, they are quite inadequate to meet the present-day requirements of a library. The classification should be simple, meaningful and expressive enough to create interest among all classes of readers, specialists or otherwise. The readers generally do not like to go into the details of the system of classification because of its inherent complexities.

It ought to be uniform throughout the world, intelligible to the people of all countries, illustrative of the varied contents of the library but flexible enough to satisfy local requirements. If it is inadequate in these respects, it fails in this mission.

How can it be done? Should a new system be evolved or any one of the existing systems of classification recast? To evolve a new system of classification and adopt it, is a question of time and money. All the libraries may not be in a position to accept this proposal. The only alternative is to recast the schedules of the Dewey system of classification in such a way as will be an accurate index to the contents of a library. This should also be done only where the revision is extremely necessary.

The tables of Dewey do not provide a comprehensive plan of classification for the Oriental and African subjects. But the literature, history and pattern of civi-

lization of these countries demand special attention of the authors of classification and the librarians. The extent of literature\* on the frontiers of knowledge contributed by these countries is in no way insignificant from those of the Occidental countries. The space at our disposal does not permit us to go into detail in justification of the readjustment of the Dewey schedules for the sake of Oriental and African Divisions of the Library.

Only a few illustrations from the Dewey, are given below to show the inconsistencies in the allocation of classification numbers:

## 100 Philosophy

- 181. Oriental Philosophy (including modern oriental philosophy)
- 181.4 Indian philosophy (excluding Buddhism and Jainism).
- 190. Modern philosophy
- 191. American philosophy
- 192. British philosophy
- 198. Scandinavian philosophy

But this section need not be revised in spite of the inconsistencies. Oriental philosophy may be grouped together with Oriental religion.

## 200 Religion

In the present table of classification Christian religion and related topics have been assigned 7 Divisions (220-289), whereas the entire non-Christian religions including comparative religion have been grouped together under 290-299.

Revision suggested:

- 220-249: Christian religion and related topics.
- 250-299: Non-Christian religions and philosophy.

\* See the articles in the *Journal of the Oriental Institute, Baroda*, on classification of the subjects, *Buddhism and Buddhist Studies* Vol. III, p. 201, and *Vedism*, Vol. II, p. 359.

**400 Linguistics***Dewey's table**Revision Suggested*

|         |  |         |  |
|---------|--|---------|--|
| 400-419 | Comparative and general linguistics.                                       | 410-429 | Keltic, Germanic, Italic, Greek                                      |
| 400     | English  |         |  |
| 429     | Old English (Anglo-Saxon)  | 430-449 | Letto-Slavic, Armenian, Albanian, Hittic, Tokharish, Indo-Iranian    |
| 430     | German   |         |  |
| 439     | Germanic Languages   | 450-479 | Dravidian, Chinese, Caucasian, Semitic, Ural, Altaic, Miscellaneous. |
| 440     | French   |         |  |
| 450     | Italian  | 480-499 | Other languages: African, American-Pacific Ocean region.             |
| 459     | Rumanian   |         |  |
| 460     | Spanish  |         |  |
| 469     | Portuguese   |         |  |
| 470     | Latin  |         |  |
| 480     | Greek  |         |  |
| 490     | Other languages (including oriental languages)                             |         |  |
| 491     | Indo-European languages (Indo-Hittite)                                     |         |  |
| 491.1   | Indo-Iranian—Indic   |         |  |
| .2      | Old Indic—Sanskrit   |         |  |
| .3      | Pali—Prakrit   |         |  |
| .4      | Modern Indic   |         |  |
| .5      | Iranian  |         |  |
| .6      | Italo-Celtic—Celtic  |         |  |
| .7      | Slavic—Russian   |         |  |
| .8      | Moravian—Slovak, etc.  |         |  |
| .9      | Baltic   |         |  |
| 99      | Other Indo-European languages  |         |  |
| 492     | Semitic languages  |         |  |
| 493     | Hamitic languages  |         |  |
| 494     | Tunguzic, Mongolic, Turkic, Samoyed, Finno-Ugric and Hyperborean languages |         |  |
| 495     | Sino-Tibetan, Japanese-Korean, Austro-Asiatic                              |         |  |
| 496     | African languages  |         |  |
| 497-498 | North and South American languages   |         |  |
| 499     | Austronesian.  |         |  |

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Table under (Literature) may also be regrouped as above.

**900 History***(Political, Social and Cultural)*

Before a number is assigned to a country, the following points deserve consideration:

- (a) Pattern of civilization of the country and its contiguous regions,

- (b) Racial, linguistic and religious elements in the people of the country, and its relation with regard to these elements on adjoining countries,

- (c) Impact of civilization of the country under consideration on the outlying and distant countries, and vice versa.



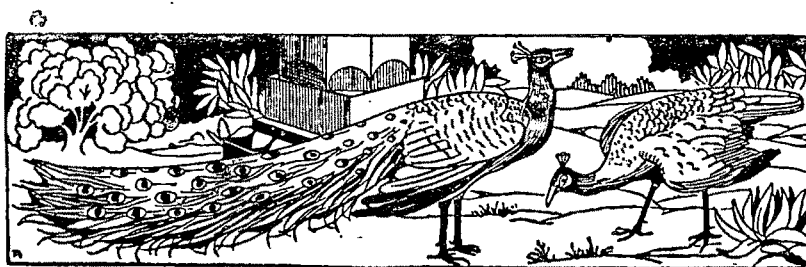
| <i>Dewey's Table</i> |  | <i>Revision Suggested</i> |   |
|----------------------|--|---------------------------|---|
| 900                  | History in general. History of civilization.   | 900-909                   | All the subjects in the Dewey schedules 900-929                                 |
| 910                  | Geography (includes discovery and exploration) |                           |   |
| 911                  | Human geography                                | 910-920                   | American (North and South) and Polar region                                     |
| 912                  | Atlases  |                           |   |
| 913                  | Geography of the Ancient World                 | 930-940                   | Europe  |
| 914-919              | Geography of the Modern World                  | 950-980                   | Asia and Africa   |
| 920                  | Biography, Genealogy and Heraldry              | 950                       | Africa  |
| 930                  | Ancient World History                          | 960                       | South-West Asia, Arabian Peninsula, Eastern Mountain and Plateaus of South Asia |
| 940                  | European History                               |                           |   |
| 950                  | Asia   |                           |   |
| 960                  | Africa   | 970                       | Indian Sub-Continent (India, Pakistan and Ceylon)                               |
| 970                  | North America                                  | 980                       | South-East Asia (including Pacific Area)  |
| 980                  | South America                                  |                           |   |
| 990                  | Oceania  | 990                       | Far East (China, Mongolia, Tibet, Japan, Korea, Central Asia, etc.)             |

In other sections, i.e. 300, 500, 600, 700 only minor adjustments required.

We have suggested here how the classifications should be recast and the librarians are to work them out in the light of the readers reactions. The librarian's function is to reflect the wishes of his readers in his administrative set-up, as far as practicable, and not to impose anything upon them. The purpose of writing this note is to elicit comments from both the librarians and the readers,

on the issue raised here. The Afro-Asian countries are now building up their libraries and it is high time that we should come to a decision regarding the system of classification these libraries should follow.

Final decisions should however be taken by an expert body of librarians and scholars, especially from Afro-Asian countries under the auspices of an international organisation, say the Unesco.



## THE QUEER SPORT

By P. B. LAL

Though combats between man and man now-a-days are not a daily occurrence, dogs fighting with dogs, bulls with bulls and sheep with sheep is a common sight. We have heard elephants fighting with elephants and tigers with tigers or elephants. During the course of theatrical performances we have also witnessed fights between men and elephants. But it is rather curious to know that combats between youngmen and elephants, 'the largest of terrestrial beasts,' were one of the favourite sports during the Moghul period. How much thrilling, nerve-shaking and courageous such combats might have been! It is much more strange to note that such a sport was patronised by the Emperor of the greatest of the Muslim dynasties that ruled India. This queer sport was in its full swing during the reign of Akbar the Great. But the name of the originator of this dreadful sport and the period during which it got its roots is not known.

### Sath Mar-Khan

The sport had royal patronage. The athletes were rewarded liberally by the Emperor and were maintained at royal expense. Naturally, there was a keen competition between the youths for getting royal patronage and with it earning fame. The leader of the chosen youths used to be the best wrestler. He was called *Sath Mar-Khan*. A *Sath Mar-Khan* meant a person who could, single-handed, defeat sixty men.

### The Preparation

Combats between elephants and men used to take place at the sweet will of the Emperor. The public was informed of the day and time of the combat. Usually even-

ings were fixed for this purpose. On receiving the news the interested public used to arrive at the royal palace throughout the night previous to the day of the demonstration and on the day of demonstration. Villagers in their bullock carts, Rathis, Bahelis and Majholies used to come to the palace. Some of them could be seen on horse-back. Just imagine the roads of the capital full of these conveyances and the villagers coming in colourful clothes with mixed feelings of joy and sorrow in their hearts and the old amongst them discussing such demonstrations which they had witnessed on previous occasions. They must have been proud of the fact that they had earlier witnessed this breath-stopping elephant vs. man sport. The younger ones seemed to be thinking of the would-be event and weaving in their own minds the scenes that could take place before their eyes. Everybody used to try to take a seat at the most advantageous place. The arena generally used to be packed with spectators. People could be seen at the terraces of the walls of the fort, the nearby raised ground and even on branches of trees.

In state stables the elephant selected for the "Man vs. Elephant" sport could be seen enjoying heavy doses of wine. It seemed to be enjoying the drink unaware of what was going to happen within a couple of hours. Again, turning towards the quarters where the *Sath Mar-Khans* and their men were sitting we could find them engaged in discussions, arguments and counter-arguments. For what? They used to discuss the plans for the coming fight, tactics for challenging the elephant for a fight, fighting with the beast in a spectacular manner and finally defeating it. They seem to be fully aware of the untoward happenings which might take place during the fight. They also discussed

about their escape should the infuriated elephant attack them.

At the time fixed for the sport the Emperor would take his seat on the balcony of his fort. His courtiers sat around him. The royal ladies had their seat behind the thin curtains.

### The Combat

The drums were beaten and trumpets blew to encourage the combatants. The appearance of the combatants was profusely cheered by the spectators. This gave them further encouragement. The heavily drunk elephants could also be seen in the arena. Frightened by the sound of the drums and trumpets and the thunderous clapping by the spectators the elephant would go to the corner of the arena. Such a scene would continue for a few minutes only during which time everybody seemed to be anxiously waiting for the start of the combat. On receiving the royal consent the combatants would start their feat. It was a surprising trick indeed. They would attack the elephant. Till now the elephant was unaware of it. It felt a sudden attack. This sudden attack was to be paid back. It would chase the combatants. These were the moments when the survival of each and every combatant was a matter of chance. Within a few seconds someone might die. The combatants well-trained in the art of pole-jumping process might save themselves from coming under the foot of the elephant or from being lifted by the trunk of the elephant. The other members of the party would

attack the elephant with sticks from behind just to make them more infuriated. Behold! Should the elephant get a chance someone or the other of the combatants may be lifted by the elephant with the help of its trunk and the person hurled into the air. It was the skill, the training and the presence of mind which would save the person concerned from being injured by the elephant. On coming back on the ground the man would again attack the elephant. These were the moments when the spectators watched the feat most anxiously.

The fate might not be in favour of the Sath Mar-Khan, or some one of his party might be torn to pieces or trampled under the foot by the infuriated elephant. In such an unfortunate occasion would arise the 'mahout', kept in readiness to meet such eventualities, would come forward immediately to pacify and control the beast.

If the 'Mahout' should fail in his efforts, the feet of the beast were hurt to check its movements. There were such chances also when the infuriated elephant might run amuck out of the arena and start uprooting the nearby trees and hurting the spectators. On such occasions the Emperor might issue orders for killing the elephant. The most important thing to know is the factor on the basis of which the victory of the Sath Mar-Khans and their party members is judged. It may be mentioned here that the retreat of the elephant meant victory for the combatants.

With the fall of the Moghul empire this queer sport had little patronage and within a few years it became a legend to be told and retold by elders.





# Book Reviews



Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But Reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

EDITOR, *The Modern Review*

## ENGLISH

A SURVEY OF BUDDHISM: By Bhikshu Sangharakshita. Second Edition. The Indian Institute of World Culture, Bangalore, 1959. Pp. 527. Price Rs. 18.00.

This work has grown out of a series of four lectures originally delivered by the author (an Englishman by birth and a convinced Buddhist by training) under the auspices of the Indian Institute of World Culture in July 1954. From its perusal we have no hesitation in saying that it is one of the most stimulating and comprehensive studies of the far-flung schools and systems of the great World-religion that has appeared in recent years. The author combines wide and deep erudition with high respect for tradition derived no doubt from self-realization of the truths of his faith. In his masterly exposition he unites a thorough analysis of the numerous knotty points with a lucid and forceful expression which cannot fail to carry conviction. We can illustrate the richness of contents of this work by giving a short bird's-eye view of the same. In Chapter I the author gives his assessment of the scientific method of study of Buddhism as possessing "a merely subordinate and instrumental value" in contrast with the traditional approach required for understanding "the spiritual essence, the transcendental core" of Buddhism. This is followed by an elaborate account of what he calls 'basic Buddhism' involving a thorough discussion of such fundamental concepts as *Nirvana*, *Bodhi* or the Essence of Enlightenment, *Pratitya-samutpada* or Conditioned Co-Production, the four Aryan Truths and the Middle Path. Of the four Truths just mentioned the last; viz., "The

Truth of The Way leading to the cessation of suffering" is explained in terms of the faculties of *sila* or morality, *samadhi* or meditation, and *prajna* or wisdom. In the second chapter the author first explains the fundamental antagonism between the spiritual ideals of the two great Buddhist schools, viz., the Hinayana and the Mahayana. Then comes his general account of Mahayana under two broad heads, viz., its general characteristics derived by way of reaction against Hinayana deviations from the spirit of the Original Teaching, and secondly, the distinctively Mahayana doctrines relating to the Buddha, the Dharma and the Samgha. The third chapter which is the most important explains the principle of schematization of the Mahayana schools. Out of the five spiritual faculties, we are told, the first four, viz., *panna* or wisdom; *saddha* or faith, *samadhi* or concentration and *viriya* or vigour gave rise to the intellectual, the devotional, the meditative and the activistic movements which eventually crystalized into the four main schools of Mahayana Buddhism (the *Madhyamika*, 'the Pure Land,' the *Yogachara* and the *Tantra*), while the fifth faculty, that of *sati* or mindfulness; was represented from its very nature by the various syncretist movements aiming at harmony of the different schools. The fourth and the last chapter deals with the most important general characteristic of the Mahayana schools, viz., the ideal of the profoundly wise and infinitely compassionate Bodhisatta unlike the Hinayana ideal of the *arahat* concerned primarily with his own salvation. This leads the author to describe at great length the three successive stages of the path of the Bodhisatta, viz., the preliminary devotional practices known collectively as

"Spreme Worship," "the rising of the Thought of Enlightenment" and "the four courses of conduct" of which the third and the most important is the practice of the six (or ten) "perfections."

It will appear from the above that this is a fundamental work on the interpretation of Buddhism in all its ramifications. A select bibliography and a short index appropriately bring it to a close.

U. N. Ghoshal

UTTARA BHARATI (Journal of Research of the Universities of Uttar Pradesh): *Published by the Registrar, Agra University. November, 1958 and March 1959.*

Among the journals of research issued by the Indian Universities, in the branch of humanities, Uttara Bharati, the research organ of the Uttar Pradesh group of universities, is outstanding. Conducted under the general editorship of Dr. A. L. Srivastava, Professor of History, Agra University, it has set a standard for original thought and interpretation. In the November issue under review the following papers are included: (a) Some problems of medieval Indian History by Dr. A. L. Srivastava, (b) Rabindranath as a thinker by Dr. B. C. Chakravarty, (c) Railway Structure Committee Report by Dr. R. C. Saxena, (all from Agra); while Dr. Dubey, and Dr. Devaraja of Lucknow respectively contribute "Political Idea of the Early Leaders of the Indian National Congress" and "Logic and Reality," while Prof. V. S. Agarwal of Benares writes about "Ornaments and Jewellery in Ancient India." March issue contains as many as nine articles of which "Traditional Values of Indian Life" by Dr. A. L. Srivastava, (b) "Political Philosophy of Hegel" by Dr. V. P. Verma, (c) "Basic Issues of Economic Organisation" by Dr. M. L. Seth deserve special mention. Both these issues have material enough for thinking and mental nourishment. There are two papers in Hindi (a) "Ain-i-Akbari" and "Pritheoiraja Raso" by Dr. Mata Prasad Gupta and "Bharatiya Saundarya Chintan me Sahitya Tattva" by Dr. Bhagwat Swarup which would perhaps be an incentive to young scholars to express their thoughts, in their respective mother tongue.

An indication of the decline of English studies in India is the absence of any article of English literary criticism.

N. B. Roy

THE POORBEAH SOLDIER: *By Dharam Pal, M.A., Ph.D. Published by Atma Ram and Sons, Kashmere Gate, Delhi-6. Price not mentioned.*

The 'Poorbeah Soldier' (lit. the soldier from the east, i.e., Eastern India) was the name given to the East India Company's soldiers from Oudh, North-Western Provinces and Bihar. Brave fighters, loyal to the marrow of their bones, they formed the most predominant element in the Hon'ble John Company's armed forces in India.

The author Dr. Dharam Pal writes in the volume under review on the courage and devotion of the 'Poorbeah Soldiers' the growing disaffection in their ranks over years before 1857, and the role played by them in the rising of 1857, which the learned Doctor describes as "India's War of Independence."

The author says nothing which is not already widely known. His work illumines no dark corner. His description of the rising of 1857 as "India's War of Independence" is too tall a claim to be accepted. It had its origin in the discontent of the Company's Indian troops—mostly 'Poorbeahs' and derived its strength from the widespread disaffection among the civil population. The majority of the people had no sympathy for the main object of the upheaval. The peasantry remained unaffected and the villagers disinterested on the whole. Only in Oudh (U.P.) and Shahabad (Iliha) was there evidence of a general popular sympathy which elevates a mutiny to the level of a national war.

SUDHANSU BIMAL MOOKHERJEE

YOGA HYGIENE SIMPLIFIED: *By Shri Yogendra. Published by the Yoga Institute, Santa Cruz, Bombay-25. Pp. 155. Price Rs. 2.*

Shri Yogendra, the distinguished author of the book under review, is a direct disciple of the famous Bengali Yogi Madhavdasji of Malsar on the banks of the Narbada like Shri Kuvalayananda, who has also made epoch-making scientific investigations into Yogasana and Pranayama. Shri Yogendra is the author of six yoga publications and the founder of the Yoga Institute in Bombay. He preached the science of yoga in America successfully for four years from 1919 to 1922. To his credit this book has undergone several editions and been translated into Italian. The immense value of yogic breathing evolved by him in 1918 is now being widely re-

commended as the best cure of asthma by the Asthma Research Council of Great Britain since 1935. His yogic treatment for chronic constipation has been effectively demonstrated in 1934 at the Berlin University Charity Clinic. The scientific claims of his yogic methods were admitted in 1938 by the Medicin-General deputed by the French Government. The scientists of UNESCO deputed by the Harvard University in 1953 and the various medical delegations from USSR visiting his Yoga Institute at Bombay in 1955-56 were fully satisfied about the scientific potentialities of applied yoga.

This book is a decent pocket edition with a picturesque frontispiece with as many as twenty useful illustrations. Dr. John W. Fox, M. D., late of the S.B. County Hospital of California in an appreciative introduction to this book rightly observes that this work fills a unique place in the literature on the history of personal hygiene and the author has left no source untouched as far as it was humanly possible to explore. In this connection Dr. Fox's observations are sure to open our eyes in this matter. He opines, "We of the West pride ourselves upon the advances we have made but the men of the East may very well pride themselves upon the heritage of knowledge which they possess. Only a few hundred years ago we discovered the circulation of blood, while yoga recorded it thousands of years ago."

This readable handbook of yogic hygiene, divided into six chapters, deals with ideals of yoga hygiene, possibilities of eternal youth as well as care of teeth, eyes, nose, digestive organs and intestines. A working knowledge of yogic hygienic is essential for every individual, male or female, under all circumstances for the sake of health and happiness.

SWAMI JAGADISWARANANDA

#### SANSKRIT

**RAJENDRA-VANSA-PRASHASTI:** *By Pandit Vishnukant Jha, Chauhatta, Patna-4. 1958. Price Rs. 5.*

The account of the life of the President of the Indian Union is bound to be interesting by itself. An additional interest here is due to the inevitable recording of his comrades in arms in a non-violent war.

It is in effect a eulogy of Modern India, Independent India, and Pandit Jha has fittingly chosen Sanskrit for his medium. Apart from the claim that Sanskrit has been so long the language of Indian culture more than any other language, Dr. Rajendra Prasad himself has written about the glory of Sanskrit and the method of teaching Sanskrit. In course of 555 slokas, Pandit Jha has admirably done his work of telling the biography of Dr. Prasad.

P. R. Sen

#### BENGALI

**SISIR-BINDU:** *By Samir Kumar Gupta. Distributors: Sadharan Publishers, 6, Bankim Chatterjee Street, Calcutta. Price Re. 1.*

Poems rich in thought-content as well as in expression. Like the sunlit dew drops of the morning they reflect the varying colours of the Playful Infinite. A careful reader will particularly like the profundity of note attended with sobriety and restraint.

D. N. Mookerjee

#### HINDI

**VESHYA (A Problem Poem):** *By B. K. Narayan. Published by Champa Narayan, 1/1A, Ray Lane, Calcutta-7. December, 1958. Price 80nP.*

It is a long poem of more than 400 lines on a simple subject—the prostitute—full of bitter hatred against the great social evil but pointing finger at the men responsible for it. Where is the time for the victim of the evil to think of herself, to express the bitter anguish which wells up from her depths? She must sell herself again and again to satisfy human lust—for a few pieces of silver, must have a smile and ready embrace for everybody that chooses to come and take her. And society looks on, satisfied that her moral(?) drain is working all right, and that the so-called purity of society is not impeached. Now through various bodies from the Lok-Sabha down to the inmost depths of *Homo Sapiens* has been raised a cry of reform—a cry which the poor slaves will be powerless to resist as ever, but to what end! to what end!

A poem of passion and strength of execution.

P. R. Sen

## GUJARATI

(1) BHAKT PRAHLAD: By Vamanrao Patil, B.A., LL.B. Pp. 64. Price As. 4.

(2) GAJENDRA MOKSH: By —Do—. Pp. 77. Price As. 6.

(3) Jadabhalal: By —Do—. Pp. 47. Price As. 3.

(4) SHRI SHUK DEVJI: By —Do—. Pp. 64. Price As. 4.

(5) BHAKT KAVI RAHIM AND JAWAL: By Anwar Afevan. Pp. 90. Price As. 4.

(6) SAIN DIRI DARWESH: By —Do—. Pp. 55. Price As. 4.

(7) KAVI DIN DAYAL GIRI: By —Do—. Pp. 47. Price As. 4.

(8) DHURVA AKHYAN: Pp. 80. Price 8 5/8

All published by the Society for the Encouragement of Cheap Literature and printed at its own press, Ahmedabad. Card Board Covers. Some illustrated. (1951).

This set of eight works is mainly biographical and comprises the lives and life-work of several saints, some of them mystical, some of them Muslims. The last book consists of the poems of two old Gujarati poets, Kalidas Dhruva Akhyan and Description of Kalidasa (Iron Age) by Krishnaram, and a few devotional songs of Surdas, Gangaram, etc.

K. M. J

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# Indian Periodicals

## The Realism of Bertrand Russell

Dr. S. N. L. Shrivastava writes in *The Aryan Path*:

A very prominent name in modern realism is Bertrand Russell. Russell has been considerably influenced by Moore. It is not possible, within the limits of this short essay, to give even the briefest summary of the many important doctrines associated with the name of Bertrand Russell, who is one of the most influential thinkers of the day and has had a following far beyond the borders of his own country. I can do no more than put down here in a few words the gist of the empirico-realistic theory which he has developed regarding the nature and reality of the external world by what he calls the "logical-analytic" method.

Russell is a robust realist who will not yield to any suggestion, coming from any quarter whatsoever (modern physics included), that would deny reality to the world perceived by our senses. He always holds suspect mysticism, which purports to deny the reality of the sense-world.

"The mystic (he writes), so long as he merely reports a positive revelation, cannot be refuted; but when he *denies* reality to objects of sense, he may be questioned as to what he means by 'reality', and may be asked how their unreality follows from the supposed reality of his supersensible world."

Even the discrepancy between the world-picture of modern physics and that of everyday sense-experience does not deter him from his robust realistic stand. To quote his words again:

"The discrepancy between the world of physics and the world of sense . . . will be found to be more apparent than real, and it will be shown that whatever there is reason to believe in physics can probably be interpreted consistently with the reality of sense-data."

To understand Russell's theory of our knowledge of the external world, we start with the question: What do we directly perceive in the outer world? "Sense-data," is Russell's answer. There is another word which he uses: "*sensibilia*." "Sense-data are not different from *sensibilia* except in this,

that, while the former are *given* to a mind or consciousness, the latter are not. A sensible becomes a sense-datum by being *given* to a mind or consciousness:

"I shall give the name *sensibilia* to those objects which have the same metaphysical and physical status as sense-data, without necessarily being data to any mind. Thus the relation of a *sensible* to a sense-datum is like that of a man to a husband: a man becomes a husband by entering into the relation of marriage, and similarly a *sensible* becomes a sense-datum by entering into the relation of acquaintance."

The sense-data are physical in the sense of being the primary data physics has to deal with: they are not subjective or mental; but they are, as Russell says, "physiologically subjective," being causally dependent on the sense-organs, the nerves and the brain. Now, what is the relation of the sense-data to the thing? The thing is not a "substance" or a substratum underlying the sense-data. The thing is, Russell says—and here is his distinctive theory—a "logical construction" out of the appearances we call sense-data. The "thing" *inferred* as an entity apart from the class of its appearances was, according to Russell, an invention of prehistoric metaphysicians. The supreme maxim of his own scientific philosophizing is: "Whenever possible, logical constructions are to be substituted for *inferred* entities." Another thing to be noted in this connection is that, though the sense-data are not mental, they do not persist unchanged after ceasing to be sense-data, and Russell sees no incompatibility between the two statements.

Now, Russell's realism is met with a challenge. If sense-data are all that we perceive and if they are not mental but physical, how is it that different people have different sense-data *in the same place*? A table, for example, placed in a room appears to one observer as having a rectangular surface and to another as having a surface with two obtuse angles and two acute angles, to one as brown and to another as white and shiny, and so on. Russell says that all these appearances are not "in the same place." They are in the *private spaces* of the different percipients.

"The question, therefore, of combining what we call different appearances of the same thing in the same place does not arise, and the fact that a given object appears to different spectators to have different shapes and colours affords no argument against the physical reality of all these shapes and colours."

Each percipient carries his own private space with him, for he sees the world from his point of view or perspective. The perspective spaces of different individuals are all different from one another, and each is, in relation to others, self-closed, like Leibnitz's monad, which has no windows that open outwards. The one all-embracing physical space in which the different perspective spaces are ordered is, according to Russell, different from them. It, again, is not a datum of experience but a logical construction. The one all-embracing time is also a logical construction.

A few words about Russell's attitude towards religion, and I shall have done with this outline of his thought. Here is a clear-cut and unambiguous statement by Russell on the subject:

"I am myself a dissenter from all known religions, and I hope that every kind of religious belief will die out. I do not believe that, on balance, religious belief has been a force for good. Although I am prepared to admit that in certain times and places it has had some good effects, I regard it as belonging to the infancy of human reason, and to a stage of development which we are now outgrowing."

Russell here is in line with what Freud has maintained in his *Future of an Illusion*. That in all institutional religions there are dogmas, and superstitious beliefs which cannot stand the test of reason and science will be admitted by all thinking people. But is religion simply these and nothing more? Is there not a specific religious experience, *sui generis*, self-authenticated and veridical? What, in other words, can we say about the validity of mystical experience?

Russell has expressed his views on the matter in one of his well-known essays in *Mysticism and Logic*. Space will not permit me to deal with all the points he has discussed therein. I only wish to suggest here that what Russell takes to be the essential meaning of mysticism or mysti-

cal experience is far from being such. I quote some statements from the essay I mentioned to illustrate my point. Here is one: "Mysticism is, in essence, little more than a certain intensity and depth of feeling in regard to what is believed about the universe." In another place he identifies it with a certain kind of "insight" which, though genuine, "untested and unsupported, is an insufficient guarantee of truth." Intuition also is identified by Russell with a certain ordinary kind of insight, as the example given by him makes it clear:

"Intuition is seen at its best where it is directly useful, for example, in regard to other people's characters and dispositions. .... Apart from self-knowledge, one of the most notable examples of intuition is the knowledge people believe themselves to possess of those with whom they are in love: the wall between different personalities seems to become transparent, and people think they see into another soul as into their own. Yet deception in such cases is constantly practised with success; and even where there is no intentional deception, experience gradually proves, as a rule, that the supposed insight was illusory, and that the slower, more groping methods of the intellect are in the long run more reliable."

It is evident that Russell is talking of anything but mystical insight or intuition, properly so called. The mystical intuition, properly so called, is not only some sort of premonition or insight which may turn out to be true or false or may be required to be corroborated subsequently by reasoning, but is in itself; as the *Yoga Sutra* puts it, a *ritam-bhara prajna* or "a truth-filled gnosis."

I cannot dwell here at length on the nature and grounds of validity of religious experience but I would simply content myself with remarking here in passing that any evaluation or criticism of religious experience which fails to take note of its specific—what Dr. Otto has happily styled its "numinous"—nature, is simply beside the point. Religious experience must be evaluated and interpreted in terms of categories peculiar to it, and anyone familiar with such an experience will readily agree with Dr. Otto that "Holiness"—'the holy'—is a category of interpretation and valuation peculiar to the sphere of

religion," and that there is an "extra" in the meaning of 'holy' above and beyond the meaning of goodness" (in the purely ethical sense of the term). Regarding this numinous experience, Otto has rightly observed :

"This mental state is perfectly  *sui generis*  and irreducible to any other; and therefore, like every absolutely primary and elementary datum, while it admits of being discussed, it cannot strictly be defined. There is only one way to help another to an understanding of it. He must be guided and led on by consideration and discussion of the matter through the ways of his own mind, until he reach the point at which 'the numinous' in him perforce begins to start to start into life and into consciousness."

Again :

"It issues from the deepest foundation of cognitive apprehension that the soul possesses and, though it comes into being in and amid the sensory data and empirical material of the natural world and cannot anticipate or dispense with those, yet it does not arise out of them, but only by their means. They are the incitement, the stimulus, and the 'occasion' for the numinous experience to become astir, and, in so doing, to begin—at first with a naive immediacy of reaction—to be interfused and interwoven with the present world of sensuous experience, until becoming gradually purer, it disengages itself from this and takes its stand in absolute contrast to it."

#### Indology in the Berlin Humboldt University

Hiltrud Ruestau observes in *The Indian Review* :

For the former Indological Seminary of the Berlin Humboldt University which is today directed by Prof. Dr. Walter Ruben, a new designation has been introduced, namely that of Indian Science. This new term is to demonstrate that the old designation and conception of Indology is no longer broad enough to cover all subjects in this line which are to be taught and researched both due to the development of sciences and due to the development of India herself. Thus the old purely philological tasks of Indology have been replaced by a universal study of India. The scientists and students in the German Democratic Republic endeavour to form a

clear idea of the significant and interesting development of present-day India on a historical basis. In view of such comprehensive tasks it goes without saying that a merely philological interpretation of texts can no longer be in the centre of research and teaching. Today rather instructive lectures which give a survey on the most different problems of India are in the foreground. Naturally also the scientific text interpretation, such as the *Upanishads*, the *Bhagavadgita*, etc., is duly considered.

It becomes obvious from the tasks of the institute that its main attention is devoted to the research of the great and new development of Independent India. There are friendly relations between the German Democratic Republic and the Republic of India. Thus also the scientists and students of the Berlin Institute for Indian Science are keenly interested in following up and studying the cultural, social and economic development of India which freed herself successfully from the British colonial yoke. They heartily welcome every success in this new development. Formerly Indology was limited to the mere interpretation of texts in the whole of Germany. Today the Berlin Institute for Indian Science has fully overcome the horizon of the "ivory tower" of the German orientalists of the past.

On the other hand, the research of problems of old India is by no means neglected, the more so as the GDR endeavours to continue the long famous tradition of Germany in this line! Thus, for instance, one student is charged with continuing the research work about the Turfan Fragments after having been duly prepared for this difficult work. The schedule of lectures covers the scientific interpretation of the history of ancient India, as well as of the ancient Indian philosophy and literature by way of texts, furthermore Indian ethnography and a number of lectures and exercises dealing with the more modern history of India, especially as from 1870/80. Thus one lecture is held on the economic development of India during the colonial period; another lecture is devoted to India's contemporary history. Furthermore, the students at the institute engage in the study of Hindi literature and modern Indian philosophy. This series of lectures on Indian philosophy was initiated

## INDIAN PERIODICALS

by the study of the philosophical conceptions of Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan, the great Indian philosopher and statesman, during one term. In respective seminars his works, as far as they are available here, are thoroughly studied.

At the study of the students the linguistic lessons have a large share. A five years' study of Hindi is obligatory for all the students of the institute; over and above, each student has to learn a second modern Indian language, mostly Bengali. Also the Sanskrit lessons are given broad scope. The students are taught Indian linguistic history ranging from the Vedic language to Hindi, that is to say, lessons in Sanskrit, Prakrit, Apabhramsha, ancient Hindi, Hindi, Bengali, and Urdu are held. Unfortunately the Institute is not able to teach other modern Indian languages besides Hindi, Bengali and Urdu, as in spite of the great interest in this line, there is not yet teacher for such other language at the disposal of the institute. The linguistic lessons in the modern Indian languages are directed almost exclusively by Indian guests. Thus we are thankful to Pandit Shastri from Santiniketan who comes from Leipzig to Berlin once a week to give lessons in Hindi and ancient Hindi.

Problems of modern India are in the centre of the research work of the institute. Thus the director of the institute endeavours to elaborate an analysis of the modern Indian novels. Furthermore a critical review on Romesh Chandra Dutt is being elaborated, the role of Sanskrit in modern India is being examined and an essay on the philosophical conceptions of Tilak and Vivekananda is being prepared. Some important scientific research work is devoted to Gandhi. One of the colleagues of the institute, an ethnologist, mainly examines the development of the Indian village.

Parts of these works are devoted to the preparation of the International Orientalists' Congress which is to be held in Leningrad in 1960. Thus also the Berlin Institute for Indian Science is being faced with great tasks which it tries to solve by collective research work.

Naturally our institute also participates in the preliminary works for a deeper study on Tagore which is devoted to the international Tagore Memorial Year and is being prepared in the GDR.

Naturally this new orientation of the institute is quite a difficult task. Especially at the beginning many difficulties have to be overcome so as to render the work of the institute fully successful. Above all, there is a shortage of the literary material on important research subjects. Thus, for instance, the institute does not dispose of a complete edition of Romesh Chandra Dutt's work; there is no material available on the Ramakrishna Mission which is required so as to elaborate a critical review on Vivekananda, and many other documents are lacking as well.

These difficulties are mainly due to the fact that the library of the Indological Seminary was destroyed in World War II so that a completely new library had to be established past 1945. In spite of these difficulties the Institute for Indian Science could already record quite a number of successes in its work.

Above all, the colleagues of the institute are interested in the results of the latest Indian research. Naturally Indian scientists themselves are predestined to inform the scientific world about important and new events in their country. Thus the members of the institute in Berlin would be interested to know, for instance, the conception about Romesh Chandra Dutt which investigations about modern Indian philosophy have been made, which importance is attributed to Vivekananda in respect, etc. The colleagues of the Institute for Indian Science would most warmly welcome a close co-operation with Indian scientists. Naturally the scientists of a certain nation can best research their own country; thus the most remarkable contribution in the field of Indian science can be expected from India today; at the same time we are also interested in the opinion of others on the new development in the German Democratic Republic. Thus we hope that also in India people will be interested in the work of the Institute for Indian Science of the Berlin Humboldt University. Just by such an exchange of ideas one's own experience is essentially enriched. Above all, the study of the scientific conceptions of the scientists from the other country serves the mutual understanding of the people of our two countries—which in fact is the noblest task of our institute.

# FOREIGN PERIODICALS

## Material and Cultural Standard of New Bulgaria

The following are some excerpts from a bulletin named *Fifteen Years of People's Rule in Bulgaria*, published in 1959 by Foreign Languages Press, Sofia:

In a socialist society the national income is created by the toil of millions of people, freed from exploitation, working in the field of material production. Coming from the people, it belongs to the people. Socialism precludes the existence of unearned incomes. The growth and distribution of the national income in Bulgaria is in line with the basic aim of socialist production, i.e., to achieve an ever-rising living standard. That is why the national income is used to meet the personal and family needs of those participating in socialist production, to expand public production, to promote the progress of science and culture; to improve the public health services, to cover the expenses for an administration defending the interests of the working people. The bigger the national income, the greater the possibilities of carrying out constructive socialist activities on a massive scale and of allocating large funds to the promotion of the people's welfare.

The impressive all-round economic development in the heroic years of the two Five-Year Plans gave a powerful impetus to the national income of socialist Bulgaria.

Within fifteen years of people's rule, Bulgaria's national income increased almost 2.5 times. As estimated in the plan for the economic leap forward, in 1959 the national income is to rise by 50 per cent, as compared with 1957; by 1962 it is to double and by 1965 it is to treble. National per capita income in 1957 was 86 per cent

above the 1939 figure. From 1948 to 1957 the national income increased at an annual rate of about 9 per cent, as compared with a 4.4 per cent increase during the 1931-39 period. The growth of the national income is not only due to the systematic increase of the productive forces and of production, but also to the larger number of those working in the field of material production. During the Second Five-Year Plan 80 per cent of the national income resulted from the higher growth of labour productivity and 20 per cent from the greater number of hands employed. Having in mind that the proper distribution of man-power between the field of material production and the non-productive field is of great economic importance, the need to streamline the administrative apparatus and slash its cost, stripping it of everything superfluous and increasing its efficiency, is considered to be a matter of the utmost concern.

The welfare of the masses depends not only on the production but also on the distribution of the national income. Though in capitalist Bulgaria the absolute figure of the national income was rising, due to the capitalist way of distribution the overwhelming majority of the people were doomed to pauperization and deprived of the most elementary living conditions. Thus in 1939, for instance, the bourgeoisie appropriated 72 per cent of the national income coming from industry, while only 28 per cent went to the working class. This once more illustrates the unenviable condition of the Bulgarian people prior to 1944.

In socialist Bulgaria an average of 78 per cent of the national income goes to meet the needs of the population, while the remaining 22 per cent go to promote the further development of the socialist

economy, science, the arts, public health and so forth.

In Bulgaria every citizen has the right to work. The feeling that he is working for himself and for his socialist country, not for an exploiter, is a powerful incentive for the working man in socialist Bulgaria, inspiring him to feats of heroic labour. In 1948 the pay-roll included 629,204 workers; in 1952 it grew to 1,015,873 and in 1957 to 1,339,021, i.e., 2.2 times more than in 1948 and 1.4 times more than in 1952. This regular trend of rising employment in the different branches of the national economy bears convincing testimony to the ever-increasing capacity of the socialist economy to absorb man-power. The people's government does its utmost to raise the cultural level and the technical skills of the working people. The moderny-equipped industry, the mechanization of agriculture, the new building techniques require a highly qualified personnel. For its reason thousands of industrial workers, co-operative farmers employees and intellectuals are now working

systematically to improve their technical skills and qualification. The working people in Bulgaria take a keen interest in the increase of the gross national product and national income, since this bears directly on their remuneration and their way of life. As a matter of fact, this is the effect of the economic law on distribution according to the effort put into the work, a law harmoniously combining public and personal interests. The wage fund for the whole of national economy in 1957 has more than trebled as compared to the 1948 figure. The decree of the Government to raise the wages and salaries of low-paid workers and employees played an important role in increasing the average annual income of workers and employees. It goes without saying that in the future the people's government is to pursue its policy of further reducing the retail prices of consumer goods. The material condition of pensioners was improved considerably. Pregnant women and mothers were also benefited by the new measures. The paid leave before and after childbirth

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was lengthened from 90 to 120 days. Moreover, they got their full salary during this period.

In new Bulgaria the growing purchasing power of the masses is a mighty stimulus for the further growth of output of consumer goods. More and more products, once considered a luxury, are now with the growth of the general well-being becoming necessities for the broad strata of the people. The per capita increase in consumer goods is most striking. Thus, for example, in 1939 Bulgaria produced 5.4 cotton fabrics per head of the population, whereas in 1956 this figure rose to 18.7 (measured in meters); the output of woollen fabrics rose respectively from 0.8 to 1.7m; of meat—from 7.9 to 14.1 kg; of tinned goods—from 7.7 to 28.4 kg; of flour from 112 to 210 kg; of rice—from 2 to 4.0 kg; of sugar—from 4.0 to 14 kg, etc. In per capita figures the Bulgarian population consumes on the average more rice than France, the Federal German Republic and Austria, and more fats than France and Turkey.

Another indicator of prime importance, conducive to the betterment of the material standards of the people, is the growing purchasing power of money. During the years of the Second Five-Year Plan the prices of consumer goods were reduced by 28 per cent, which means that one can buy now for only 72 leva what cost 100 leva in 1952. The steady decrease of expenditures in the family budget on taxes, fees and services is a telling expression of the growing well-being of the working people. In 1957 these expenditures amounted to only 9.2 per cent of the working people's total income.

During the years of people's rule and especially during the two Five-Year Plans construction work greatly increased in scope, including new houses, public baths, hotels, hospitals, rest homes, schools, theatres and parks. Many settlements were supplied with electricity, water and sewage systems. The highway network was improved, motor vehicle transport and communications were fostered, etc.

The Bulgarian village too had been renovated.

Another indication of the impressive housing construction in this country is the fact that altogether new towns like Dimi-

trovgrad, Rudozem, Madan, etc., have sprung up.

Bulgaria's post-war record in the extension of water and sewage networks in towns and villages is also quite impressive.

One of the greatest achievements of post-war Bulgaria are the measures for the health protection and social insurance of the working people. Medical services are now completely free of charge. No efforts or means are spared to guarantee the health protection of the people, as well as to render prompt and skilled medical aid. The number of hospitals has increased continually, as did that of out-patient hospitals, polyclinics, maternity homes, nurseries, kindergartens and medical centres in villages and at industrial enterprises. Today there is not a single village without a health centre in Bulgaria, or at least without a midwife and medical assistant. Many medical workers, are now employed in the field of public health protection. Bulgaria holds one of the first places in the world in the per capita number of physicians. Here one physician takes care of 774 people, while in the capitalist countries of Europe one physician tends to over 950 people. The Pharmaceutical Factory turns out over 400 different drugs and preparations, while the Plant for Medical Instruments supplies the hospitals, polyclinics and medical centres with instruments and equipment, produces about 200 kinds of instruments and various equipment which used to be imported until recently. A series of labour-consuming processes have been mechanized and largely automated, mainly in industries noxious to health. The water jet method was introduced in ore-mining as a means of combating silicosis. Comfortable rest homes were created in the most picturesque parts of Bulgaria: the Black Sea coast, the Rila, Rhodope and Sredna Gora mountains, where working people can spend their paid annual leave. Infant mortality too has dropped appreciably, thanks to the systematic measures for the health protection of mother and child.

During the years of people's rule the whole system of public education was reformed. Education was even more closely associated with the needs of life and of socialist construction. The role of the teacher grew immensely. Devoid of rights,



humiliated and low-paid in the past, he now is an acknowledged organizer of educational work and an educator of the young generation. The number of school teachers rose from 28,625 in the 1939/40 school year to 46,627 in the 1956/57 school year. The number of professors and lecturers at the higher establishments of learning rose from 453 to 3,026.

Bulgarian science too has made good progress during the years of people's rule. It has its own glorious traditions and achievements in chemistry, mathematics, archaeology, linguistics, philosophy and natural sciences, whose qualities were appreciated only after the establishment of the People's Government. New branches of science, non-existent in the not-too-distant past, are now being created. In the past the Bulgarian Academy of Science, barely subsidized by the bourgeois state, was reduced to the role of a representative establishment. Now it has become a real centre of scientific work, with 34 research institutes in place of the few research establishments of the past. Bulgarian scientists are rendering valuable aid to the nation's economy by working out problems on the improvement of technology and the organization of industrial production, on raising crop yields and the productivity of livestock, as well as on the production of new preparations and drugs. Geologists are lending a helping hand in the discovery, exploitation and utilization of the country's natural resources.

Botanists and biologists are making valuable studies on the flora and fauna. Agrobiologists and selectionists created scores of new sorts of farm crops adapted to local soil and climatic conditions. Bulgaria's well-known scientists, Academician Hristo Daskalov and Associate Professor Nikola Kolev produced a series of new sorts of wheat, rye, barley and other grains. Bulgarian science is developing not only in the research institutes and laboratories but also in the process of production, where bold creative ideas are born prompted by life and practice itself.

During the years of people's rule a number of valuable fiction books were written.

Bulgarian fine arts, sculpture, architecture, theatre and cinema, are making headway as well.

Music has now become fully accessible to the people and has won tremendous popularity amid the broad masses. Folk music is an inexhaustible source from which Bulgarian composers and musicians draw ideas.

Up to 1944 there were only four state libraries in Bulgaria. In 1957 the number of libraries, possessing more than 500 volumes each, amounted to 5,850.

The library clubs occupy an eminent place in the cultural life of this country. These are a peculiar Bulgarian form of cultural and educational activity amid the broad masses, which have existed for over a century. In spite of terror, persecution and restrictions in the years of fascist dictatorship, these clubs preserved their own organization as unwavering bastions of our democratic traditions. The library clubs are not merely libraries and reading rooms, but clubs conducting a most varied cultural, educational, social and political activity. They comprise libraries, reading rooms, movie halls and lecture rooms, museums, a local centre of amateur art activities, a radio centre, a centre of study circles, etc. In short, they are a focus of the nation's cultural life.

The stage reached in Bulgaria's social and economic development and the new big objectives, however, necessitated new structural forms of state and economic management.

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The reconstruction of the state apparatus and the economic management was done in accordance with the principle of democratic centralism, which combines the central leadership of the unified socialist economy with the maximum initiative of the local bodies and the participation of the working people in the administration of the state and the management of the economy. The administrative governmental centralization by industrial branches was replaced by the system of territorial management within the framework of the administrative and economic unit—the district.

The district and municipal people's councils which are elected local bodies of the socialist state are in charge of the

administration and economy of the district; they lead and control the economic production activity of the industrial enterprises, co-operative farms and other economic enterprises and organizations; they draft long-range and current plans for the district, guided by the overall economic plan and by the concrete proposals of the enterprises and the co-operative farms; they co-ordinate and combine the economic activity in branches and enterprises and among the districts themselves; they take measures on a district scale, which are beyond the capacities of the industrial enterprises and farms; they see to the development of techniques and the organization of production and labour, etc.

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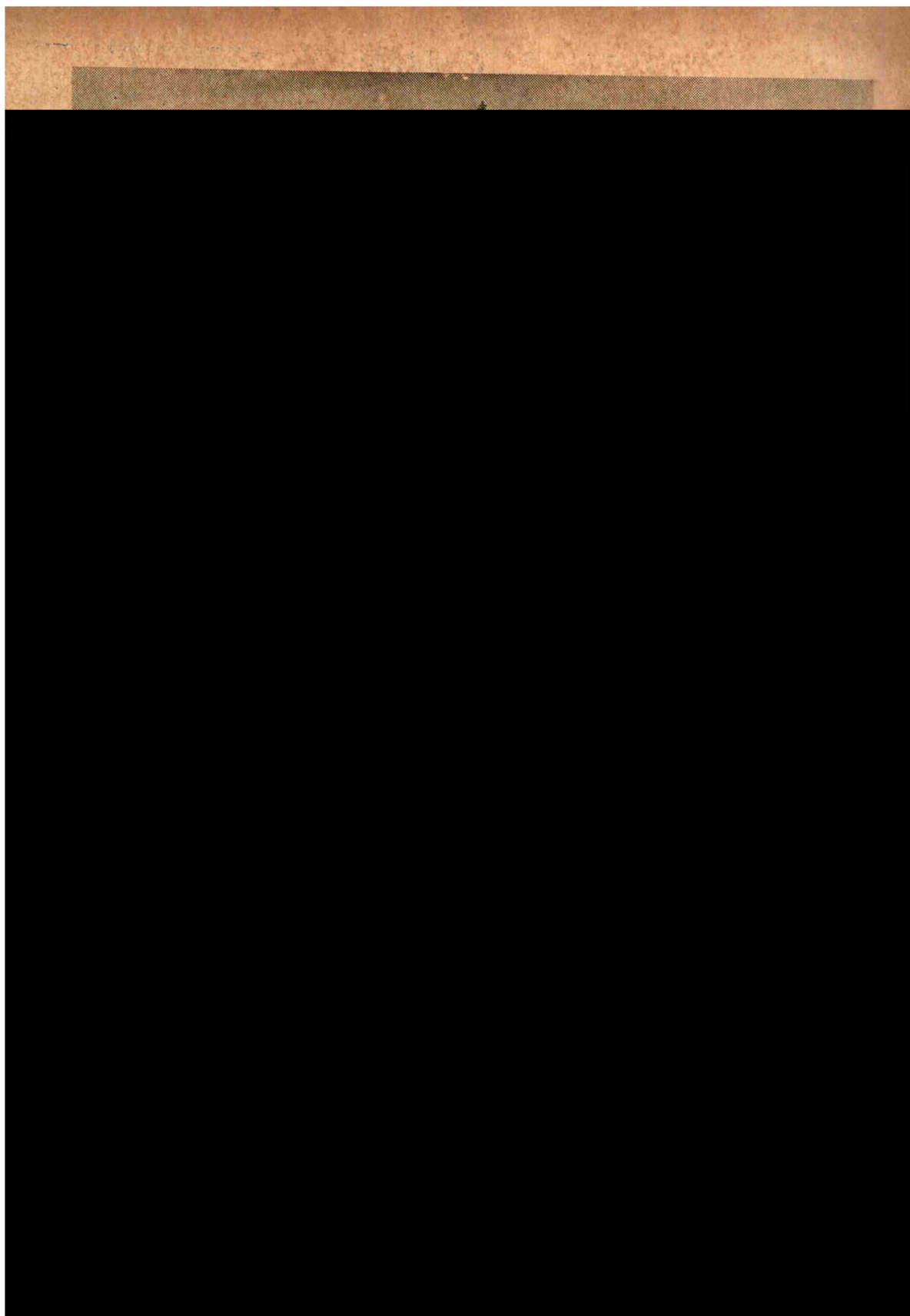
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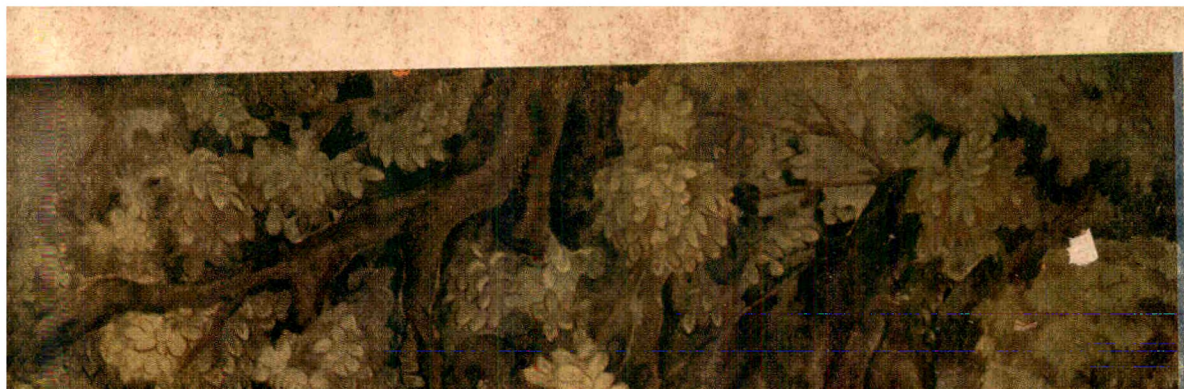
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## NOTES

### The China Debate

The Lok Sabha has had a three-day long debate on the complicated issues following the Chinese incursions on our Himalayan territories. The debates have resulted in some amount of clarification about the official attitude towards this challenge to India's sovereignty. Even so we have as yet to get a clearer picture of the ultimate odds—for and/or against—the territories of the Indian Union being kept intact and our honour inviolate.

We have given, elsewhere in these notes, extracts from newspaper reports, which give the high lights of the first two days' debates. We have deliberately left out the useless verbiage and the petulant and undignified sallies by our spokesmen on both sides. Indeed, even Pandit Nehru, despite his call for a clear direction from "the House" on the extremely grave issues involved, indulged in undignified and personal remarks on occasion.

The debate ended with the unanimous acceptance of a motion approving and endorsing the Government's policy in regard to the dispute with China. This acceptance followed an eighty-minute speech by Pandit Nehru, winding up the debate.

Pandit Nehru's concluding speech was far clearer than his oration on the opening day. We are using the term "oration", deliberately because the only other term we can think of is "homily", there was so much about Peace, Non-alignment, World policy and Panch-sheel and so little about

the crucial questions of India's security and independence in it. We have to thank the opposition, particularly Acharya Kripalani and Sri Asoke Mehta, for bringing down to earth the thoughts of Pandit Nehru from the high heavens of world politics to the holy soil of our fatherland, which has been defiled by the intrusion of an aggressor.

A clearer and a firmer tone was evident in the concluding speech of Pandit Nehru, and it was evident that the remarks made by the leaders of the opposition had helped to clarify the issues. And with this clarification came some statements which were unambiguous and categorical. We have not got the full texts of the speeches at the time of writing but the news-reports are clear on most of the issues.

There is recognition of the gravity of the situation in the statement: "If, unfortunately, the situation worsens, we shall have to be a nation in arms. Let there be no mistake about it. Every single activity and planning will have to be conditioned by the major fact, that is the struggle for life and death." He also said, "When the challenge comes and the danger comes, we cannot be complacent. We have to be wide awake and face it. Meanwhile we have to steer a course avoiding extremes."

Regarding the recent incursions by the Chinese he said:

"It seems to me a definite breach of faith with a country which has tried to be friendly with them not only because of

the past but more so because of the present and the future."

He was equally clear when he said: "We have followed a certain policy. There is no question of appeasement. Certainly it (appeasement) is a policy which is objected to and disliked."

Pandit Nehru has followed up his speech in the Lok Sabha by statements, made by him while addressing a huge gathering at Ahmedabad, which add further light to the view taken by him of the situation. The *Statesman's* reports contain the following:

"Mr. Nehru said that although his government will try to solve the border dispute with China by peaceful means, the nation should be prepared for all contingencies, since this was a 'question of life and death' for India."

"War was a bad thing, but a fear psychosis would be suicidal. It was good to live, but a time came in a nation's history when death was preferable to living with one's head bent in submission."

We have had statements from our Defence Minister, particularly with regard to the stepping up of defence industrial potential, which show that the Government is now definitely trying to prepare for eventualities.

But even after all these have been taken into consideration there are certain gaps left in our visualization of the Government's stand. We understand fully that the whole picture cannot be revealed to the public for reasons of security or diplomacy. But even so, there are certain points, some essential questions, on which the people's mind must be cleared of all doubt or uncertainty. Even in the China Debate, Pandit Nehru had put, in the beginning, more emphasis on the consideration of World Peace, Non-alignment, Neutralism, etc., than on the burning question of the defence of our land and the preservation of our hard-won Freedom. As for the Defence Minister, even taking for granted all the great qualities ascribed to him—not without any justification, we would like to add—by our Prime Minister, we have to say that he seems to be labour-

ing under two obsessions, one of neutralism and non-alignment at all costs, and the second the justification of his moves at the U. N. O. for the inclusion of China. Together with these we have statements like, "We shall defend ourselves *to the best of our ability*," etc., and about obtaining defence equipment from abroad by paying for them, while strictly keeping aloof from all the world. Even in his latest statement, made at Ishapore Metal and Steel Factory on the morning of November 29, he is reported to have stated again—according to the *Statesman*—that the day India went in for military alliances, *she would begin to lose her independence*, and further again, "whoever came from across the border would be resisted *to the best of the country's ability*."

With all due deference to Mr. Menon's wisdom, we would venture to say that the first illogical statement, connecting military alliances of any kind with the inexorable consequence of losing our independence, is based more on the particular inhibitions under which he and his Prime Minister labour, than on any historical foundation whatsoever. As regards the second statement, that of resisting aggression "to the best of the country's ability," it is disturbing in the extreme. Is the country going to be sacrificed, in the event of that "ability" not being found adequate, just like a *sati* on a funeral pyre, to prevent Mr. Menon and Pandit Nehru from losing face before the comity of Nations?

We have no claims to supernatural wisdom. But the history of all the conquests of India by the foreign invaders that "came from across the borders," is the history of similar inhibitions and obsessions on the part of the defenders, together with that of treachery from within. We know, and the country knows, that both these factors, one leading to isolationism, and the other to betrayal, are present today to a most alarming degree.

We would like, therefore, a plain statement, from Pandit Nehru, that nothing shall be allowed to stand in the way of the preservation of the integrity of our soil and of our Independence, no "isms" or meta-

physical considerations, however profoundly conceived and stated.

We are expecting a friend to visit us, a friend whose country has extended 760 crores worth of aid, without any attached conditions whatsoever. We do not suggest any alignment, alliance or pact, but we believe that if Pandit Nehru would discuss the situation frankly with him, out of record, without any obligation and without reservations, he would gain far more, than from his own advisers, in the way of a clear idea of the problems that face us and of the wherewithal, in armament, logistics and security measures that would be needed to solve them. If there be war, and the initiative be always left to the aggressor, as it is today, then we are bound to lose in the long run, if we put fetters on our freedom of action by all kinds of inhibitions, however profound their metaphysical premises.

### Indian Reverses

India seems to be in a period of suffering international reverses. The incursions on the northern border have of course been the greatest jolt which tends to overshadow others which are not of such great importance at the moment. But if we continue in our failure to see the reality behind what is apparent as we did in formulating our relationship with China, there is little doubt that the future will have in store for us many surprises which will be no less shocking. India's failure to secure a seat in two organs of the United Nations is a matter for the most serious concern not so much for the disappointment caused as for reasons operating behind that failure. There have been occasions when India was deprived of her legitimate share of authority and responsibility in the United Nations on account of block rivalry. People here quite correctly refused to be swayed by those adverse votes. The matter, to the country's misfortune, is different this time. India's failure to get in the Economic and Social Council or in the UN advisory committee on administrative and budgetary questions, has openly been ascribed to her estrangement from many members of the un-

committed Afro-Asian bloc. If the policy is not adequate even to retain the friendship we have with countries who have traditionally been our friends, it evidently deserves the closest scrutiny and reappraisal. S.S.

### Naga Problem

The Naga problem has defied a satisfactory solution for over twelve years. The demand for a separate Nagaland to function as an independent State was evidently too preposterous to be accepted. But if the real problem was an alternative between this demand and the straightforward offer of a really satisfying place for the Nagas in the Indian Union the solution of the problem would certainly not have taken so long to come. There was an evident failure to wean away the allegiance of the general body of Nagas from the disruptive elements.

It is admittedly not easy to assess the official claims for a success of the policy towards the Nagas. It is stated that the number of rebel Nagas is now less than 1,500 whereas some ten years ago it was 10,000. People in many areas are reported to have "disowned" the rebel Nagas. The Governor of Assam also had stated during the last budget session of the State Assembly that the Naga area had been 'quiet' except for 'minor' incidents. Yet about the beginning of October, the Indian Army encountered one of the most determined onslaughts of the Naga rebels, at Chakasang of Kohima district in the Naga Hills-Tuensang area. Official circles maintained a significant silence over this affair which is believed to be the biggest hostile ambush within the past four years resulting, as it inflicted, in the second highest (nine) casualties in the army, since the troubles had started in the Naga Hills.

It is against this sombre background that the second Naga people's convention assembled at Mokokchung to work out a permanent solution of the Naga problem. There seems to have occurred an initial hitch which had led the Chakasang Naga representatives to withdraw from the deliberations of the Select Committee. News about the conference has been very much scanty because of the refusal to allow the newspaper reporters not only to cover the convention but even to visit Mokok-



chung, the official explanation being that the Nagas do not like newspaper reporters.

The convention, which was in session from October 22 to 26, adopted a 16-point draft constitution to form the basis of negotiations with the Government of India for the final Naga settlement. The proposals envisage the formation of a separate Nagaland within the Indian Union, the restoration of peace, the further extension of the period of the general pardon to the underground Nagas, and the release of all political prisoners in the Naga areas. The proposed Nagaland, covering about 6,300 miles of territory lying on the strategic far eastern part of India with a total population of over four lakhs, will comprise the Naga Hills-Tuensang area with twenty-two district Naga tribes speaking two different dialects. It will be headed by a Governor with a council of ministers elected by, and responsible to, a popularly-elected legislature which will have supreme voice over all matters connected with cultural and tribal affairs of the Nagas. No Act of Parliament touching these matters can be effective without the concurrence of this Naga council. A working committee consisting of two or three members from each tribe is to be constituted for conducting negotiations with the underground Naga leaders to facilitate whose movement the convention has urged for the relaxation of security measures. The results of the negotiation are to be made known by the end of November.

Following this convention, Dr. Inkongliba Ao, who presided over the convention, has made an extensive tour of the Naga areas to assure the situation and generally apprise the people of the decisions reached at the convention. Discussions are also stated to have taken place in Kohima and other places in the Naga Hills among Naga leaders themselves and underground Nagas on those points. Dr. Ao also has had preliminary discussions with General Shrinagesh, the Governor of Assam, who is in direct charge of the administration of the Naga areas, about the future administrative set up of the proposed Nagaland. Meanwhile, Shri P. N. Luthra, Commissioner of the Naga Hills-Tuensang Area has also had consultations with the Central Government over these latest developments.

Before the actual discussions between the Naga representatives and the Government can take place, the Nagas will have to decide upon the composition of the committee that is to represent them in the discussions. In coming to a decision, the Government will have to bear in mind the utter impossibility of allowing the present uncertainties to continue in a part which is strategically one of the most important areas as also the moral obligation of a democratic government to respect the wishes of the people within the framework of national unity.

S. S.

### **Demand for New States**

The prospects of the bifurcation of the Bombay State have led many to raise the cry for the creation of new States. The call for a Punjabi Suba has been renewed by Master Tara Singh. There is a strong sentiment among a section of the Maharashtrians for a separate Vidarbha State. The Delhi Pradesh Congress Committee's political conference, meeting in Delhi on November 19 passed a resolution demanding the establishment of a full-fledged State Government in Delhi. There has also been a demand for extending the boundaries of the Himachal Pradesh by incorporating certain areas of Uttar Pradesh and Punjab. An adjournment motion was moved in the Himachal Territorial council on November 19 to discuss the situation arising out of the hunger-strike of Shri Satyadev Bushahri, convenor of the Vishal Himachal Samiti, in the council compound.

Earlier, an "all-party" convention in New Delhi met in the first week of November and formed a committee, with Mr. S. K. D. Faliwal of Uttar Pradesh as President and Shri Sher Singh of Punjab as Secretary to pursue the proposal for the formation of a Vishal Haryana State, including the Western districts of Uttar Pradesh, the Hindi-speaking areas of Panjab, the Alwar and Bharatpur Districts of Rajasthan and the Delhi Municipal Corporation.

The arguments of the sponsors of the new move were that the formation of the

proposed State was dictated by historical, economic, and political considerations alike. The historical continuity of Delhi as a separate political entity had been disrupted by the British in 1858 as a measure of punishment to the patriotic people of the region. Sardar K. M. Panikkar, they pointed out, in his minute of dissent to the report of the States' Reorganization Commission had clearly stated the political and economic grounds on which the division of Uttar Pradesh was desirable. Even Mahatma Gandhi and Mr. Jinnah, Mr. Sher Singh added, had actively encouraged the idea of a partition of U.P. Last of all, the virtual decision to split up bilingual Bombay into two distinct Maharashtra and Gujarati speaking areas left no sense in sticking to the bilingual principle only in the case of Punjab where the experiment of regional languages was a demonstrated failure. The demand for a Vishal Haryana State comes as a reaffirmation of the fears expressed by Shri Panikkar that the discontent of the people of the western parts of Uttar Pradesh about the state of things there was likely to gain grounds as time passed. "The argument put forward by some of the MLA's from the Western districts (of U.P.) in their memorandum submitted to us", Shri Panikkar said, "clearly shows that the claim of homogeneity and the desire of the different areas of U.P. to remain together have, to say the least, been overstated."

When the Government has decided to reopen the question of reorganisation of states with regard to Bombay, it should take the opportunity to review the minority views expressed in the Report of the S.R.C. to be assured that conditions now do not justify any rearrangement in any place.

S.S.

### ✓ Foreign Capital and Indian Industries

Before independence the people in India always opposed the inflow of foreign capital to this country, as if but for the foreign capital invested in this country, the indigenous capital would have played a more effective and efficient

role in the industrial development of the country. That outlook dominated even after the attainment of independence. After independence the Government of India had to redefine its attitude to the inflow of foreign capital and the Indian industrialists tried to oppose by various means the inflow of foreign capital. As a result of the threat of socialism and the opposition by Indian industrialists, there was the repatriation of foreign capital on a large scale. Industrialists in India thought at that time that if repatriation of foreign capital takes on a larger scale, they would step into these existing concerns without much trouble and that actually happened.

But now the thing is otherwise and it is being realised both by the industrialist in India as well as by the authorities. And it is that mere finance capital does not create an industry nor does the acquisition and possession of an industry necessarily mean smooth sailing. Entrepreneurial piloting is an essential basis of the successful functioning of an industrial enterprise. Now the outlook is changed. Both the industrialists in India and also the Government of India are ardent in inviting foreign capital to this country, simply because the indigenous capital has become stagnant and sterility has overcome the entrepreneurial initiative of the industrialists of India. They cannot start a new industry without the co-operation of foreign capital and foreign initiative. The lack of technical knowledge on the part of the Indians is not the main hindrance towards the growth of industries in this country. The Private Sector lacks the foresight, initiative and the courage to take the risk. In the post-independent era, nearly all big industries in the Private Sector in India have developed either solely by foreign capital or by Indian capital in co-operation with foreign capital.

The progress of the Indian capital alone in the field of industrial enterprises in this country is insignificant. Now the Government of India has realised that the Private Sector in India has not the ability to undertake rapid industrialisation of the country. Retardation of industrial growth means increasing poverty of the people and unemployment. The mixed economy which was regarded as just a passing phase a few years ago is now being regarded to be the permanent phase and feature for some

time to come. Socialism is fast receding both in concept as well as in practice. Steps are now being taken by the authorities to provide larger incentives to the inflow of private foreign capital and also the foreign technical knowledge. In his report to the Lok Sabha on his foreign tour, Sri Morarji Desai, the Union Finance Minister, said that he had made it clear to foreign private investors that India did not believe in nationalisation as a creed, and had, therefore, no programme of nationalisation as such. This did not mean, however, that particular industries would not be nationalised if public interest demanded it. In such an event compensation would be paid. He further said that there was no scope for apprehension on the part of foreign investors, in regard to the security of their investments in India. To reassure such investors further, the Government of India have expressed their readiness to consider entering into suitable agreements with those countries which had programmes for insuring investments of their nationals in foreign countries, in cases specially approved by both Governments concerned, against expropriation without payment of full compensation.

With a view to providing incentives to foreign capital, the Government of India will, it is reported, shortly negotiate with the U.S. Government a scheme of incentives for increased flow of U.S. equity capital to India. The incentives will be in the form of repatriation guarantee of basic investments and profits, expropriation guarantee against possible nationalisation and guarantee against war risks. India has already provided a great incentive to the inflow of U.S. capital by entering into an agreement on double taxation. The guarantee in respect of repatriation of the basic investments and profits has already been given by the Government of India in its policy declaration on foreign capital made in 1948. This guarantees in effect the convertibility of the U.S. investments in this country into dollar payments in case of nationalisation by India. Under this policy declaration, American investors in India are assured by the U.S. Government about the repatriation of the basic investments along with profits and assets into dollars.

Under the agreement on guarantee against

expropriation, the U.S. Government desires some kind of a bilateral arrangement which will specifically indicate the quantum of compensation to be paid by India in the event of nationalisation. The Indian Constitution, however, guarantees compensation in case of nationalisation. These reports indicate that the private indigenous capital has failed to do its part of the job. It may be recalled that in 1956, the World Bank advised the then Finance Minister of India to scrap socialism with a view to providing larger incentives to the inflow of private foreign capital. In the view of the World Bank at that time, the economic regeneration of India will be accelerated by the inflow of private foreign capital.

N.R.

### **International Development Association**

In the field of international development finance the World Bank occupies the apex position. It is the main international institution from which member-countries obtain financial assistance for their economic development and resources. Notwithstanding its creditable achievements since its inception, there are many limitations to its lending capacity and policy, and with a view to supplementing its activities the International Finance Corporation was set up a few years ago. The IFC's role is to render assistance to the industries in the private sector without requiring any guarantee of the government of the country wherein is situated the industrial enterprise concerned. In other words, the IFC is designed to bring about an effective flow of private capital through an international organisation to the industries based on private initiative and enterprise.

This year another organisation has been brought into being and this is known as the International Development Association. Both the International Finance Corporation and the International Development Association will function as affiliates of the World Bank. The IDA has been set up mainly on the initiative of the USA. Its main object is to help the underdeveloped countries in the task of raising their living standards. In recent years it is

being realised that the international liquidity as well as the movement of capital has not been taking place on an equitable basis. When international liquidity is retarded, concentration of gold holdings take place in certain countries beyond the needed level and as a result the surplus gold is immobilised. The increase in the share capital of the IMF and the IBRD was a step towards raising the liquidity of surplus gold holdings of member-countries. The setting up of the IDA is another step towards increasing the international liquidity.

The capital of the International Development Association will be \$1,000 million. Of this amount, nearly three-fourths will be taken over by the developed countries, including Japan. The USA will subscribe \$320 million and the U.K.'s share will be \$140 million. Thus, nearly, half the share capital will be subscribed by the USA and the U.K. In view of the fact that the USA is losing heavily gold holdings in recent years, her contribution to the share capital of the IDA may be in the form of non-convertible dollars. That is, the quota of its cash can be available for purchasing U.S. goods in the USA. The establishment of the IDA has for the time being put off the scheme of the Commonwealth Development Bank.

The main difference between the IFC and the IDA is that while the former is designed to render assistance to private enterprises in underdeveloped countries without requiring Government guarantee, the IDA will help industries in the public sector of the member-countries for which loans will not be available from the World Bank. The IDA will thus complement the activities of the World Bank where the latter is not in a position to render assistance. The International Development Association is an international pattern of the U.S. Development Loan Fund. It is being set up to lend at a low rate of interest for a fairly long period. Such type of loan is now called the "soft loan," that is, a loan which is given for a long period at a low rate of interest, even if it becomes uneconomical to the lender. The IDA will

mainly assist the underdeveloped countries and the bulk of the repayment may be in the currency of the borrowing country. Thus the borrowing country will have an additional advantage in that it can repay the major portion of the loan in its own currency and that will be another way of increasing its exports.

At the Commonwealth Finance Ministers' conference held in London, India stressed two points with respect to the IDA. The first was that the IDA should be an additional source of development finance and not a substitute for any of the existing sources. Secondly, that less developed countries should not be required to "lock up" their scare foreign exchange resources in the share capital of the IDA. Many countries are, however, not convinced that the IDA could function effectively on the basis of most of its loans being repaid in local currencies. The difficulty will inevitably arise when the borrowing countries will insist upon the bulk of their loan being paid in their own currencies. It may happen that most of these currencies cannot be converted in dollar or gold on account of the balance of payment deficit of the borrowing country. The difficulty will also arise if the borrowing country has not the adequate types of commodities which the lending countries may require in repayment of the loan. To allow the borrowing countries to repay the bulk of the loan in their currencies will no doubt be a great incentive for borrowing. But instead of increasing the international liquidity, such a practice may act as a clog on the free movement of international capital. The repayment envisages practically a barter deal in terms of which the borrowing country may be enabled to repay the loan. But if the currency of the borrowing country is not in demand in international money market or if her goods are not wanted in sufficient quantity, then repayment will remain a problem.

N.R.

#### International Trade and Restrictions

At the fifteenth session of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT),

held in Tokyo during the last week of October this year, discriminatory restrictions on international trade were discussed and most of the member-countries were in favour of abolition of such restrictions. They declared that discriminatory trade restrictions were no longer justified. Since the end of the Second World War, while there has been much preaching for the free convertibility of currencies and free and multilateral trade, member-countries themselves, notably countries of the West, have put up trade barriers by the imposition of high tariffs and did not allow their currencies to be freely convertible. While the USA has been an ardent advocate of free trade and the abolition of zonal currency areas, she herself has put up high tariffs against the import of primary goods from underdeveloped countries of the world. Similarly, Britain so long stoutly resisted the free convertibility of sterling, apprehending that this would affect her foreign trade. The sterling has been made convertible within certain limitations in 1958.

The IMF, the IBRD and the Havana Trade Charter were designed to bring about free and multilateral trade in the world. But the imposition of high tariffs and the restrictions on convertibility have deferred the Havana Trade Charter being put into effect. The communique issued by the fifteenth session of the GATT welcomed the action taken during 1958 by certain countries to make their currencies convertible for non-residents. The member-countries agreed, that as a result of this development there was no longer any justification, on balance of payments grounds, for discriminatory restrictions by countries whose export earnings were largely inconvertible currencies and noted the measures already taken by a number of countries to reduce discrimination. The member-countries considered that rapid progress could now be made in the elimination of all quantitative restrictions on imports by countries no longer experiencing balance of payments difficulties. The countries felt that the present favourable climate of international trade made it important to press on with the GATT programme for trade expansion.

It may be pointed out that the IMF has been in favour of free trade and it views with dismay the existence and continuance of any restriction on trade. At the recent annual session of the IMF, the following resolution was adopted:

"In some countries, considerable progress has already been made towards the elimination of discriminatory restrictions; in others, much remains to be done. Recent international financial developments have established an environment favourable to the elimination of discrimination for balance of payments reasons. There has been a substantial improvement in the reserve position of the industrial countries in particular, and widespread moves to external convertibility have taken place. In these circumstances, the Fund considers that there is no longer any balance of payments justification for discrimination by members whose current receipts are largely in externally convertible currencies. However, the Fund recognises that, where such discriminatory restrictions have been long maintained, a reasonable amount of time may be needed fully to eliminate them. But this time should be short and members will be expected to proceed with all feasible speed in eliminating discrimination against member-countries, including that arising from bilateralism."

The IMF further makes the observation that the extensive move towards convertibility has been halted because a substantial portion of the current receipts of some countries is still subject to limitations on convertibility, particularly in payments relations with State-trading countries.

The USA recommended abolition of discriminatory trade restrictions during the next few months. In its view, the continuation of discrimination can only weaken the world economic system and also the international trade and financial institutions. The USA is at present running a surplus of exports of goods and services at a rate of about \$3,500 million a year. But this surplus has not been adequate to cover America's payments to the rest of the world resulting from its policies of aiding less developed countries,

encouraging private investment abroad and helping to maintain defensive strength overseas in the interest of the security of the free world. The U.S. representative said: "If we measure the overall deficit in the U.S. balance of payments by the net transfers of gold and liquid dollar assets from the U.S.A. to the rest of the world, we find that the deficit was \$3,400 million in 1958 and is expected to be around \$4,000 million this year."

It is now well recognised that the quantitative trade restrictions constitute the major obstacle to trade expansion. In recent years there has been considerable improvement in the balance of payments position of the industrially developed countries. But the chairman of this year's GATT session, Mr. Fernando Garcia of Chile, pointed out that the terms of trade, which had favoured the industrialized nations, had been secured at the cost of lower prices for raw materials from the less developed nations. He said that the parties to the agreement should now devote more time to the problems of the developing countries. He also pointed out that if differences of opinion about agricultural protectionism continued much longer, "they might endanger the solidarity of our institution."

But that is the crux of the problem which the GATT has not been able to solve during the last fourteen years of its existence. The developed countries today have built up high trade and tariff barriers against the import of primary goods from the less-developed areas of the world. India, being a major producer of primary goods, has suffered most as a result of high tariffs imposed by industrially developed countries of the West on its export of agricultural commodities. India has been receiving not only lesser amounts on its export of primary goods, her foreign trade has also shrunk considerably. The countries which are predominantly agricultural have experienced a set-back in their export trade and this is bound to continue until and unless the developed countries see their way to liberalise their import

trade, particularly from underdeveloped areas.

India's Minister for Commerce, urged the GATT organisation to launch a positive programme for the expansion of the export trade of less-developed countries. He put forward three proposals to achieve this aim at the GATT session. These proposals are: firstly, reduction of levies which tend to restrict consumption of goods originating in less developed countries; secondly, lowering of the high tariffs imposed on the import of semi-processed and processed goods while allowing raw materials to be imported duty-free or on a low duty. And, thirdly, tariff negotiations scheduled for next year must aim at a relatively greater expansion of trade of less-developed countries.

The Indian representative expressed regret that discriminatory quantitative restrictions were being applied against goods of underdeveloped countries which had no balance of payments difficulties and whose currencies were convertible. "This position is clearly illegal under the GATT." The Indian Commerce Minister drew the attention of other countries to attempts which were being made to justify these restrictions on the ground that wages in the underdeveloped countries were low and said that if this argument was accepted as valid, then there was no place in the GATT for underdeveloped countries. India refuted arguments that goods produced in underdeveloped countries cost less because of low wages. If a producer is to be discriminated against, merely because his cost is lower, "then we might as well write off international co-operation in the matter of trade."

India cannot leave unchallenged the stand of countries which maintained that low wages in underdeveloped countries provide an adequate reason for keeping out their goods from international trade. If the discriminatory trade restrictions imposed by the industrially developed countries on exports of agricultural commodities from less developed countries were withdrawn, then many of the problems that face today the GATT, would have been

solved and the world today might have witnessed an expansion of trade.

The formation of the European Economic Community provides another stumbling block towards the achievement of free trade. The European trade arrangements in the shape of the common market of the "inner six" and the Free Trade Association of the "outer seven" will hinder the world trade. Britain however gave the assurance to the Commonwealth countries that in negotiating the Free Trade Association, Britain had kept the Commonwealth interests to the fore, and that these would continue to be safeguarded to the best of Britain's ability. At the Commonwealth Finance Ministers' conference held in London, the Finance Ministers of Australia and New Zealand criticised the formation of the Free Trade Area and pointed out the likely adverse effects of it on their export trade. Other Commonwealth countries also criticised the formation of the Free Trade Association. The Indian Finance Minister demanded that Britain must not accept any commitment under the F.T.A. which might inhibit India's exports of textiles to the U.K. But the latest development is that Britain has taken away the import of Indian textiles from the O.G.L.

The association of member countries of overseas dependencies with either the Free Trade Association or the European Common Market would be inimical to the economic interests of the Commonwealth as well as of Asia and Africa. The rules of the European Common Market will adversely affect the exports of South-East Asia, Africa and Latin America. These areas are mainly the exporters of raw materials and their balance of payments position will further be retarded by the restrictions to be imposed by the European Economic Community. India has chronic trade deficits with the six countries of the Common Market. While India made representation to the six countries of the European Common Market about her trade difficulties with them, India was called upon to prove evidence of actual damage to her trade. It is common knowledge that nearly

one-third of deficit India's balance of payments position occurs in her trade with the OEEC countries. The matter is so obvious that it does not call for further proof. Unless the European Free Trade Association works in consonance with GATT principles, it would be a tragedy for the GATT. If the growth of regional arrangements of this kind were to mean a going back on the fundamentals of the idea of the most favoured nation treatment on which the GATT is based, the end of the GATT may be visualised in the near future.

N.R.

### Disarmament

The resolution passed by the Political Committee of the United Nations on October 27 did not denote any new departure in the discussions on disarmament. The resolution which was jointly moved by the Soviet Union and the Western Powers merely called for agreement to be reached on disarmament "in the shortest possible time" and, by refraining from commenting upon the merit of the specific plans of disarmament submitted by the various powers and forwarding all of them for discussion by the ten-nation disarmament committee announced in August, only shifted the arena of debate from the General Assembly to that committee which is scheduled to meet in Geneva in 1960. Of the eight sponsors of the resolution Great Britain, France, USA, the USSR, Italy, Canada, Brazil and India—the first six are themselves members of the new ten-member committee, which also includes Poland, Czechoslovakia, Rumania and Bulgaria—an embodiment of the recognition of the persistent Soviet claim for parity of representation of communist and non-communist states in the disarmament commission the refusal to concede which had immobilised the United Nations Disarmament Commission for nearly three years. The proposal is thus assured of an easy (if not actually unanimous) passage through the General Assembly.

The unanimity between the West and the East—at least at this stage—must be regarded only an apparent one dictated by the already published agreement of the



Heads of these states to meet for a summit conference early next year. It is certainly not reasonable to expect that the deliberations of that high level conference should have been anticipated by the discussions in the United Nations Disarmament Commission or the General Assembly which virtually means the same thing—the political composition of both being identical (a vain attempt to bypass the Soviet claim for parity, as the appointment of the 10-member committee has since demonstrated). This accord does not go beyond the point reached in August last when the USA, the UK, and the USSR almost simultaneously announced their decision to continue their ban on nuclear arms tests until the end of this year.

This does not mean that the new unanimity is without significance. The fact that the two sides have decided to desist from mutual recrimination is a notable achievement. However, some amount of caution with regard to optimism about disarmament prospects is counselled by history, which bears the record of deliberations extending over many years and running to about fifteen thousand printed pages having led to the only result of producing the Second World War, which was incomparably far more devastating than the First. The specific points of disagreement cover a wide field and are rather too numerous to admit of early reconciliation—not to mention the difficulty of overcoming the sustained suspicion on both sides.

Yet the goal is unmistakable as also is the need for an early agreement on the methods of reaching it. If it is held, as all right-thinking persons do, that war has become obsolete as a means of reconciliation of international differences which even the statesmen of nuclear countries find it difficult to deny, the stock-piling and developing of destructive armaments become not only totally meaningless but also debilitating. The only means of averting this vast wastage is disarmament. And the primary responsibility naturally vests upon those who have the largest number of the most lethal armaments. Already a vast

amount of the world's wealth has been buried in the production of nuclear weapons which cannot serve any conceivable human purpose and, unless an early agreement is reached among the major powers, far larger amounts will go down the drain of inter-space and inter-stellar weapon production.

S.S.

### Developments in Ceylon

Developments in Ceylon, which followed the assassination of Shri Solomon Bandaranaike, have borne out the fears expressed in these columns that there was deep political involvement behind the murder of the Ceylonese Premier. The disclosures are astounding. The revolver with which Shri Bandaranaike had been shot belonged to a person whom the Finance Minister of Ceylon described as his friend; the present Prime Minister, Shri Dahanayake, had very intimate connections with the high priest of Kelanyia temple, Reverend Buddhharakhita Thero, who was arrested as one of the suspects in the murder plot, and had actually consulted him upon the expulsion of a Cabinet Minister (Shri Philip Gunawardene) and the reconstitution of the Cabinet.

During the discussions in Parliament over the motion of no-confidence against the Dahanayake Cabinet, the Opposition leaders openly charged many of the members of the Government with complicity in murder or with thwarting the proper investigation of the murder. The way the Opposition spokesman, Dr. N. M. Perera, spoke accusing the Government was unparalleled in the history of Parliamentary Government. And the Government have not as yet refuted any of the facts in his statement, which were most devastating—particularly for the Prime Minister, the Finance Minister, Shri Stanley de Zoysa and Mrs. Vimla Wijewardene, the dismissed Minister for Local Government and Housing. The subsequent arrest of Mrs. Wijewardene and Shri Dickie de Zoysa, elder brother of the Finance Minister in connection with the Bandaranaike assassination case brought added significance to those charges.

The new Prime Minister's half-hearted performance did little to dispel the public scepticism about the ability and willingness of the present Government to conduct an impartial

and thorough investigation into the circumstances leading to the assassination, which was openly shared by several important members of the Cabinet itself. Shri Dahanayake did not dismiss Mrs. Wijewardene until he was forced into this action by his Cabinet colleagues who had approached the Governor-General, Sir Oliver Goonetilleke to seek her dismissal. Similarly he continued in his refusal to order for her arrest until November, 19. The extraordinarily confused character of the whole situation was revealed by the fact that only a few days earlier the Deputy Inspector-General of Police, Shri Sidney de Zoysa, another brother of the Finance Minister, whose interdiction from police service had unsuccessfully been demanded by many including ten sitting Cabinet Ministers—had issued a public statement, on the authorization of Shri Valentine Jayawickrema, the Minister of Justice, that there was no evidence to warrant the arrest of Mrs. Wijewardene in connection with the murder.

The cabinet earned the vote of confidence in the last week of October with the bare majority of 48 votes to 43. But its moral defeat was beyond doubt not only because of the fact that without the votes of the six nominated members in its favour the Government would have lost, but also because of the none-too-concealed dissatisfaction of several of its own members about the composition and functioning of the Government. For example, immediately after the vote of confidence had been taken in the House of Representatives, where they had supported the Government, seven Cabinet Ministers went to confer with the Governor-General to express their dissatisfaction with the manner in which the investigations into the assassination were being carried out.

The Minister of Finance, Shri Stanley de Zoysa, was a particular target of attack. After the arrest of his elder brother and the public complaints against his other brother, Shri Sidney de Zoysa, and his alleged intimacy with persons suspected in the murder plot, the Opposition demand for his resignation, which was openly shared by members of the Cabinet, seemed to be the only decent course for him to take and for the Prime Minister to insist upon. Meanwhile there was a renewed effort

to seek a new Parliamentary election by the Opposition which the Government would find it difficult to resist unless it acted resolutely to recover part of its lost prestige. The arrest of Mrs. Wijewardene, Shri Dickie de Zoysa, and Ossie Corea, through whom the revolver with which Shri Bandaranaike was killed had passed into the assassin's hands on November 19 indicated that such an effort was under way—if belatedly. The position of the Prime Minister, Shri Dahanayake, continued to be extremely vulnerable. ✓

Since writing the above, the two de Zoysa brothers have had to bow to popular demand.

S.S.

### Nathdwara Report

The report of Chief Justice Sarjoo Prasad of Rajasthan High Court on the unlawful removal of jewellery belonging to the deity, Shri Nathji of Nathdwara in Rajasthan by the high priest of the temple, comes as a further confirmation of the popular belief that religious institutions and funds are not being managed properly, a sort of vested interest having grown in such mismanagement. The report also shows how a great idea can degenerate into an instrument of exploitation of the unwary by people of lost character. The temple of Shri Nathji had continued to be managed by the descendants of Vallabhacharya, the Vaishnava saint of the fifteenth century. In the course of time the temple had acquired a rich store of property and valuables worth untold lakhs of rupees, through the contribution of Vaishnava devotees from all over India. The valuables used to be stored in a room called *Gahanaghar* which had an inner apartment called the "Akhand Kotha" the existence of which had remained a mystery for about twenty years because of the refusal of the family of the priest to vouchsafe its location to the committee which had been appointed by the Maharaja of Udaipur to manage the affairs of the temple and of the Tilkayat (as the high priest was known) during the infancy of Shri Govindlal, the 14th high priest of the temple who had been nominated to succeed his grandfather, Shri Govardhanlal in supersession of the claims of his father, Shri Damodarlal, who

had become extremely unpopular because of his infatuation with a woman of easy virtue.

The family of the priest never looked upon the committee with favour and in collusion with certain court officials did everything to prevent the committee from being effective. At any rate the committee had never the opportunity to prepare an inventory of the articles in the 'Akhand Kotha' or 'Akhoot Bhandar' as it was also popularly known. Govindlal came of age in 1948, but like his father he also fell victim to evil company and began to squander money belonging to the temple which caused much discontent among a section of the Vaishnava devotees. During the period of his management between 1948 and 1952, there was a total deficit of over 32 lakhs of rupees, the deficit in the account of the estate of Shri Nathji the deity, being about 23 lakhs of rupees and that in the personal account of Govindlal being nine lakhs and a half. Among his misadventures with the public money belonging to the deity were the purchase of pleasure-bungalows in Bombay at inflated prices and the purchase of allegedly spurious shares in the Mundhra concerns from the father of Shri Haridas Mundhra of LIC affair.

Under public pressure Govindlal was obliged to entrust his power of attorney to a managing committee of twenty-one persons of which he, as the high priest, was chairman and Shri Moolraj Kersondas, a very able and public-spirited man was Vice-chairman, and whose efficient handling of affairs not only made it possible to repay the debts in about two years' time, but actually created a surplus. The Tilkayat managed to dissolve the Committee and appoint another Committee of eleven of which Shri Moolraj was one of the members. While this committee was in charge, on December 25, 1957 Govindlal broke open the "Akhand Kotha" and took away all the valuables without the Committee's knowledge or authorization. Provoked by public agitation, the Rajasthan Government constituted a Commission of Enquiry on March 12, 1958 with the then Chief Justice of Rajasthan, Shri Wanchoo, as the member. That Commission could not be effective for various reasons and the Sarjoo

Prasad Commission was appointed on March 10, 1959.

Thus nearly two years after the incident of the removal of the treasures of Shri Nathji of Nathdwara we have an authoritative report on the actual happenings. The Commission leaves no doubt about the criminal intention of the priest (Talkayat shri Govindlal) of misappropriating the treasures in which he was willy-nilly helped by the employees of the temple and two local members of the managing Committee. "His (Govindlal) claim both in regard to title and possessor (of the valuables in Akhand Kotha)" Justice Sarjoo Prasad says, "has been found against him. The title to the Kotha and its contents was in Shri Nathji. Even possession he (Govindlal) had lost. . . . The *de jure* or even *de facto* possession of the *Gahanaghar* was with the the power of attorney holders who exercised control on the spot through the Executive Officer. Therefore, the Tilkayat had no right at all to break open the *Gahanaghar* and remove the valuables. It was a reckless act on his part for which he incurred grave and serious liability—I should think both civil and criminal" (p. 93 of the *Report of the Nathdwara Inquiry Commission*, Jaipur, 1959).

The Commission emphasises the deliberate attempt made by Shri Govindlal and his associates to suppress the truth. The Tilkayat's evidence, to quote the Commission's words, was "an impudent lie, which no one with any modicum of self-respect would have ventured to do."

The Report of the Nathdwara Commission indirectly bears out the superiority of Committee management of religious funds and trusts. The Chief Justice of Rajasthan High Court has paid a glowing tribute to the Managing Committee of Shri Nathji's property (except the two local members whom he has sharply criticised). "One may not accept the validity of all that they did but the record leaves no scope for thinking that they did not act in the best interest of the temple and with a view to protect the properties of Shri Nathji", he says.

The Commission has absolved the present Chief Minister, Shri Mohanlal Sukhodia, of any complicity in the removal of the valuables by

the Tilkayat. However, there are certain references in the report which require further clarification. For example on page 94, of the *Report* it has been said: "There can be, therefore, no doubt about the responsibility of the Tilkayat. . . . I do not think his conduct was at all *bona fide*, as his counsel suggests. *He even got possession of the relevant files on the appointment of the Wanchoo Commission with a view to hamper or retard the investigation.*" (Italics added).

The question is how the files got into the hands of an outsider?

S.S.

### Karnal Murder Trial

The Karnal Murder Trial, judgement on which was delivered on November 12, is one of the most remarkable court trials of modern India. The proceedings of the trial are as interesting as the story of the case which reads like a first class mystery tale. It was alleged in the prosecution case that Shri D. S. Grewal, former Superintendent of Police in the Karnal district of Punjab and nine other police officers of the district had conspired to kill three citizens—Shri Hazara Singh, his brother Pyara Singh of Samana Bahu village and Gian Singh of Shahabad—and, in pursuance of that conspiracy, had actually murdered those three persons by shooting them to death after tying them to a tree at a place on the Grand Trunk Road near the Samana Bahu village on the night of July 14-15, 1957. The accused pleaded not guilty to the charges of conspiracy and murder saying that the deceased had been habitual offenders of law and that they had met with their death in an encounter with the police party which had gone to that place to prevent a dacoity with murder which the three deceased had planned to commit that night. In his 873-page judgment, the judge absolved all the accused of all the charges brought against them and asked them to be set at liberty.

The Karnal Murder trial naturally aroused great public interest which was well founded. The accused were all high police officers and it seemed that rather far too many in number implicated in a case of conspiracy and murder of three citizens. To this was added the allegations made by the accused

that they were victims of a foul conspiracy and that the present Chief Minister of Punjab, Sardar Pratap Singh Kairon, was unduly interested in punishing them. The accused further alleged that they would not receive a fair trial in Punjab which necessitated the case to be transferred to the court of a Special Judge at New Delhi. Another interesting point was that while the prosecution produced 158 witnesses in the court, the defence produced none. Yet the verdict went in favour of the accused. The Judge remarked upon the delay in bringing up the case. The incident occurred in July 1957. The accused were arrested only in November 1958—about a year and a half later on.

The Karnal Murder trial raises a few points of fundamental importance which goes far beyond the merits or demerits of the contestants in that case. The very fact that the prosecution failed to prove the charges is a serious reflection upon the ability of the police administration in Punjab. The proceedings of the trial provided one of the rarest opportunities to the public to have a glimpse behind the facade, into the inner working of the Government departments—and the police department in particular—primarily of Punjab, which however cannot be far different in other States which have a similar administrative set-up of procedure and personnel.

The evidence given in the course of the trial by senior police officials, who are still in service holding positions of great authority and responsibility, showed that many—far too many, one would say—police officers felt, no compunction of conscience in recording which the judge pronounced to be false evidence tampering with records and in doing much else that was still worse and would have landed any other citizen behind the prison bars. Shri S. D. Singh, the Special Sessions Judge, who tried the case said: "If the prosecution were, in fact, fair and above-board, there is no reason why those witnesses should not have been put in the dock and made to stand their trial along with the accused." He characterised Shri Vishwamitter, Deputy Superintendent of Police, who was one of the prosecution witnesses, as a "comical liar" and named an Inspector of Police as having perjured himself

in court. "The high police officers" the Judge said, "Shri Ram Singh, Additional I.G. of Police and others, appear to have believed that they would be pleasing the Chief Minister, and thereby serving their own ends, if they went out of their way and arranged false evidence, which might somehow secure the conviction of the accused, particularly Shri Grewal."

The conduct of the magistrates and the doctor giving medical evidence came in for equal condemnation by the Judge, bearing out the defence fear that there were influential elements in Punjab bent upon their liquidation. Three magistrates had failed to follow the ordinary regulations regarding verification proceedings. Referring to that fact the Judge said: "And this may well indicate that there has been the same undercurrent working behind the minds of the different magistrates."

The administration of Punjab stands self-condemned from the judgment. What is of particular concern is that the name of the Chief Executive of the State Government should also have been brought in in these irregularities. The Judge understandably refrained from making a definite comment upon the conduct of the Chief Minister but his related remarks make it extremely desirable that some high-powered committee review his role in the matter. The Private Secretary to the Chief Minister, Shri Asa Singh, also came in for very adverse remarks for lack of his courage and sense of responsibility.

The chief lesson to be derived from the Karnal Murder trial is the demonstration of the inescapable necessity of making the police processes subject to review in all cases including those of preventive detention as well as in cases of other executive action affecting the fundamental rights of citizens to employment and movement. The disclosures of the Karnal case, in the perspective of the criticism voiced by judges from other States on the performance of the police administration, further show that it is high time that a national commission was constituted to review the administrative processes with particular reference to the working of the police departments with a view to increasing the responsiveness and responsibility of the administration and improving the tone of its integrity and efficiency. The actions of

the Punjab Government on the observations of the Judge about the various officials serving the Government will also be watched with interest throughout the country.

S.S

### Pandit Nehru's Statement

Below we append the high-lights of Pandit Nehru's speech in the opening of the China debate as reported in Statesman:

Mr. Nehru said that though there were innumerable hurdles and difficulties in the way, "I should like this House, even though we are confronted with our problems and difficulties, to send its good wishes to the efforts of the great leaders who are working for peace."

The Prime Minister said: "A great responsibility rests on us and on the Government, but that responsibility can only be discharged if the House itself shoulders that responsibility in a very large measure as representing the country. Therefore, it is my intention to keep the House informed of every development in this situation and take counsel as to what policy we should adopt, for the present. We have especially to deal with certain recent developments—proposals made by Premier Chou En-lai and my reply containing alternative proposals.

"The House will no doubt consider them and express its views in regard to them. But behind those proposals lie certain basic approaches and basic principles. Our reactions must be conditional and controlled by the basic policies that we pursue and the objectives we have.

"If we give up those basic policies, then our reactions sometimes may take us in the wrong direction or lead us in a direction not of our choice. Therefore, I think it is important that those basic policies should be kept in mind. Naturally, even basic policies have to be implemented in the light of the conditions that arise and, in this world of changing situations, we cannot ignore what happens. But we have to measure what happens in the light of any basic policy that we may hold.

"Therefore, I should like this House to consider in all aspects those basic policies

which have governed us and which I hope and trust will govern us in the future. If there is a vital difference in regard to those basic policies, then of course the steps we may think of taking may be different.

"In the old days, these policies were taken for granted and not put to the test of experience and danger. They are being put to the test now and it is necessary, therefore, that we should not merely take them for granted, but accept them or reject them as the House chooses. There should be no half way house in our thinking in matters of such importance.

"We are faced with grave problems. I do not mean to say there is an immediate danger of some magnitude. But the gravity of the problem lies certainly in the present and even more so in the future, and any step that we may take will be pregnant with possibilities. It is a problem obviously of much greater and much wider significance that what might be called a party problem. It transcends all party issues. It concerns the whole country, to some extent it concerns issues beyond our country, the issues of war and peace in the world.

"It is a tremendous responsibility for any individual or group like our Government to shoulder, to face these questions and decide wisely and firmly our policy and what steps we should take. No individual, if I may say so, no Government, is good enough by itself to shoulder this grave responsibility, because the consequences that flow from it do not flow for the Government only, but for the country and to some extent for the world.

"Therefore, I would beg this House to shoulder that responsibility and tell us what we should do about it. If we carry out those directions, well and good for us. If we cannot, let others carry out those directions, but let the directions be clear. We cannot deal with these matters in a half-hearted way, in a destructive way, in a party way, because the issues before us are grave and vital and by every step that we may take we sow certain seeds for the future which may bear good or ill fruit. It is in this mood and with this feeling of

humility, that I approach this House. I seek its indulgence, if I say what I feel about these matters frankly, because frankness is desirable."

The Prime Minister then referred to India's policy of peace, friendship with all nations, non-alignment with Power blocs and avoidance of military pacts and said: "It is not for us to judge what others do about it. May be, circumstances are different or difficult for them. Other countries have to decide their policies and their alliances as they think best. Certainly I do not feel myself competent to criticize them or offer them advice. But certainly I feel, so far as our country is concerned, it is we who should judge and we have followed this policy. Now recently a cry has arisen in this country from some people criticizing and condemning that policy of non-alignment and Panch Sheel.

"It has been said that it has collapsed because of what has happened with regard to China. Some people have allowed themselves the pleasure of being humorous about it. It is not a particularly happy action being satirical or humorous about this issue. This policy has been our consistent policy for the last 10 years and indeed even before the words Panch Sheel came into use.

"Some years ago, some great countries in the world spoke rather lightly and casually of our policy, imagining or thinking that it was a policy of weakness, of sitting on the fence. But as years have gone by, wisdom has come to them—not all but many and the biggest of them—and today it is one of the bright features of the developments that take place before us that basically that very policy has not only been appreciated in so far as India is concerned, but it is also colouring and conditioning the activities of great nations. Let us not forget that," he said amidst cheers.

"I firmly believe that a right policy always yields right results. You may call me an idealist. I have been conditioned by this belief throughout my life and I cannot change at 70.

"By a strange turn of the wheel of for-

tune or fate, we, who have stood for peace, are faced with the possibility of even a war.

"I do not think a war will come, I am speaking about the possibilities only. I do not think the world or any country will be foolish enough to jump over the precipice into a war. But I do say that these possibilities come into our mind. Some people imagine that it is due to our policy of Panch Sheel and non-alignment. Any other policy would have brought infinitely greater dangers and brought them sooner, and at a time when we would not have the privilege (which we undoubtedly have today because of our policy) of wide friendship which we enjoy.

"Some Hon'ble Members also think that India has no friends. Their idea of friendship is to have a strong iron chain of pacts. It is not a chain of friendship, it is a chain forged by the compulsion of events. We do not want such chains to bind us. We want the friendship of all nations—great and small—with whom we may not agree on many matters, but with whom we want to remain in firm friendship.

"Some people talk loosely or casually about Panch Sheel or non-alignment. I would like them to tell me which of those principles they disapprove, which of them are bad and which of them they would not like India to act upon."

The Prime Minister felt that party advantage should not be sought in dealing with this matter at a time when the country was facing a "grievous situation." "Normally, a country does not function in a partisan way when questions of this magnitude are raised and when Parliament has to give the direction," he said.

Dealing with a "complaint" that the Government of India was not swift enough to inform the country of the Ladakh incident, Mr. Nehru said the complaint was based "on a complete misapprehension." The incident took place on October 21 and the information was given to the Press on the afternoon of October 23. He was in Calcutta with the Foreign Secretary on October 22 and they were told that a brief message had come about the conflict, wherein some persons had died. On the follow-

ing day (October 23.), the Government got a fuller account. It was said that the Chinese had sent a protest Note a few hours earlier. The reason was obvious. The Indian party had to return to their base from the scene of the incident before sending a message. The Chinese were at their outpost.

Continuing, Mr. Nehru said: "We now face a situation which is partly a political situation, but partly also a military one, not military in the sense of a war coming, but military in the sense of taking steps to meet it. We have to prepare for all contingencies, in the sense that it is a military situation. Now obviously this House will not expect me to reveal what defence arrangements we are taking. But we can tell this House that at no time since independence were our defence forces in a better condition, in finer fettle and with far greater industrial production in the country to help them, than today: I am not boasting about them or comparing them with other countries, but I am quite confident that our defence forces are quite capable of looking after our security."

Mr. Nehru said that those people who expected the army to guard the 9,000 miles of India's borders at every point were the least acquainted with military matters. There was no point in rushing the army from this point to that on the border and getting it entangled. It should be in a position to hit hard at the right place to score the maximum effect against any intruder.

The Prime Minister reiterated that the real strength of the army lay in the growth of industrialization. The whole question of defence had to be considered in the context of the growth of industrialization, maintenance of defence and other industries and technological advance. The Five-Year Plans were meant to do this.

Referring to his reply to Mr. Chou En-lai's last letter, Mr. Nehru said: "I do feel that the approach we have made in our letter is a fair and reasonable one. It is an honourable one. It is certainly an honourable one for our country and, I



would repeat, it is an honourable one for China, unless you are bent upon war and you want drum-beating and strong language all the time—well, that is a different matter. I regret to say that I do not agree with that. I think that it is a wrong and dangerous policy. War is a dangerous policy. If war is thrust upon us, we have to defend ourselves. If war is thrust upon us, we shall fight with all our strength. That is a different matter. We shall, however, try to prevent it with every means in our power because it is a dangerous thing."

Mr. Nehru said that other countries, including China, should realize that these border incidents had a special significance for India, because it concerned the Himalayas. "These mountains are, of course, high, but they are something much more to us more intimately tied up with India's history, tradition, faith, religion, beliefs, literature and culture than, to my knowledge, any other mountain anywhere. Whatever other mountains may be, the Himalayas are something much more than mountains to us. They are part of ourselves. I want everyone to realize how intimately this question affects our innermost being, quite apart from this question of the border."

### The Opposition's Reply

Acharya Kripalani charged the Government with adopting a policy of appeasement towards China.

Acharya Kripalani, who spoke for about an hour, vehemently criticized the policy being adopted by the Prime Minister towards China, and said the "estimate made of the character of the Chinese revolution and rule" had been proved incorrect.

The Acharya said that whenever, this issue was sought to be discussed, the Government side started accusing the others of having said things which they had never said.

The Prime Minister had repeatedly stated, as also the Communist Party, that some people thoughtlessly talked of war with China without realizing the consequences.

"I am yet to know of any responsible public man who has talked of war with China. All that has ever been said is that the Chinese

aggression must be stopped and the pockets occupied (by them) cleared. Any action to assert our sovereign rights to our own territory does not amount to war."

The Prime Minister and the Communists had always called the "Chinese aggression not as an invasion of India but border incidents." The Chinese had called their action an episode in their 2,000-year-old friendship. "If that is so our recovery of what is our own will be only an accident, or an episode in the 2,000-year-old friendship."

It was not the critics of the Government who had raised the scare of war but the authorities, Mr. Kripalani declared.

"They do so to silence the criticism of a policy which has been confined up to now to sending lengthy protest Notes which remain unanswered for months together, and sometimes are not answered at all."

A second misconception created by the authorities was that any suggestion of effective action against aggression would mean extension of the cold war to India and the end of India's neutrality. The principal parties to the cold war were the U.S.A. and Russia. If they had taken no sides on the issue, the question of extension of cold war to India would not arise.

Mr. Kripalani said that no responsible leader of any party had suggested that India should abandon her policy of non-alignment and join the Western bloc. What the critics of the Government wanted was "not the abandonment of neutrality but of passivity. They want an assurance that the defence of our borders will no more be neglected."

"No country in the world today can hope to resist successfully foreign aggression single-handed, not even America or Russia. The critics want the authorities to make our position clear in this respect. It is that India will not hesitate to get military aid from any quarter to defend the country.

"As the Chinese aggression has nothing to do with world Communism, we shall be entitled to seek help, in a military emergency, both from the East and the West and from neutral countries, even as we get economic aid from every quarter. Help may be had on a lend-lease basis or on any other honourable terms."

Mr. Kripalani pointed out in this connection that Yugoslavia did not hesitate to take

military aid from the U.S.A. in 1948, when under the threat of attack by Russia. It did not because of this give up its faith in Marxism, he said and added: "Nobody here has suggested that India should allow the establishment of foreign military bases here. But a declaration of readiness to accept foreign military aid in an emergency I feel, will be very helpful at the present juncture. It does not in any way minimize our present strength to deal with the limited problem that has arisen. It only provides for a contingency which we hope will never arise.

Such a declaration, he thought, would convince the Chinese that India had no intention of standing alone "if the area of conflict is enlarged by their vicious attitude."

No nation could wait to resist aggression till its industrial potential had risen, he pointed out. By the time its "industrial potential" had expanded, it may have had lost its independence as well as its right to the industrial potential it had created.

The Prime Minister in one of his speeches was reported to have jeered at his critics and said that none of them would be found anywhere near the Ladakh border. This was a "strange way of arguing."

"I am sure none of the members of the Cabinet will be found anywhere near the front, if effective action is taken. This is not because they are mostly ailing and old men or because they lack courage, but because their presence at the front will be considered an unmitigated nuisance by the military authorities."

Criticizing the Government for neglecting communications in the border areas and minimizing the danger of Chinese activity there, the Acharya said that even as late as October 21 the Prime Minister said in Calcutta that he did not expect any fresh aggression. The very day nine Indian policemen were shot dead and ten kidnapped in Ladakh.

"I submit that the estimate made of the character of the Chinese revolution and rule was incorrect. Our attitude to their aggression has been one of appeasement. Even after the debate in Parliament in August, the Government did not put the Ladakh area

under military control, though a motor road had been constructed there (by the Chinese) and thousands of miles of our territory occupied."

It should have been clear to the Government, he said, that the Chinese would claim almost the whole of Ladakh when earlier they had refused to allow Ladakhis in Lhasa to register as Indian citizens.

Mr. Kripalani said the people were "apprehensive" that the defence of the country was not in proper hands and the Defence Minister did not enjoy public confidence. In a democracy, he added, a Minister must enjoy the confidence of his chiefs as also of the public.

"To add to the country's misfortunes, every criticism, however mild or any suggestion for effective action, irritates the Prime Minister. I wish he would extend at least as much courtesy to his countrymen as he extends to foreign aggressors."

Referring to the first White Paper, he said it made "painful and humiliating reading." The Chinese Notes were arrogant, bullying and aggressive. Indian Notes are apologetic or mildly protesting.

He said it was held in some quarters that the Chinese had dug themselves in now for the winter in the positions they had already occupied. "We may as well expect further advance and be prepared for it. We must remember the usual Communist tactics of keeping up constant tension and conflict to create uncertainty and confusion. One day it is aggression, another day talk of negotiation. We must, therefore, be vigilant whether in defence or negotiations."

The Opposition appeal that India should not hesitate to seek foreign military aid in an emergency such as it faced today received some further support. Neither Mr. Mehta nor an Independent member, Maharaja Karni Singh of Bikaner, thought that such aid should necessarily infringe India's sovereignty.

Mr. Asoka Mehta said that if China did not accept the traditional frontiers, and if negotiations were not confined to minor rectifications of the border, there was no alternative for India except to see that the

areas occupied were vacated. "We would like to have a clear and unequivocal expression on this from the Prime Minister," he said amidst cheers.

"It is to rekindle national hope and national endeavour and unity that we would like the Prime Minister to step forward and rally the nation behind him to meet the crisis and not denounce us as a motley crowd. Yes, we are a motley crowd, because this country, as the Prime Minister himself has said, is a motley country. We have to be together on this question and the only group about which we have to be careful are our Communist friends."

He appealed to Mr. Nehru not to withdraw Indian forces. A corridor of 11,000 square miles was being created (by the interim arrangement proposed by India). Why should India withdraw from her own territory? Mr. Mehta asked.

He said if China accepted Mr. Nehru's latest proposals then "we must be sure that the traditional frontier will be maintained in all circumstances. Any rectification by discussion or negotiation must be of a minor character. That must be made clear."

In a reference to the recent speech by Mr. Krishna Menon at Bombay, where he was reported to have asked if there was any country whose frontiers had not been violated, Mr. Mehta said: "Are we approaching this whole development (on the frontiers) in a routine way or do we think there is a crisis we have to face and that for the next 10 years we will be confronted with a menace which is going to become more and more difficult. That is what the Prime Minister should answer. This, is a quiescent attitude at its best and a cavalier attitude at its worst."

### Satyakinkar Banerjee

Satyakinkar Banerjee, ex-Manager of The Modern Review and Prabasi Office, passed away at his Calcutta residence on 5th November, 1959, at the age of seventy-five. Son of the late Hara-

dhan Banerjee, a well-known legal practitioner of Bankura, Satyakinkar was born in May, 1885. At the end of his school career about 1905, he went to visit at Allahabad his elder sister who had been married to the late Ramananda Chatterjee. Ramananda Babu was then the Principal of the Kayastha Pathshala and had already started his famous Bengali journal *Prabasi*. It was printed at the Indian Press of the late Chintamani Ghose. Ramananda Babu secured a job for Satyakinkar at this Press. By the order of the Government (a twenty-four hours' notice was served upon him) Ramananda Babu along with all the members of his family was all on a sudden compelled to leave Allahabad in 1908. *The Modern Review* had also been started in Allahabad in January, 1907. He settled in Calcutta and went on publishing his two journals from his Calcutta office. Satyakinkar also came down to Calcutta and began to serve the firm whole-heartedly. Ultimately he became its Manager. He had completely identified himself with the firm and looked upon its interest as his own interest. He was intelligent, energetic and hard-working, and was sympathetic towards his colleagues. For forty-eight years he served the firm with singular devotion and retired in 1956. He died after a short illness. May his soul rest in peace.

### NEW YEAR'S SUBSCRIPTION TO *THE MODERN REVIEW*

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MANAGER, *The Modern Review*

## RECENT ARCHAEOLOGICAL DISCOVERIES IN CHORASMIA

In Connection with Some Problems of Ancient History of India\*

By Dr. S. P. TOLSTOV

Historical and Cultural ties between India and the countries of Soviet Central Asia—particularly those of the epoch of the late Middle Ages, at the times of the great Mughal Empire—are well known. The nature of these ties is less known as far as the more early epochs are concerned; it is so in spite of the fact that the Bactrian Greeks (Yavanas), Sakas, Kushanas, and Hunas occupy no less prominent place in the history of India than in that of Central Asia; and in spite of the fact that Central Asia must have been the most suitable route for the Aryans to follow to penetrate into India.

Until lately, however, the former was confirmed by only a few authentic works of art, numismatics, and epigraphics; while the latter remained on a rather slippery ground of hypotheses, upheld, only too inadequately, by comparative linguistics.

At present this state of affairs is undergoing radical changes. The industrious results of recent discoveries in Indian archaeology, published in several articles, allow us to solve in the modern way the main problems of ancient history, especially those concerning one of the historical periods known, in Indian archaeological literature, as the "Dark age" (the second part of II to the end of I millennium, B.C.). At the same time, during the 40 years of the existence of the Soviet State, a great number of large-scale Soviet archaeological expeditions have done so much that they have actually converted Central Asia, which now includes the territories of the prosperous Soviet Republics of Uzbekistan (with Karakalpakstan enjoying autonomy) Tadjikistan, Turkmenistan, Kirgizstan, and the Southern part of Kazakhstan, into one of the most archaeologically examined parts of the Soviet Union; although prior to the October Revolution the region used

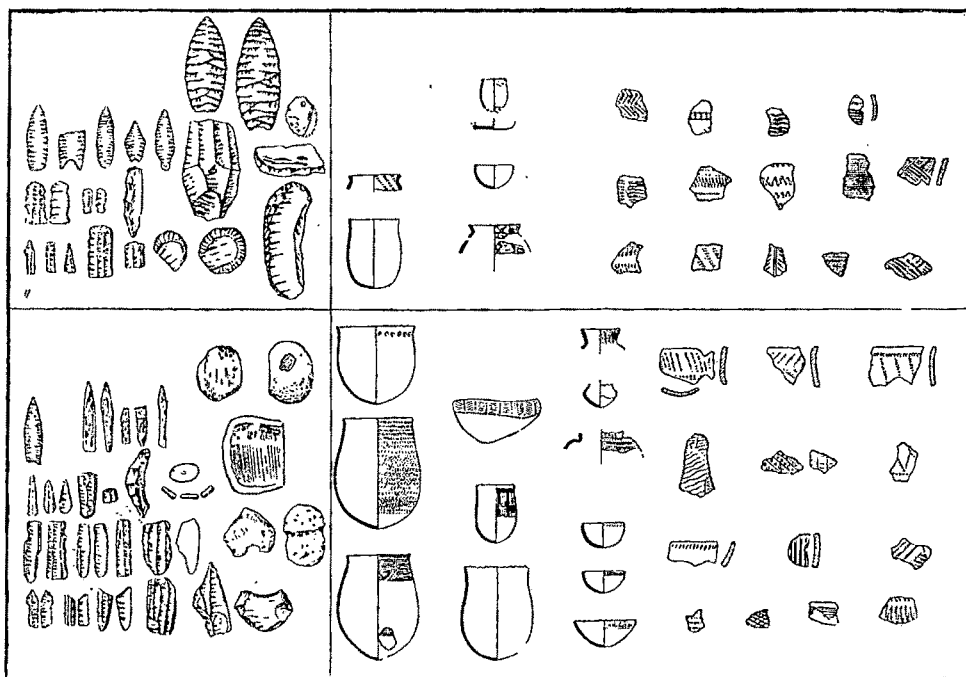
to be a "white spot" on the archaeological map of the Tzarist Empire.

I should like to speak about some of the latest discoveries of only one of the expeditions which singles out because of its scale, (the excavations were conducted over the territory of about half-million square kilometres), because of the special characteristics of this territory (Kara-Kum and Kzyl-Kum deserts with their ancient depressions and river-beds), and because of its duration (over 20 years). This expedition is known as the Chorasmian Expedition of the Academy of Sciences of the U.S.S.R.; and I have had the honour to be at the head of it from the very outstart.

Chorasmia is a region of ancient culture, situated in the lower reaches of the Great Central Asian Two-Rivers Basin of the Amu-Darya and Syr-Darya or of the Oxus and Jaxartes, as the rivers were called in ancient times. This was an outpost of an ancient eastern civilization advanced far north into the Scythian steppe. Its special geographical position made Chorasmia a most important confluence of the routes of cultural exchanges between the North and the South, the West and the East. Chorasmia itself with its lakes formed by flood waters of the great rivers beyond control of man of those times, which was called the "Country of Great Lakes" and was referred to in the *Avesta* as the "Vurukasha Sea Country," played a significant role in these exchanges. The modern map of this vast ancient common delta of the Oxus and the Jaxartes, as it was in the epoch of Bronze Age and Early Iron age, based on the modern science-data taken together,<sup>1</sup> in its principal features only develops the scheme of the history of the Amu-Darya.

\* The text of the Report read on the 45th session of the All-India Scientific Congress in Madras (January, 1958).

1. S. P. Tolstov and A. S. Kes. *Istoriya pervobytnykh poseleniy na protokakh drevnikh delt Amu-Daryi i Syr-Daryi. "Voprosy geographiyi". Sbornik statey dlya VIII Mezhdunarodnogo geographicheskogo Kongressa Moskva, 1954, pp. 321-336.*



The Kelteminar culture: the end of the IV—the early III-nd millennium B.C.; II—the late III-nd—the beginning of the II-nd millennium B.C. Made by A. V. Vinogradov

created in the eleventh century by a great scientist Abu-Raihan al-Biruni, Chorasmian by origin. All troubles of his life connected him with many countries of the East—Iran, Afghanistan and especially India—peoples of which, as well as the Soviet people, cherish his memory.

I should like to speak briefly about one of these routes.

The ancient monuments of Chorasmia: many settlements of tribes belonging to the Neolithic and Chalkolitic Kelteminar culture, dated as far back as IV-III millennium which were left by hunters and fishermen using stone microlithic blade industry and peculiar incised pottery, testify beyond any doubt to the existence of strong ties both with the North and the South. The Neolithic culture of the Urals, Kama region, and Western Siberia does not differ essentially from the Kelteminar culture, preserving its traditions, perhaps, for too long.<sup>2</sup>

The Kelteminarians had ties with the Southern countries as well. These ties, so far, were traced down to Iran and Eastern Iraq in similar geographical conditions—in the deserts, along ancient river-beds.<sup>3</sup> Unfortunately we do not know about archaeological explorations in similar geographical regions of Western Afghanistan, Padistan and India. If such explorations did take place, the publication of the results have not reached us.

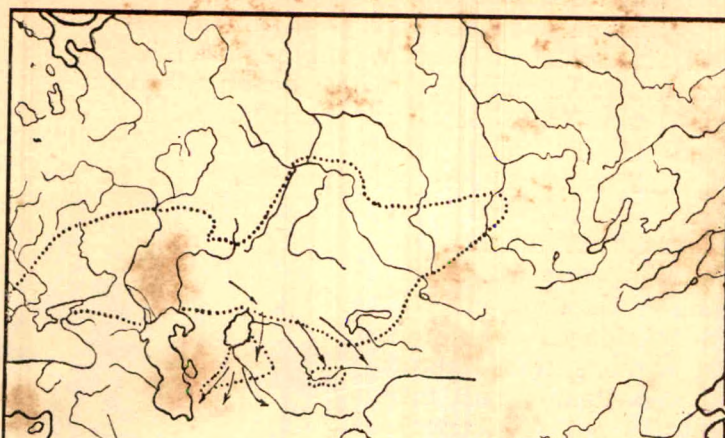
There are, however three groups of facts which throw some light on the ties of the Kelteminarians with India.

It is firstly the fact that the Kelteminarians used as adornment among other things sea-shells (Dentalium) and among them are species which are to be found only on the shores of the Indian ocean.<sup>4</sup>

3. A. V. Vinogradov: K voprosu o yuzhnykh svyazyakh kelteminarskoy kultury. *Sovetskaya Etnographiya*, 1957, No. 1, pp. 25-45.

4. S. P. Tolstov: Drevniy Khorezm. M. 1948, pp. 64-65.

2. V. N. Chernetzov: Drevniaya istoriya Nizhnego Priobya MIA, 35, 1953, pp. 7-62.









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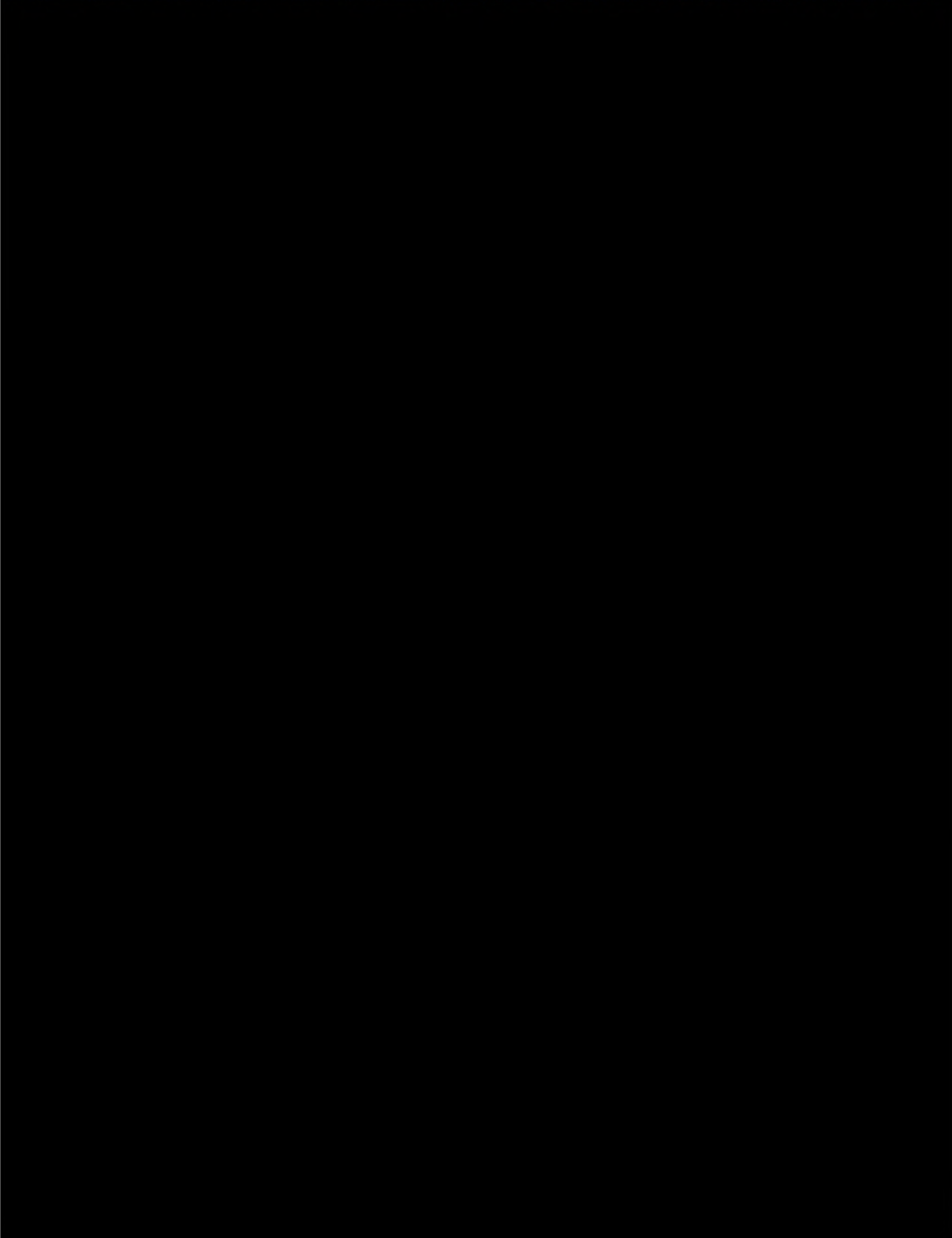
branch of the Jaxartes.<sup>13</sup> The Dahae culture differs greatly from that of the neighbouring Scythian tribes, to say nothing about the Chorasmian culture. A broad







The "Hall of Kings," "Hall of Victo- men's faces that are of particular interest. ries." "Hall of brown-faced Guards" "Hall They are brown varying from deep brown







We have taken four examples belonging to four different epochs, that prove the existence of strong mutual ties between Central Asia, Chorasmia in particular, and India over a period of about four thousand years.

We might extend our review to cover the more recent times, the epoch of migration of the Huns (the Huna as they are called in Indian chronicles and the Chionites or the Hephtalites as they are called in Western sources), concerning which we have at our disposal new and rather interesting materials; or to cover the epoch directly preceding the spreading of Islam in Central Asia (600-725 A.D.) when, according to the materials of our expedition and especially to those of other Soviet expeditions that examined the monuments of Sogdiana, the influence of the Indian culture this time brought over by the Hephtalites was again on the increase; and it found vigorous expression in remarkable paintings of those days such as are to be

seen at Varakhsha (near Bukhara)<sup>23</sup> and at Pyanjikent (near Samarkand).<sup>24</sup> But all this would be outside my theme and the size of this article.

In conclusion I should like to emphasize that all we have done so far, is only a beginning. If we could carry on our work for solving the problems I have spoken of, in close co-operation with our Indian colleagues, I am quite positive that all these problems would be solved convincingly and to an extent we can hardly dream of now.

KSIMK—Kratkiye Soobschenia Instituta Istorii Materialnoy Kultury.

MIA—Materialy i Issledovaniya po Archeologii SSSR.

TKhE—Trudy Khorezmskoy archeologo-ethnographicheskoy Ekspeditsiyi, A.N. SSSR.

VDI—Vestnik Drevnei Istorii.

23. V. A. Shishkin: Varakhsha. "Sovetskaya Archeologiya" V. 23, 1955, pp. 101-130.

24. Zhivopis drevnyego Pyanjikenta, M. 1954.

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## LOKMANYA BAL GANGADHAR TILAK

By JOGES C. BOSE

BAL Gangadhar Tilak was born at Ratnagiri in Maharashtra on 23rd July, 1856. His father Gangadhar Sastri, a teacher highly proficient in Mathematics and Sanskrit, accepted life as a sacred calling and never spent himself over paltry ends. His mother lived a pious, austere life such as to make her illustrious son think of her in terms of a *tapaswini*, devotee.

From Poona, where the family had shifted on his father's transfer, Tilak graduated with Honours in Mathematics and very high marks in Sanskrit. By the time, however, his parents were dead and he was married. What the poor family desired of him was to get employed in a gainful occupation. He could not, however, see to this in preference to a life, which would at the same time leave him free to serve the Nation. Ere long, he had come under the influence of that extraordinary character V. K. Chiplankar, who flared into a sombre prominence by challenging Madhav Govinda Ranade, the maker of modern Poona, for his conviction that British rule in India was 'a divine dispensation'. Chiplankar resigned his Government

service and described it as 'kicking off the chain.' In collaboration with Tilak, Agarkar and a few other enthusiasts, he started the New English School. They gradually broadened their scheme and founded The Deccan Education Society to function on the self-denial of its promoters. Their one looming passion was to rear up the youth in the love of their country, whereas the governmental institutions were designed to foster a sense of admiration for the ruling race. The school developed into a college; and Tilak, in addition to teaching Mathematics in the school, took up Sanskrit in the college.

A leading Anglo-Indian paper of Bombay, compared them with the Jesuits of old. It warned the Government that the future generation was bound to be moulded by these patriotic young men and not, as hitherto, by the European scholars, they came in contact with. What they, in fact, aimed at was best summed up by Principal Apte before the Education Committee, presided over by Dr. William Hunter. He said, "We have undertaken the

work of popular education with the firmest conviction and belief that of all the agents of human civilization, education is the only one that brings about material, moral and religious regeneration of fallen countries and raises them to the level of advanced nations by slow and peaceful revolutions and in order that it should be so, it must ultimately be in the hands of the people themselves." In affinity of thought and purpose, it is the same as Rabindranath Tagore's cult of National Education, promulgated at about the time—he was then in his early twenties. Tagore had pressed home the absurdity of begging of our rulers to give us an education, which will help us to liquidate their rule!

A year after they started the school, they brought out one *Maharatta* and one English weekly, the *Kesari* and the *Maharatta* respectively. In another year's time they got involved in a defamation case instituted by the Dewan of the Kolhapur State. What influence high government officials had directly to do in the matter cannot be ascertained with any certainty. It was, however, absolutely clear that the Dewan was edged on to the step by the Anglo-Indian Press. *The Times of India* described the *Maharatta* as 'the most perverse of prints dabbling in Kolhapur politics.' It is nobody's pleasure to recall that Ranade declined to come to the witness-box to say what he had said in so many friendly circles, e.g., that he believed fully in the authenticity of the offending letters, for which the prosecution was launched. A Kolhapur Sardar, who had written to Tilak about the complicity of the Dewan in the conspiracy against the prince, implored piteously not to divulge him. Tilak and Agarkar were given a sentence of four months.

Differences arose between Tilak and some other members on the question that no member, as Tilak passionately pleaded, was to employ himself in any other work for money or if he did it, he was to credit that money he thus earned to the account of the Society; and no less for the reason that his colleagues too readily fell in line with the Government and shirked an independent stand, as originally planned. Tilak resigned. A line from his letter of resignation bears truly and well how he took it. "I bid you goodbye," he said, "in the hope

that by severing myself from you, I may, perhaps be able to help you in preserving the harmony, so very essential to the welfare of the institution and it is for the sake of that harmony that I make a sacrifice of myself." It was, therefore, not without a wrench that Tilak separated himself from colleagues, with whom he had weathered many a storm for eleven years. He would rather accept the position than a compromise, which was fatal to the principle, he had taken pains to embody in the constitution, that the work of the Society was due to be taken up right in the spirit of the self-effacing Christian Missionaries, as belonging to a Mission and living for it.

In the new dispensation Tilak became the sole proprietor of the *Maharatta* and the *Kesari* with a debt of Rs. 7,000 hanging heavy on them. There were offers of help and patronage from dependable quarters if he joined the Bar. There were a good many, as well, coming forward to help him if he started another school. Tilak would not avail himself of either and brought to bear upon his public life a single-minded devotion.

Surendranath Banerjea had convulsed Bengal, which thought anew, thought ahead and radiated India with a new faith. Rabindranath Tagore took to preaching: The problem of India is the problem of her village and the real Nation lives in million poor hamlets. Ever since the founding of the Indian Association in Calcutta to make it the spearhead of people's discontent and resistance against foreign rule, India was energetically in high hopes—what next? The Indian National Congress came into being. The new-born intelligentsia was instinct with a confidence to forge ahead for a place amongst the go-ahead nations of the world. But the mass was as far removed from the current of this new life. There was, in fact, a pathetic outlandishness in the Congress leaders, immaculately dressed in European style, calling the mass in high falutin English as their flesh of flesh and bone of bones. It is silly to question their sincerity; but the vital touch of appeal was lacking. Tilak's entry into Indian politics was, therefore, well-timed. Here was the sure-footed trod of a giant in his stark simple habits living in all fours their humble life and speaking their

tongue. He cudgelled all that tended to a cultural indoctrination and said that the well-being of India lay in not being a distance-walker of the West and cluttering our life with her frippery and tinsels. He was for reviving the village Panchayet, which gave us the training in democracy and which, as an instrument of moral chastisement, was more effective than the Law enforceable by the Penal Code making us, in a sense, sneaks and cowards. When the amendment of the Bengal Tenancy Act was on the Legislative anvil, he declared that the land in reality belonged to the community collectively. So early as that, he stressed the need of organising the industrial labour. Such radicalism in the eighties of the last century was a misfit. It alarmed the ruling race. Their mouth-piece, the Anglo-Indian Press, was perpetually alert and missed no chance to have a fling at him. Most of the Congress leaders, as well, were not at home with him. One of them had the vulgarity to characterise his utterances as 'whining' and call him 'the boss of the Reay market'. But he exercised a strange fascination on the rising generation. "Among the thousands assembled at the Congress" (1890 Calcutta Congress), says J. Chowdhury, then a young Barrister and later on the Editor of *The Calcutta Weekly Notes*, "it was Tīlak who made a profound impression on me."

Tīlak had always been for the nationalists to capture as many seats in the Legislative Council as feasible. His view-point was that it was the one sure way to keep out 'yes men' out of the harm's way and help grow the sanction of the people. Whatever, he said, be the current Act by which India was being governed, it was to be fully exploited as the jumping-off ground for a better one. He was himself a member of the Bombay Legislative Council and a Fellow of the University of Bombay. He made either feel the weight of his blow.

It is so very surprising that with such a hard, exacting life, Tīlak found time to write his thesis, he published in 1893 under the title *The Orion or Researches into the Antiquity of the Vedas*. Professor Bloomfield of the John Hopkins University, U.S.A., hailed the book as 'an event which is sure to stir up the world of Science and Culture'. Stuck up in one

gruelling fight in an adoption case, when all the malign forces, official and non-official, which could muster strong, were arrayed against him, with the death of his eldest son to match, Tīlak wrote his masterpiece *Arctic Home in the Vedas*. In it he challenges the well-accepted version that the original home of the Aryans is the Caucasus mountains. It is, he argues to a logical finish, a region of the North Pole. One test of his transcendental intellect is his capacity to preserve inviolate the serenity of concentration in the midst of all sorts of troubles crowding round him thick and fast. The spark of his genius manifested itself when he was just sixteen and questioned the validity of Sankaracharya's interpretation of the *Geeta* emphasising *Jnan* (Knowledge) to the exclusion of *Karma* (Action) or at least to the extent it is not tempered by *Karma*. National activities, to which Tīlak always gave the priority, stood in the way and he could not pursue the subject. It was only when he was in the Mandalay Jail in 1908 that he completed his *Geeta Rahasya*. Tīlak's book *Vedic Chronology and Vedanga Jyotisha*, published after his death, only adds to the sense of awe and admiration, one feels about him. Even if engrossed in day-to-day fissiparous politics, he studied these rather abstruse subjects with the analytical brain and insight of a trained scholar.

In 1897, there was an outbreak of bubonic plague at Poona. Tīlak wrote in the columns of his papers that it was an extraordinary situation justifying, without question, extraordinary measures and exhorted the people to co-operate with the Government. He, however, minced no matters to criticise it for having placed the plague operations in charge of one Mr. Rand, who had created a bad name for high-handedness. He also expressed himself in strong terms against employing soldiers in such large numbers for relief works, because people, as he said, took fright of them for their forthright manners. As much he pin-pointed cases, where people were segregated without any provision being made for their stay, and where men and women of all ages were stripped of clothes, lest these carried infection, without a prior arrangement for their covers. At the same time, he was all-praise for the Plague

Committee but for which Poona streets, he accepted, would have been littered with decomposed bodies. Inscrutable are the ways of the bureaucracy, which gave a go-by to all that Tilak did in line with it, but what he did to criticise a Government measure or individual officers was suffered to fester into a gangrene.

Another trouble was brewing on a parallel line. As a rallying point of national honour, Tilak celebrated the Shivajee festival. (With regard to Shivajee, there was a controversy, which persisted long, as to whether it was at all justifiable on his part to have waylaid Azal Khan for murder. It gave a handle to the Anglo-Indian Press to propagate the view that Tilak supported murder if it was for a political purpose.)

Seven days after the celebration meeting, Rand and Lt. Ayerst of the Plague Operations were shot dead. The Collector of Poona, as instructed by the Government of Bombay, said in an open meeting that the murder was instigated by sedition-mongers. Tilak was no man to take it lying down. He hit back to say that such a wild charge against people at large was no less criminal than the murder itself.

He was hauled up to answer the charge of sedition. Surendranath Banerjea and Rabindranath Tagore took the initiative to raise for his defence funds in Bengal. They also arranged to have him defended by Mr. L. P. Pugh, an eminent Counsel of the Calcutta High Court. Justice Strachey of the Bombay High Court gave him a sentence of eighteen months. Henry A-quith, later on Prime Minister of Great Britain, argued his appeal before the Privy Council, which rejected it.

Such was the awesomeness of the ruling power and the mentality of some leaders of West India that there could be no resolution on Tilak in the following Congress at Amraoti. In fact, they also stood in the way of Tilak's portrait being one of those to adorn the Congress pandal. But Surendranath Banerjea made a full, ample compensation. Called upon to speak on the detention of Natu brothers, he said in the open session that 'the entire nation was in tears for Tilak' and struck his note of manly challenge—"Though I am here physically my soul is in jail attuned with Tilak's."

The house rose to a man in one spontaneous homage—'*Tilak maharajki jai*'.

A memorial was sent to the Secretary of State for India praying to remit Tilak's term of sentence. It was signed amongst others by Max Muller, Sir William Hunter, Dadabhai Nourajee and Romesh C. Dutt, then in full blaze of the Indian Civil Service. One of the grounds urged was that the conviction of Damodar Chaphekar on the strength of his confession of having murdered Rand and Ayerst and in no way being influenced by any writing of Tilak knocked the bottom of the suspicion, that gathered round Tilak. He was released when he had yet six months to serve. It is one sure proof of Tilak's nobility of heart that when Chaphekar, who had not even a nodding acquaintance with Tilak, approached him in jail to help him write his prayer for pardon, Tilak never for a moment thought that it was this man's rash act, which had in no small measure contributed to his incarceration. He drafted his petition, in scorn of the consequence that it was being as meticulously reported to the authorities.

Vinoba Bhave says that as Bengal rose, Tilak ran to stand by her side and prepared Maharashtra to follow suit. Tilak, in fact, took to the Swadeshi Movement with its Boycott of British Goods, National Education and Civil Disobedience as the occasion justified, as fish does to water. Nothing short of these would provide the mighty and volcanic Tilak a more adequate outlet. In collaboration with Bepin Chandra Pal, Aurobindo Ghose and Lajpat Rai, Tilak sought to make the aforesaid triple issues an All-India question. The old-school leaders would not, because India was not yet prepared for the challenge. From a difference of opinion there was conflict and from conflict a conflagration in the last week of December 1907, at the Surat Congress. It was rather the inevitable which happened in its relentless course. In the context of imprisonments, deportations, press-prosecutions and the Black and Tan in the form of communal barbarities etcetera in Bengal, what Shri Aurobindo Ghose says in the *Bande Mataram* of December 1, 1907, gives a clue to the split in the offing.

"They have now learnt truth", he says,

"that every drop of tear, each day of their suffering has been for them a preparation for complete redemption . . . . The bureaucracy will not have to reckon this time with a few self-styled leaders, who are only too eager to fall down and worship the idol of the hour, but with a newly-awakened people to whom the political freedom of the country has been elevated to the height of religious faith. . . . Those who want liberty must buy it for themselves, and it is poor statesmanship to try to hide the real nature of the struggle by a falsehood which, after all, deceives nobody and least of all our alien lords. . . . Those hugely credulous worthies, who have still the heart to lend their ears to the siren voice of a Morley, have never understood the true way to salvation, and dismayed by the greatness of the undertaking, have contented themselves by scoffing at an enthusiasm they seek to extinguish by their timidity and hesitation."

I have quoted the lines above, because nowhere, as I should think, is so succinctly stated and stated with a lyric fervour the difference of thought that divided the two schools. Though Tilak failed to 'swamp'—the expression is Tilak's own—the Congress, he set the ball rolling for a new set-up in the country. H. W. Nevinson of the *Manchester Guardian*, who was present at the Surat Congress, recalled the prophetic line of Goethe at Valmy that he witnessed the closing of the old and the beginning of a new era—*The New Spirit in India*.

No less engrossing and of deep concern to Tilak was that a section of the Bengal nationalists had taken to the cult of bomb. They had grown restive and were determined to force the issue. Tilak wrote in the *Kesari*, "The Muzafarpur incident is a grave tragedy. We denounce and disown it."\* At the same time, Tilak warned the Government: "Occasions like the present demand a consideration of the limit within which those in authority can flout public opinion and the limit beyond which they cannot try the patience of the ruled." The ruling oligarchy read it in the context of Tilak's

forthright denunciation of their Tsarist methods and hauled him up again for sedition. Bengal leaders were speaking in identical strain in the Press and on the platform. "My Lord", said Dr. Rash Behari Ghose to Lord Minto on floor of the Supreme Legislative Council, "I sincerely trust I shall not be now called upon to study the jurisprudence of Russia." Why then, I pause to reflect, was Tilak tracked like this? To me it seems to be remorselessly revealing that the Government of Bombay in running down Tilak had the moral backing of the local leaders of the opposite school. It was not so in Bengal despite sharp, irritating dissensions between the two. To take an extreme case, when the approver of the Alipore Conspiracy Case—the first case in India for waging war against the King—was shot dead within prison walls, Surendranath Banerjea distributed sweets to those who were seated with him at the *Bengalee* office in connection with a Committee meeting of National Education; and the venerable patriarch Dr. Sir Gurudas Banerjea participated.

Be that as it may, Justice Davar of the Bombay High Court, who was Tilak's junior counsel in his first sedition case, gave him a sentence of transportation for six years. Much more poignant than the sentence is the intemperate language, the judge used attributing to Tilak 'a diseased mind' and 'a perverted intellect', etc. These out-Herodings of Davar were of incalculable value to Sir Edward Carson, Chirol's counsel in *Tilak vs. Chirol Defamation* case. He pegged himself on them, nay, Davar's words precisely, for his cross-examination and address to the Jury. In all fairness, it needs being said, however, that Morley as Secretary of State for India writes, "I am watching with the deepest concern and dismay the thundering sentences that are now being passed for sedition,"—*Recollections*. Possibly, it was for this attitude of Morley that the Bombay Government sent Tilak to Mandalay instead of the penal settlement Andamans and commuted the rigorous into a simple imprisonment.

The moving finger writes and having writ moves on. As India celebrated Tilak's birth centenary, Chief Justice Chagla of the Bombay High Court unveiled a plaque in honour of Tilak in the very room, where he was twice

\* 'It is a mistake to think of Mr. Tilak as by nature a revolutionary leader; that is not his character or his political temperament'—Aurobinda in his Introduction to *Speeches and Writings of Tilak*.

convicted of sedition. Possibly, in expiation of Davar's pestilential acid—contrast the dignified language of Beachcroft sentencing prisoners of the Alipur Conspiracy case to various terms of imprisonment, nay, death and the urbanity of Broomfield convicting Gandhi to six years' imprisonment—Chagla said, "The inevitable verdict of history is that these two convictions are condemned as having been intended to suppress the voice of freedom and patriotism."

After Tilak had served almost the full term of six years—a month and odd days were yet to go—he was one day brought back to Poona and set free at two in the morning. He had in the meantime lost his wife and was now in a condition of health that did not permit him, as he said four days after at a public reception, 'to indulge in the exertion of talking.' Surendranath Banerjea welcomed him editorially in *The Bengalee* in the following terms: "Like the sun emerging from an eclipse he has once more flooded the atmosphere of Poona with joy and brightness." There were like congratulations from other parts of India. For days together there were streams of people in their holy trek to pay him their respects. It upset the 'feather-brained'\* Willingdon, the Governor of Bombay, because he had reported to the India Government that Tilak would not be able to rehabilitate himself to the force he was before conviction. Nine days after release, students and Government servants were forbidden on pains of penalty to visit him at his residence. The programme of Ganapati festival were under Government orders clipped of any demonstration in honour of Tilak alongside. He was placed under a ban not to participate in the immersion ceremony. His house was picketed by C.I.D. spies reporting arrivals. By now, The First Great War broke out. There was unanimity amongst Indian leaders to help England win the war. Tilak made a statement and the Government order, which was tantamount to an order of surveillance, was withdrawn. In the statement, i.e., the letter to the *Maharatta* Tilak said:

"The Reforms during Lord Morley's and Lord Minto's administration"—they came into

operation when Tilak was in the Mandalay Jail—"will show that the Government is fully alive to the necessity of progressive change and desire to associate the people more and more in the work of the Government. It is also claimed and fairly conceded that this indicates a marked increase in confidence between the rulers and the ruled and a sustained endeavour to remove popular grievances. . . . I confidently hope that in the end, the good arising out of the constitutional reforms will abide and prevail and that which is objectionable will disappear. . . . It is an article of faith with me and in my opinion such a belief alone can inspire us to work for the good of our country in co-operation with the Government."

With regard to the Revolutionary Movement Tilak said:

"I have no hesitation in saying that the acts of violence, which have been committed in different parts of India, are not only repugnant to me, but have, in my opinion, only unfortunately retarded, to a great extent, the pace of our political progress."

To complete the picture it needs being as much stated that Tilak said:

"It has been well said that British rule is conferring inestimable benefits on India not only by its civilized methods of administration but also thereby bringing together the different nationalities and races of India, so that a United Nation may grow out of it in course of time."

The aforesaid statement enunciates a political creed, which is basically at one with, say, Mehta's or Gokhale's. There were people to accuse Tilak of a climb-down. There were people to praise Tilak attributing to him the sagacity of a change in tactics. He had already indicated it in the public reception immediately after release. Tilak said in the meeting, "I am willing and ready to serve in the same manner and capacity which belonged to me six years before, though it may be, I shall have to modify my course a little." To interpret the above in its entirety, it needs as well being stated what he told Lord Willingdon, fairly a month and half after the aforesaid statement in the *Maharatta*. He told Willingdon that if he could he

\*The expression is Montagu's.



would resort to "unconstitutional and revolutionary methods" in order to "uproot the British Government, but it is impossible, impracticable, and even suicidal for us to follow such Irish methods in the present state of the country."

Now that Tilak was back, the Bengal leaders renewed their efforts to work out a rapprochement between the two wings of the Congress which split at Surat in December, 1907. Tilak had eloquently praised as worthy of emulation, what they did to compose the differences amongst Congress workers of Bengal and in having a joint session of the Provincial Conference at Pabna in February, 1908, Rabindranath Tagore presiding. The Bombay leaders Mehta and Wacha, however, would suffer no talk of a compromise. Gokhale at times betrayed his great anxiety for it. He was, however, sharply pulled by the other two. It is painful to recall the truculence with which Sir Pherozeshah Mehta scotched all attempts of a compromise. He went so far as to say, "I cannot help saying that there is a great deal of mawkish sentimentality in the passionate appeals for union at all costs. . . . For God's sake let us have done with all inane and slobbery whine about unity where there is none." There were loud, stinging retorts in the Bengal press. Surendranath Banerjea thought fit to raise his voice of protest in language, which is strong and calculated to read Mehta a homily on politeness. "Sir Pherozeshah Mehta", says he editorially in *The Bengalee*, "has described the desire for a united Congress as a mawkish sentimentality. We regret he should have used such language in relation to a wide-spread and deep-seated sentiment which inspires the political world of Bengal. What Extremist would have said anything more saucy and strident than what Surendranath said—"Bengal feels that a sectional Congress is not a National Congress and that this sectional Congress has no right to speak in the name of the Nation." It was, however, in 1916, that they were, in Tilak's words, united in the United Province and met their luck at Lucknow. Ambikacharan Mazumdar, the President-elect, had sent Tilak a personal invitation to attend the Congress.

Tilak had in the meantime started the

Home Rule League in order to activate the Congress demand for *Swaraj*. It had evoked such enthusiasm that the Government proposed to halt his march by prosecuting him for the third time for sedition. Tilak was bound down by the District Magistrate of Poona to enter into a bond of Rs. 20,000 to be of good behaviour for one year. The order was set aside by the Bombay High Court. To propose to teach the man to be of good behaviour, who as a school boy taught the *mali*—the menial tending the garden—of the Governor's house that the house belonged to the people and that he was being paid by the people to tend the garden, as such, he (Tilak) and his friends, as belonging to the public, had the right to the fruits thereof, has been one of the toughest propositions of British Rule in India. It was now the question of *Swaraj*, to the exclusion of any other, that Tilak sleeplessly devoted himself to. Edwin Montagu came to India for an on-the-spot study to help chalk out the line of governance in terms of the Declaration he, as the Secretary of State for India, made on the 20th Aug., 1917, on behalf of the Cabinet. The Declaration promised 'progressive realisation of responsible Government in India as an integral part of the British Empire'. It speaks well of Montagu that he rose above the dense, accumulated prejudice of Englishmen in India against Tilak. It was of a kind as even to construe Tilak responding to offer recruits for the War as 'a factor of sinister portent'. Montagu treated Tilak with great respect and consideration. Tilak told Montagu, "We shall accept what the British Democracy gives to the people of India and we shall ceaselessly struggle to secure what is withheld."—*An Indian Diary*. Tilak's political opponents taunted him for rallying round the Moderates. It was however no volte-face. Much earlier in 1907, he told H. W. Nevins of the *Manchester Guardian*, "Our object is to obtain eventually a large share in the administration of our country."—*The New Spirit in India*.

It was Tilak's lot, right from the beginning of his public life, to be traduced by the Anglo-Indian Press. It was a long, relentless crusade. Even with the ashes of his funeral pyre reeking hot, some of them were as vituperative. Tilak once caught the *Globe*, a paper of the Conservative Party, and the *Times of India* in the hip

and made them apologise to him. Because of Morley's attitude in the matter of Davar's sentence and a notion in England that Tilak was being harshly dealt with by the Bombay Government, some forces were at work to prepare a non-official brief against him. Sir Valentine Chirol proved handy. He came to India in 1910, and wrote his book *Indian Unrest* from out of his despatches to the *Times of London* and dedicated it to Morley. Tilak sued Chirol for Defamation in England. His counsel Sir John Simon told him in the plainest manner that he had absolutely no chance of a verdict in his favour from an English Jury and asked him to withdraw the case. But Tilak would not. The astute lawyer Sir John made a capital of such observation of Chirol as to constitute sure libel. They are that Tilak 'made the tepid and recalcitrant pay him from fear of the lash of his pen' and that 'his gymnastic clubs resolved into bands of dacoits to swell the coffers of *swaraj*'. It was a heinous charge and there was not an iota of evidence oral or documentary to justify it. And yet Sir John with all his forensic skill and eloquence made no headway with the Jury. Rather, they light-heartedly skipped over it and enjoyed Chirol's counsel Sir Edward Carson's counter-offensive. "You might as well tell me", he told the Jury, "that if a man is accused of murdering his mother-in-law and of stealing a pipe from his father-in-law's pocket, and it was proved that he did murder his mother-in-law but did not steal the pipe, he would get the damages." Sir John pointed his unerring finger of attack on Sir Valentine having drifted afield from Indian politics and given a perverted account of Tilak's part in an Adoption Case, even if he was upheld by the Privy Council. But nothing availed against Sir Edward Carson, as he charged Tilak having indoctrinated a generation of youth of Bengal and Maharashtra with the cult of bomb. He was described as the 'champion-libeller' of those England had sent to India to do their jobs, nay, against whom he had 'promoted crime and assassination in the vilest language unequalled in audacity.' It was a shattering perplexity for Tilak to be told before the English Jury if he could point out a single sentence in Chirol's book which was more severe than the comment Justice Davar

had made on him, e.g., that his articles seethed with sedition; that he preached violence; approved of murders and welcomed the bomb 'as if something has come to India for its good'. The verdict of the Jury, as Sir John had warned Tilak, was a foregone conclusion. They took precious twenty-seven minutes to return their verdict in Chirol's favour after a hearing of eleven strenuous days, when they were asked to consider a barrel-load of evidence and documents. And for this Tilak spent near about three lakhs of rupees.

Sir John drew out from Chirol in 'cross-examination' that the Bombay and India Government archives and officials were at his disposal for what information he chose to collect for his book to the extent that one would not be wrong to suggest that it was written at the instance of the Government. It also came to light that he was being freely supplied such official information as were denied to Tilak even, on request, for the purpose of his case, leave alone the privileged documents of the sacrosanct C.I.D. Two officials, present in the Court, were pointed out as being deputed from India to help Chirol conduct his case. It was further confirmed that to assist him in the Defamation case, the India Government was fully at one with the Bombay authorities and in between them they made a merry use of the Indian taxpayer's money. The Secretary of State, Austin Chamberlain, was stampeded into it by the elaborate notes of the Home Member and Law Member of the India Government. Their one plea was that if Chirol failed, Tilak would sue the Secretary of State for damages. Chirol had already had his other reward in Knighthood. There is some sauce in recalling that years back Chirol came to India to report Lord Curzon's Delhi Durbar. He happened to insult an Indian doctor, who sued him in a Court of Law. Chirol approached Curzon to save him the public ignominy. Curzon declining, the lusty John Bull had to apologise.

Relieved of the strain of his case, Tilak concentrated on his Home Rule mission. The India Office refused to forward his Representation on behalf of the Indian Home Rule League to the Peace Conference at Paris and refused him pass-port

for a trip to France. He was, however, eminently successful in establishing contact with the leaders of the Labour Party and enlisted their active sympathy for India. At the Trade Union Congress at Glasgow Ramsay Macdonald spoke of him as the embodiment of India's grievances and desired him to convey their message to India that the Labour Party would stand by her. Through the good offices of Montagu, Tilak appeared as a witness before the Joint Parliamentary Committee of Reforms. Lord Sydenham, a member of the Committee, left the room immediately as Tilak was announced. No member asked him any question by way of clarification, obviously, to take no notice of him as of no importance. Montagu, however, made amends by calling him a second time for an interview. But the greatest compensation for Tilak was that to the extent he was ignored by the ruling oligarchy and the diehards, he was hailed in India as her symbol of redemption from bondage.

On his return, December 1919, Tilak was given a civic reception by the Poona Municipality—the first non-official to receive such honour. It was however too much for Raghunath Paranjpye, the Principal of the Fergusson College, Tilak took great pains to found. He descended to the length of presenting through the columns of the *Bombay Chronicle* a charge-sheet detailing Tilak's many 'sins of omission and commission.' This was to justify his opposition to the other address which was being arranged for Tilak in the name of the 'citizens of Poona.' The time chosen to assail Tilak was singularly inappropriate. In fact, if the shade of Gokhale—he died on 19-2-15—still lingered round his loved haunts, it was, without question, disturbed by such vandalism, as much as Tilak's definitely was by Khaparde calling Gokhale a Government spy.\*

\* Jawaharlal Nehru narrates how in the house of Dr. Rashbehari Ghose at Summerhills, Simla, Khaparde spoke of Gokhale being a spy and Dr. Ghose was beside himself in rage to hear it.

The same December, Tilak took a leading part to make the Amritsar Congress resolve to work the Reforms even if it was 'inadequate,' 'unsatisfactory' and 'disappointing.' But he was fast developing signs of wear-out. Despite medical warnings he moved from one end of the country to the other to explain his creed of Responsive Co-operation. What, however, was once a dynamo of untiring strength broke down. The last words, he muttered in a state of delirium, were in respect of the Special Congress in Calcutta, where Mahatma Gandhi was to move three days after his Non-co-operation Resolution. In the early hours of 1st August, 1920, Tilak dropped the last breath of mortal life—immortally lived.

The most significant obituary note on Tilak—the one that comprehensively sums up his position in relation to India's struggle for Freedom—is that of the British Labour Party's organ, the *Daily Herald*, e.g., that he was 'the best hated man of all Anglo-Indian autocrats' The cycle is complete as we recall that the other Indian as hated is Netaji Subhas Bose. As to the integrity of his service what C. Rajagopalachari says abides. "No great man," says he, "was less troubled with a memory of himself or the thought how he figured in anything."\* As to the distinctive turn, he gave to Indian politics and the promise that marked him, what Shri Aurobindo says is the last say in the matter. 'Tilak', he says, 'has Indianised Indian politics.' As he said this in the *Indu Prakash* of Bombay—Aurobindo was then barely twentyone—he indicated the line, e.g., "The proletariat of India held the real key to the situation; whoever succeeded in understanding and eliciting its strength was bound to be the master of the future." Whether Tilak was a revolutionary, who would not. abjure violence or a constitutionalist, who, however virile and assertive in the expression of his views, would not get off the rails, the consensus of opinion, that sticks fast to him, is that he was determined ruthlessly and without scruple to compass the freedom of India.

\*Foreword to S. L. Karandikar's *Biography of Tilak*.

## MINORITY NATIONALITIES IN CHINA

By SUBHASH CHANDRA SARKER

China, "the greatest social edifice mankind has yet brought forth,"<sup>1</sup> is a land of many nationalities. The Han (Chinese) constitutes the overwhelming majority of the people, accounting for about ninety-four per cent of the total population. Besides the Han nationality there are sixty-odd national minorities with a total population of about thirtysix millions constituting approximately six per cent of the total population. The ethnic composition of the people of China, as given in the latest census report, is as follows (excluding Taiwan and the twelve million Chinese resident overseas)<sup>2</sup>.

| Nationality         | Number      |
|---------------------|-------------|
| Han (Chinese)       | 547,283,057 |
| Mongol              | 1,462,956   |
| Hui                 | 3,559,350   |
| Tibetan             | 2,775,622   |
| Uighur (Turki)      | 3,640,125   |
| Miao                | 2,511,339   |
| Yi                  | 3,254,269   |
| Chuang              | 6,611,455   |
| Puyi                | 1,247,883   |
| Korean              | 1,120,405   |
| Manchu              | 2,418,931   |
| Other nationalities | 6,718,025   |
| Total               | 582,603,417 |

The minority nationalities are scattered over wide areas mostly in the border regions. Though they constitute only six per cent of the total population they occupy nearly fifty per cent<sup>3</sup> of the country's total area of 3.76 million square miles. There are a dozen different nationalities in North-west China, viz., Uighurs, Hui, Tibetans, Kazakhs, Tartars, Tadjijs, Manchus, Khalkhas, Ty, Uzbeks, Tungshiang, Mongolians, Solon and Salé totalling about 6,300,000 people, roughly one-fifth of the population in the area. The

minorities in the South-west number more than twenty million and constitute about twenty per cent of the total population of that part of China. They are: the Tibetans, Yi, Miao, Hui, Tai, Puyi, Minchia, Nahsi, Kawa, and others. About eight to nine million minorities constituting one-twentieth of the population of the regions live in Central and South China among whom are the Chuang, Miao, Yiao, Tung, Hui, Li, Kuolo, Ling, Lai and the Maonan. The minorities living in North-West China include the Koreans, Manchus, Mongolians, Hui and Tanuerh.

The numerical strength of the minorities varies from a few hundred (the Hochinh—the smallest nationality totalling about six hundred now) to over six millions (the Chuang—the largest minority nationality in China). The more numerous nationalities have been listed in the table above.

### Social Conditions

The Minorities differ from one another as much as, sometimes even more, than they differ from the Chinese in respect of economic and cultural development and religious beliefs. The Manchus, who use the Chinese language, are almost on a par with the Chinese economically and culturally while the Olunchuns inhabiting the forests of Khingan Range of Inner Mongolia and North-East China still live on hunting. Generally speaking, however, the minority nationalities are in a state of extreme social, economic and political backwardness. Many of the Minorities including the most numerous Chuang even have no written language and little is known about their social and cultural life. The complexity of the social nature of the minority nationalities is given by the fact that quite often the different socio-economic elements emerge in the same society. Until recently the Yi people who were in the stage of slavery had also a system of land-lordism. Geographical difference also introduces a distinctive characteristic. Even when different nationalities are in the same stage of economic

1. Paul, M. A. Linebarger: *China of Chung Kci Shek*, Boston, 1943; p. 2.

2. State Statistical Bureau: *Communique on the Census*, Peking, November 1, 1954.

3. Gyan Chand: *The New Economy of China* (Factual Account, Analysis and Interpretation), Bombay, 1958, p. 247.

development they have their own peculiar features. The manors of the *hoka* (ruling class) in Sinkiang, the system of the Thais in West Yunnan all of whom were in the feudalist stage have marked differences from one another.<sup>4</sup> Chinese sociologists however are compiling some data to overcome the handicap in the knowledge of the social and cultural life of the minority people which complicates the task of identifying the minority nationalities and evolving suitable policies. A research group formed jointly by the Chinese Academy of Sciences, the Central Institute of Nationalities, Yunnan University, the Chinese Communist Party (C.C.P.) school and the C.C.P. Tali District Committee of Yunnan province is busy compiling a short history, a short manual and a brief introduction to the autonomous chow of the Pai minority with reference to the nature of production, class struggle and the experience with socialist construction. Generally the studies initiated by the Communist Party lay stress upon three important points: (a) Observation of the new things created by the people under the leadership of the Communist Party and the Government "paying attention to how the new culture and new life grew, in what manner they are accepted by the masses and how the new needs of the masses are met"; (b) an assessment of the old culture of the people "to understand better the contradictions existing in the new culture and new way of life," and (c) a "penetrating survey of the national pattern of culture and life of each nationality and of the law of changes in such pattern" with a view to gaining a better perspective for the application of new policies.<sup>5</sup>

#### Policy of the Government

The policy of the Communist Government to the minority nationalities is gov-

erned by the "General Programme of the People's Republic of China for the implementation of Regional Autonomy for Nationalities" promulgated by the Central People's Government on August 9, 1952, and by the "Decisions on Measures for the Establishment of Local Democratic Coalition Government of Nationalities" of the Central Government on February 22, 1952. The policy is designed to remove the existing inequalities suffered by the minorities and to offer them adequate scope for self-development so that ultimately the differences between the Han (Chinese) and the minorities disappear completely. With a view to ensuring special attention to the development of minorities the Communist Party has introduced the principle of regional autonomy for minority groups. According to the "general programme" there are three main types of national autonomous areas: (a) those established on the basis of an area inhabited by one minority nationality; (b) those established on the basis of an area in which one minority nationality predominates in number though in it are included areas inhabited by other minority nationalities with very small populations (Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region); (c) those established on the basis of a number of areas each of which is inhabited by a different minority nationality (Kwangsi Chuang Autonomous Region). The National autonomous units may include areas with predominant Han (Chinese) population; but the Han minority within an autonomous unit cannot claim regional autonomy for itself except that in localities within a national autonomous region where the number of Hans is exceptionally large, a "democratic coalition government" of nationalities is formed in which the different nationalities inhabiting the area are represented on the basis of the ratio in population.

#### Constitutional Provisions

The constitution of the People's Republic of China adopted in September, 1954 declares China to be a multi-national country<sup>6</sup> and proclaims the equality of all

4. Fei Hsiao-tung and Lin Yao-hua: "A Study of the Social Nature of the Minority Nationalities," *Jen Min Jih Pao* (JMJP), Peking, August 14, 1956.

5. Fei Hsiao-tung and Lin Yao-hua: "A Study of the Culture and Life of the Minority Nationalities," JMJP, Peking, August 16, 1956.

6. Article 3 of the Constitution.

the nationalities in China and guarantees the right to regional autonomy to all the minority nationalities living in compact communities. It forbids discrimination against any nationality. The National People's Congress, the supreme organ of state power in China, is required to constitute Nationalities Committee with members from among the persons elected to the Congress to deal with matters of importance to the various national minorities of China.<sup>7</sup> The Nationalities Committee constituted by the First National People's Congress had 84 members five-sixths of whom were members of minority nationalities.

Formerly all national autonomous units were called autonomous regions. In the constitution they are classified as autonomous regions (equivalent to provinces), autonomous *chou* (an intermediate unit between the autonomous *Chou* and the autonomous *hsien*) and autonomous *hsien* (counties) according to the size and population of each. In April 1959, according to the statement of Premier Chou En-lai, there were four autonomous regions (Inner Mongolia, Sinkiang Uighur, Kwangsi Chuang, and the Ninghsia Hui Autonomous regions), twenty-nine autonomous *Chou* and fifty-four autonomous *hsien* in China. In addition there was the Preparatory Committee for the Tibet Autonomous Region which had come into being in April 1956 with a view to establishing an autonomous region in Tibet.<sup>8</sup>

The organisation and work of the organs of self-government in the autonomous areas are specified in section V of chapter two of the constitution. The basic principles of organization are the same as apply to the organisation of the other local

organs of state power.<sup>9</sup> The form of each organ of self-government is determined in accordance with the wishes of the people of the area. The powers of the various organs are analogous to those enjoyed by other organs of the state at the corresponding level. Their functions and powers include, within limits set by law and the constitution, the administration of their own local finances and the organization of their own public security forces in accordance with the military system of the State. Subject to endorsement by the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, their powers further extend to drawing up statutes governing the exercise of autonomy, or separate regulations suited to the political, economic and cultural characteristics of the nationality or nationalities in a given area.<sup>10</sup>

Article 72 of the Constitution enjoins upon the higher organs of the State to safeguard fully the right of organs of self-government to all autonomous counties to exercise autonomy and to assist the various minority nationalities in their political, economic and cultural developments.

By virtue of Article 24 of the Electoral law of the Republic the minority nationalities are guaranteed 150 seats in the National People's Congress (Parliament) of China, whose membership exceeds 1,200, to be filled in by minority representatives elected from amongst the minority nationalities themselves, besides minority deputies elected otherwise. They have been accorded further facilities in the matter of election and representation which enable even those who are scattered over the country to elect their representatives.

### Government

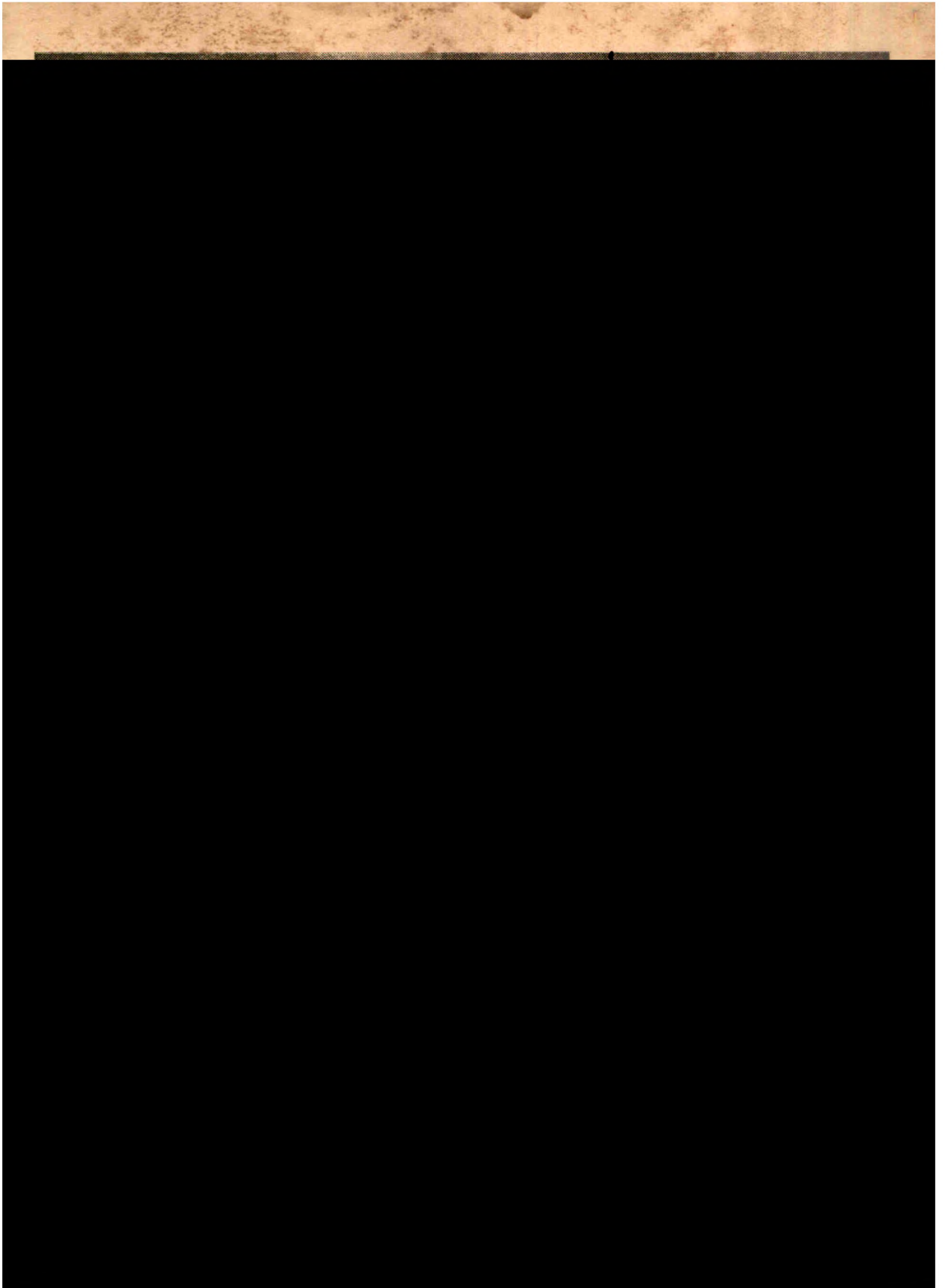
The constitution lays down that the organs of Government in the autonomous regions, *chou* and *hsien*, nationality *hsiang* are the respective people's congresses. Deputies to such people's Congress are elected indirectly by those of the lower levels save that the people's Congress at the basic level is elected by direct and universal

7. Art. 34, *Ibid*.

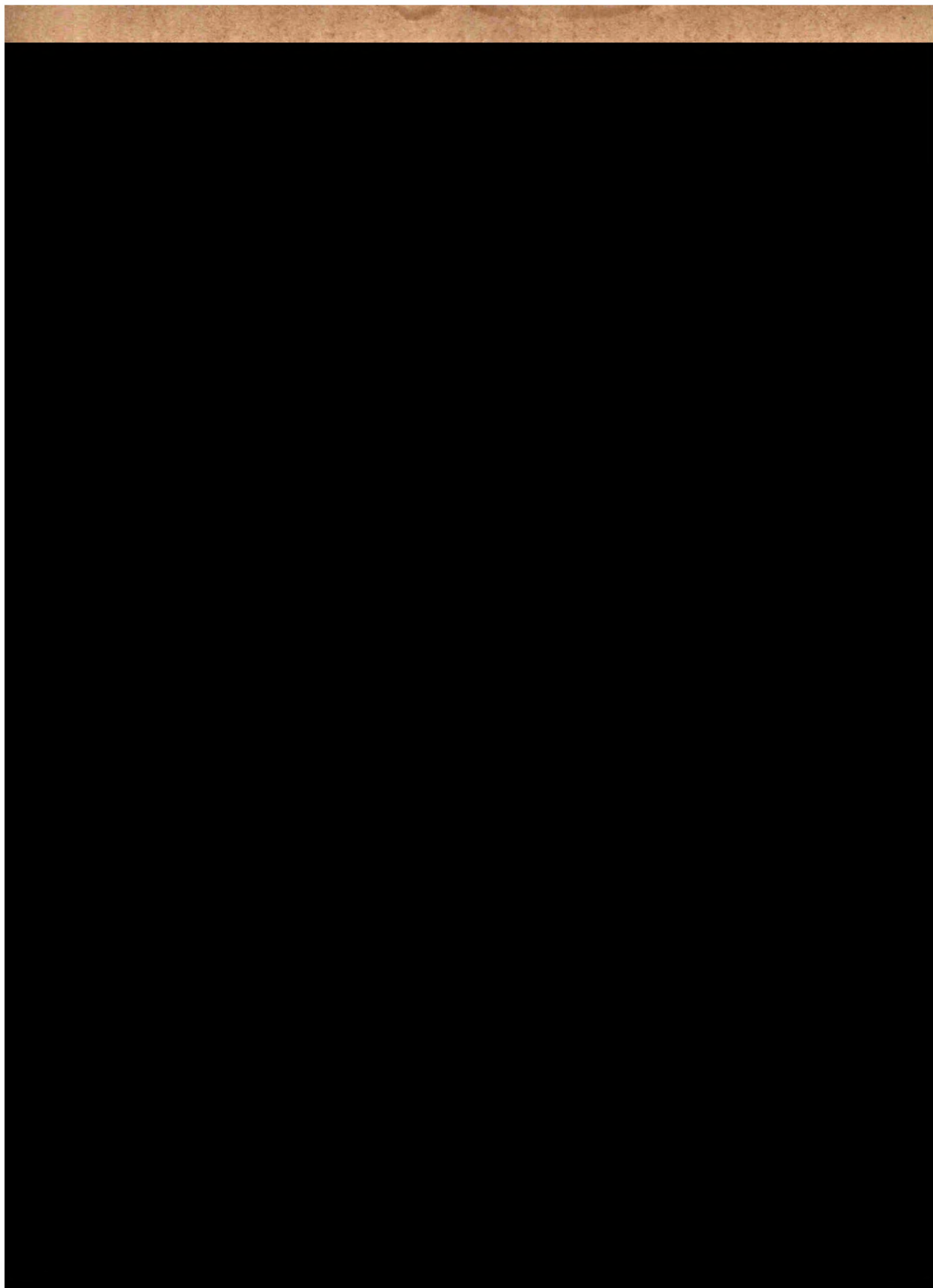
8. Chou En-Lai: *Report on the Work of the Government* (Speech delivered before the first session of the Second National People's Congress in Peking on April 18, 1959). English text in *China Today* (Embassy of the People's Republic of China), New Delhi, April 25, 1959. A list naming the minority autonomous regions as in 1954 is to be found in W. Gordon East and A. E. Moddie: *The Changing World*, London, 1956. Section on "Communist China" by C. A. Fisher, p. 574.

9. Art. 67 of the Constitution.

10. Art. 70, *Ibid*.







franchise. The numerical strength of the people's Congress of the autonomous region varies with the population of the region. The counties each elect from one to five deputies to the regional Congress.

The term of the office of the people's Congress of the autonomous region is four years and the term of office of other local people's congresses as two years. The local people's Congresses at each level "ensure the observance and execution of laws and decrees in their respective areas; draw up plans for local economic and cultural development and for public works; examine and approve local budgets and financial reports; protect public property; maintain public order, safeguard the rights of citizens and the equal rights of national minorities." They have supervisory authority over the local people's councils of the respective levels and can revise or annul the decisions of people's councils and people's Congresses of the next lower level. At the top of all stands the National People's Congress which is the sole legislative body in the country with overriding authority over all other organs.

The people's Congresses elect the people's councils of the respective levels which serve as the local government and are responsible to the people's Congresses of the corresponding level and are also subject to the direction of the people's councils of the higher level. A people's council generally consists of a chairman, several vice-chairmen and a number of other members who look after the various departments of the government.

### Reforms

Except the Manchus almost all the other minorities had an agricultural economy or an economy of animal husbandry. As has already been mentioned until recently they were in different stages of slavery, feudalism and capitalism. As part of the national programme agrarian and other reforms were carried out in the minority areas as well. However, reforms, at any rate in early stages, were introduced in the minority areas only after their implementation in the Han (Chinese) areas. Explaining

the provisions in the constitution on the minorities Liu Shao-Chi, who submitted the report of the committee for drafting the constitution, said that on account of the uneven development of the various nationalities in China the constitution visualised different dates for the achievement of socialism by the various nationalities. For historical reasons the Han people, who comprised the overwhelming majority of the population, had a relatively high political, economic and cultural level and were therefore more likely to achieve socialism earlier than others; so that "by the time socialist transformation is under way among the national minorities the work of building socialism will probably have achieved big successes in most parts of the country. By then conditions for socialist transformation among these national minorities will be more favourable because by that time the state will have still greater material strength to help them."<sup>11</sup>

An idea of how the reforms were introduced in the minority areas is formed from a reference to the experience in the nationality areas of Szechwan where it took about a year, from February 1956 to February 1957, to complete the task. In the Hsichang administrative district of the province which has a population of 300,000 including 220,000 people of Yi nationality and is composed of two autonomous *hsien*, two autonomous *Chu* 118 nationality *hsiang*, 28 multi-nationality inhabited *hsien*, 28 multi-nationality inhabited *Chu* and 63 multi-nationality inhabited *hsiang*. The process of implementation was as follows: The first steps were taken in one (Ningnan) *hsien* in February 1956. With the gain of experience, reforms were extended to six *hsien* including Hsichang, Techang, Huili and Huitung in the course of the following several months. And by February 1957 the introduction of reforms was completed in areas with a population of 140,000; was in the process of implementation in areas inhabited by about 90,000 people (excluding the

11. Liu Shao-Chi: Report on the Draft Constitution of the *People's Republic of China*, Peking, 1954, pp. 48-49.

people of Han nationality who had effected reforms long before). The entire process was peaceful. "There was no digging up the last cash, no accounting for the old debts, no face to face denunciation, no throwing into prison, no killing. The surplus portion of property was purchased in all *hsien* (counties) except in Ningnan *hsi n* where it was requisitioned. In accordance with the spirit of the policy of the Government of not lowering the treatment and living standard of the upper level personnel, consideration was given to the owner of slaves who experienced difficulties when purchase or requisition was made."<sup>12</sup> In the seven *hsien* where the reforms had been completed, the people had set up thirteen higher agricultural producers' co-operatives, 107 lower agricultural products' co-operatives and 1,175 mutual aid teams by the end of 1956.

The reforms in all the areas of the Liangshan yi autonomous Chou—which is the name of the area—were completed at the end of 1957. In the latter part of 1958 when the movement for establishing communes was launched throughout the nation the area was not excluded from the purview of the movement unlike what had been done at the time of earlier reforms. By August, 1959, the autonomous *chou* had set up 33 people's communes and more than 1,000 advanced agricultural producers co-operatives.<sup>13</sup>

At the beginning of the year 1959 reforms had been carried out in all the minority areas except Tibet and a few other places. The introduction of reforms in Tibet had been deferred until 1963 by a decision of the Chinese Communist Party.<sup>14</sup>

12. Speech of Io Ya-ying before the third session of Second National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Council (CPPCC) on March 11, 1957, reported in *JMJP*, March 12, 1957.

13. *Daily News Release* (henceforth cited as DNR) of the Hsinhua (official Chinese) News Agency, Hongkong, August 16, 1959, page 9.

14. Mao Tse-tung: "On the Correct Handling of the Contradictions within the Ranks of the People"—*DNR*, June 19, 1957.

The rising in Tibet in March 1959 culminating in the dissolution of the Tibet Local Government and the flight of the Dalai Lama to India however saw the reversal of that decision of the Party. The National People's Congress in a resolution adopted in April called for steps to be taken for the introduction of reforms in Tibet. On July 17, 1959 the plenary session of the reconstituted Preparatory Committee for the Tibet Autonomous Region decided to implement the resolution with immediate effect.<sup>15</sup> The Preparatory Committee resolution envisages the introduction of the reforms in Tibet in two stages: The first stage is the mobilization of the masses through the suppression of the rebellion, and the campaign to oppose rebellion, unpaid forced labour, the treatment of persons as chattels and to reduce rent and interest; the second stage will consist in the redistribution of land.

The reforms are already in the process of implementation and involve changes not only in land ownership but also in administration, law, religion and social customs. The Communist Party is following a policy of discriminating confiscation paying some sort of compensation to feudal lords and monasteries remaining loyal to the Communists but withholding these concessions from those who sided with the Dalai Lama.<sup>16</sup>

#### Progress in the Minority Areas

Striking progress has been registered in the minority areas since the victory of the Chinese revolution in 1949. There has been all-round development in the economic and social fields and the crude suppression of the minorities has become a thing of the

15. *DNR*, July 21, 1959, pp. 89. See also *DNR*, July 3 (for the summary of Panchen Lama's speech), July 8 (for the summary of the speech of Ngapo Ngawang Jigme, the Vice-Chairman and Secretary-General of the Preparatory Committee for Tibet Autonomous Region).

16. *DNR*, July 8, 1959, p. 3; *DNR*, July 3, 1959, pp. 25, 36.

past.<sup>17</sup> A number of measures have been adopted by the Government of various levels to help the nationalities develop their economy, culture and education.<sup>18</sup> These measures include liberal provision of subsidies and loans, technical assistance, free medical service, training of minority nationality specialists and administrators by the various schools for nationalities and trade on a fair and equitable basis. Irrigation has been expanded and diversification of crops and occupations has been introduced and encouraged.<sup>19</sup> The total value of industrial production in the four autonomous regions in 1958 was eighty-eight per cent higher than in the preceeding year, while the increase in the output of food was eighty-three per cent (these figures would justify a downward reappraisal following the disclosures of statistical mistakes in the August plenum of the Central committee of the Chinese communist party).<sup>20</sup> Educational efforts got a spurt in

the national minority areas and by the first half of 1958 the enrolment of the minority nationality primary school students reached 3,190,000; middle school students 311,000 and students in higher educational institutions 16,000. Summing up the situation, the Chinese Prime Minister Chou En-lai told the National People's Congress: "Of the country's population of 36 million, the number of students totalled 3,510,000. Compared with pre-liberation days, the number of primary school pupils has increased over six times, middle school students 70 times: and students in higher educational institutions 27 times.<sup>21</sup> <sup>22</sup> If it is recalled that a good many among the minorities had no written language of their own at the date of liberation the magnitude of the achievement becomes truly apparent.<sup>23</sup>

While the record of achievement in the field of social and economic development has been impressive it becomes less remarkable as we turn to the progress in political autonomy under the Constitution. As

17. Gyan Chand: *Op. Cit.*, p. 289 ("It is great gain that these minorities have been guaranteed equality under the Constitution, and the provision is being respected in theory and practice"); Solomon Adler: *The Chinese Economy*, London, 1957, p. 22 ("A rational national minorities programme was inaugurated. Based on complete equality between all national and ethnic groups, it abolished the old-style feudal-imperialist exploitation of minorities by the Han Chinese governing class, which had been a prime cause of inter-racial antagonisms and tensions; Hewlett Johnson: *China's New Creative Age*, London, 1953, p. 72; George Mot. Katrin (Ed.), *Major Governments of Asia*, Cornell University Press, New York, 1958, Section on China by Harold C. Hinton, p. 94 (Mr. Hinton considers the lot of the minorities to be the worst despite constitutional provisions—yet qualifies his statement by saying that the enjoyment of cultural autonomy is "less of a fiction than political autonomy.")

18. Fei Hsiao-tung: "Free and Equal Family," *People's China* (fortnightly), Peking, May 16, 1955.

19. *DNR*, June 15, 1959, p. 5; July 18, 1959, p. 3.

20. Text of the Central Committee's resolution in *DNR*, August 27, 1959, pp. 5-10; see also the communique, pp. 1-4.

21. Chou En-lai: *Report on the work of the Government, Cited.*

22. Ulanfu: "Successes in Nationalities Work and Questions of Policy" (Report of the Chairman of the Nationalities Affairs Commission of the First National People's Congress to the third session of the Congress on June 27, 1956). "Approximately over 20,000,000 of the 35,000,000 minority nationals have no written language of their own or no popular written languages."

23. An idea of the nature of the problems that have to be dealt with in educating the minorities is given in the following extract from a deputy's speech before the National People's Congress on June 2, 1956: "Owing to the great mobility of the herdsmen, permanent schools are lacking in pastoral areas. As the herdsmen are widely scattered, the students are unable to attend schools early in the morning and come back in the evening. If the students live in hostels it will not only reduce the labour power of the families, but will also increase the financial burden of the families. Therefore it has been difficult to establish primary schools in pastoral areas, and even if they have been established it will be difficult to consolidate them" (Hsijaochiatso, Chairman of the China Buddhist Association), *NCN*, Peking, June 27, 1956.

matter of fact the provisions regarding political and economic autonomy have largely remained a dead letter.<sup>24</sup> Notwithstanding the provision in Article 71 of the Constitution that in performing their duties the organs of state in all autonomous units should employ the spoken and written language commonly used by the minorities living in the area, nothing much was done to implement this in practice—presumably because of the difficulties presented by the absence of written languages in many cases. Mr. Li Wei-han therefore uttered the following warning in May 1957: "This provision (Art. 71) must be carried out, if the autonomy organs are to closely approach and link up with the masses of the people of the local nationality, and to serve them properly."<sup>25</sup> There has yet been no clear demarcation between central and provincial functions and revenue though efforts are being made to evolve a satisfactory solution.

The extreme economic and political backwardness of the minorities coupled with the historical antagonism between the Chinese and the minorities has a tendency to generate Pan-Han-ism, which is manifested in the impatience of the Chinese with the habits and ways of life of the minorities and seeks to mould their lives according to the Chinese pattern on the one hand and local nationalism which seems to sense danger in every reform suggested by the Chinese, irrespective of its soundness on the other. In so far as the Chinese are in a comparatively advantageous position culturally, politically, materially and numerically, the Communist leaders have characterised Pan-Han-ism as the chief impeding factor in the implemen-

tation of a healthy nationalities policy.<sup>26</sup> Of the clashes that have so far occurred between the Chinese and the minorities that in Tibet has been the most violent and far-reaching in its impact.

The development of the minority areas has a special significance for China because a success in this field would revolutionize the social and economic life not only of the minorities bringing them to the level of the progressive people of the world, but also of the whole of China. In a way it may hold the key to the future glory of China in so far as the only way of reducing the almost overbearing pressure of population in certain parts of China,<sup>27</sup> which is growing more acute with the growth of population, may lie in opening out the vast expenses of the underpopulated minority areas, which are rich in mineral and forest resources and hold great potentialities for development, for large-scale colonization by the Chinese. The most important problem in the development of minority areas is the absence of that degree of concentration of population which provides a fillip to development. The Government has sought to encourage a programme of large-scale Chinese resettlement in minority areas which is however faced with the twin opposition of the patent unwillingness of the Chinese to move out of familiar environment to face an uncertain future and the unconcealed distrust, sometimes amounting to active hostility, of the minorities, who cherish bitter memories of past Chinese oppression, of Chinese intentions.

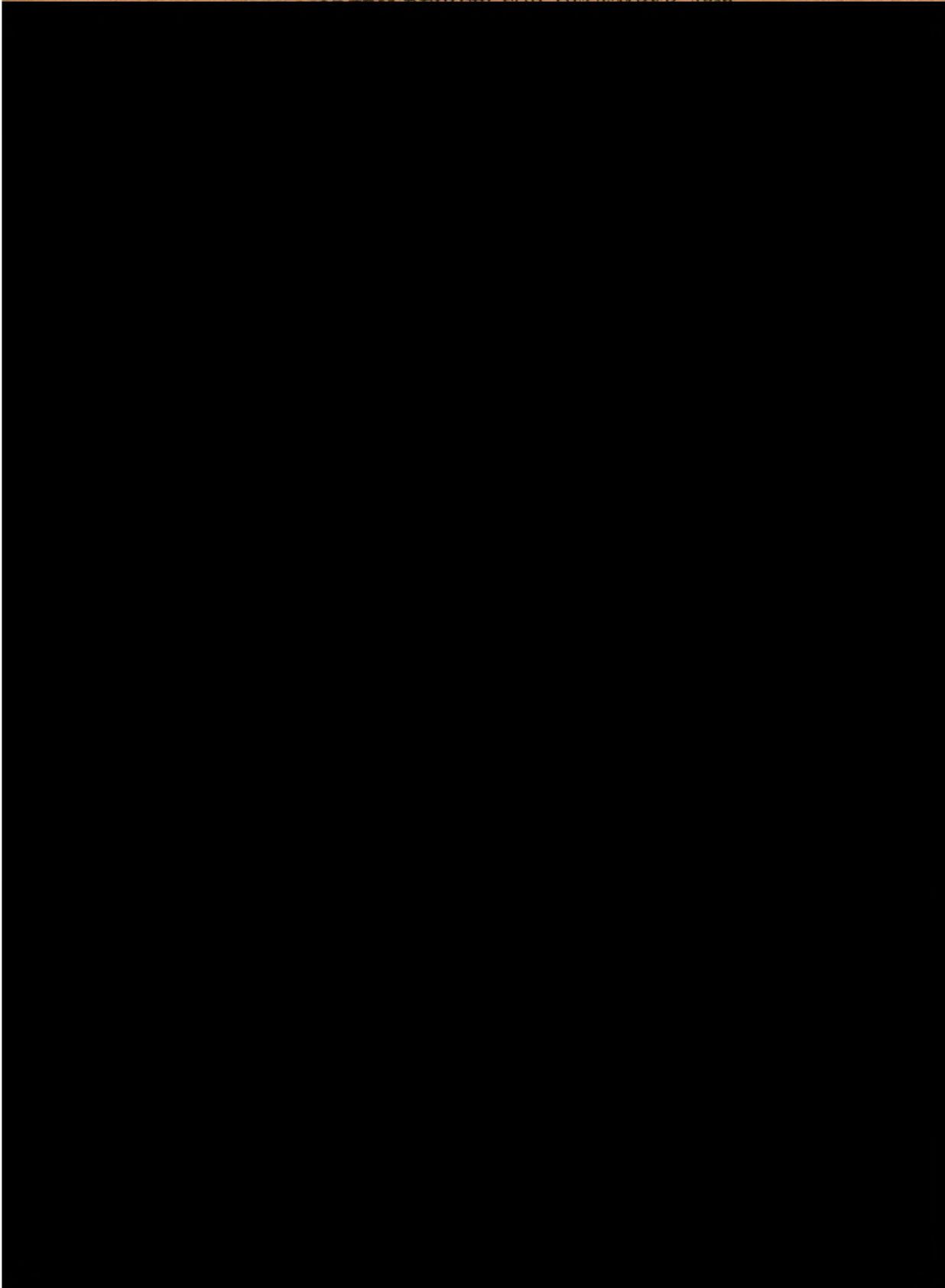
24. See Li Wei-han (Director of the United Front Department of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party); "Some views on the question of the Establishment of the Chuang Nationality Autonomous Region," *JMJP*, Peking, May 4, 1957. "Since the promulgation of the Constitution, the various autonomous *Chou* and *Hsien* have seldom exercised the right" granted to them under Article 70 of the Constitution, he says.

25. *Ibid.*

26. "The key to the solution of this problem (of removing the distrust and inequality between the various nationalities in China)," says Mao Tse-tung, "lies in overcoming great-Han Chauvinism."—See note 14 above.

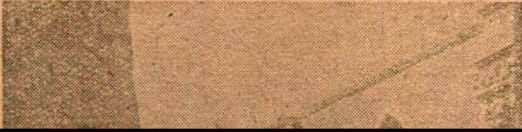
27. Ninety per cent of the 600 million people of China live on only one-sixth of the country's area, while in the remaining five-sixths live but sixty million people. See Subhash Chandra Sarker: "Population Planning in China," *Population Review* (Indian Institute for Population Studies), Madras, Vol. II, No. 2 (July), 1958, p. 31.

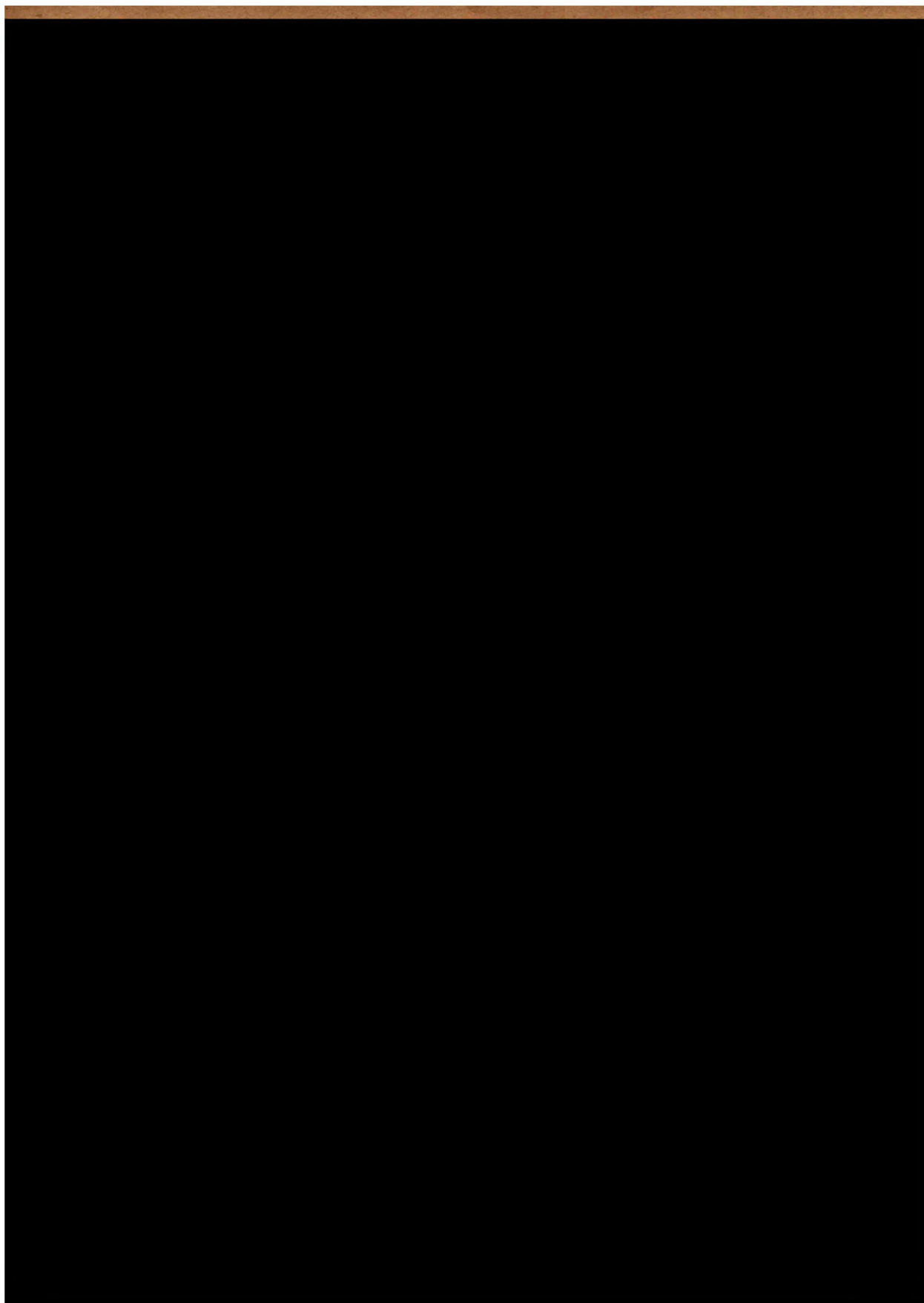


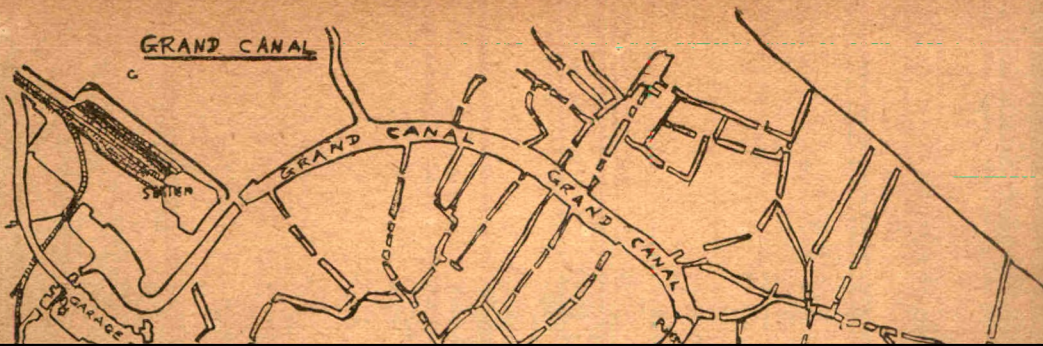


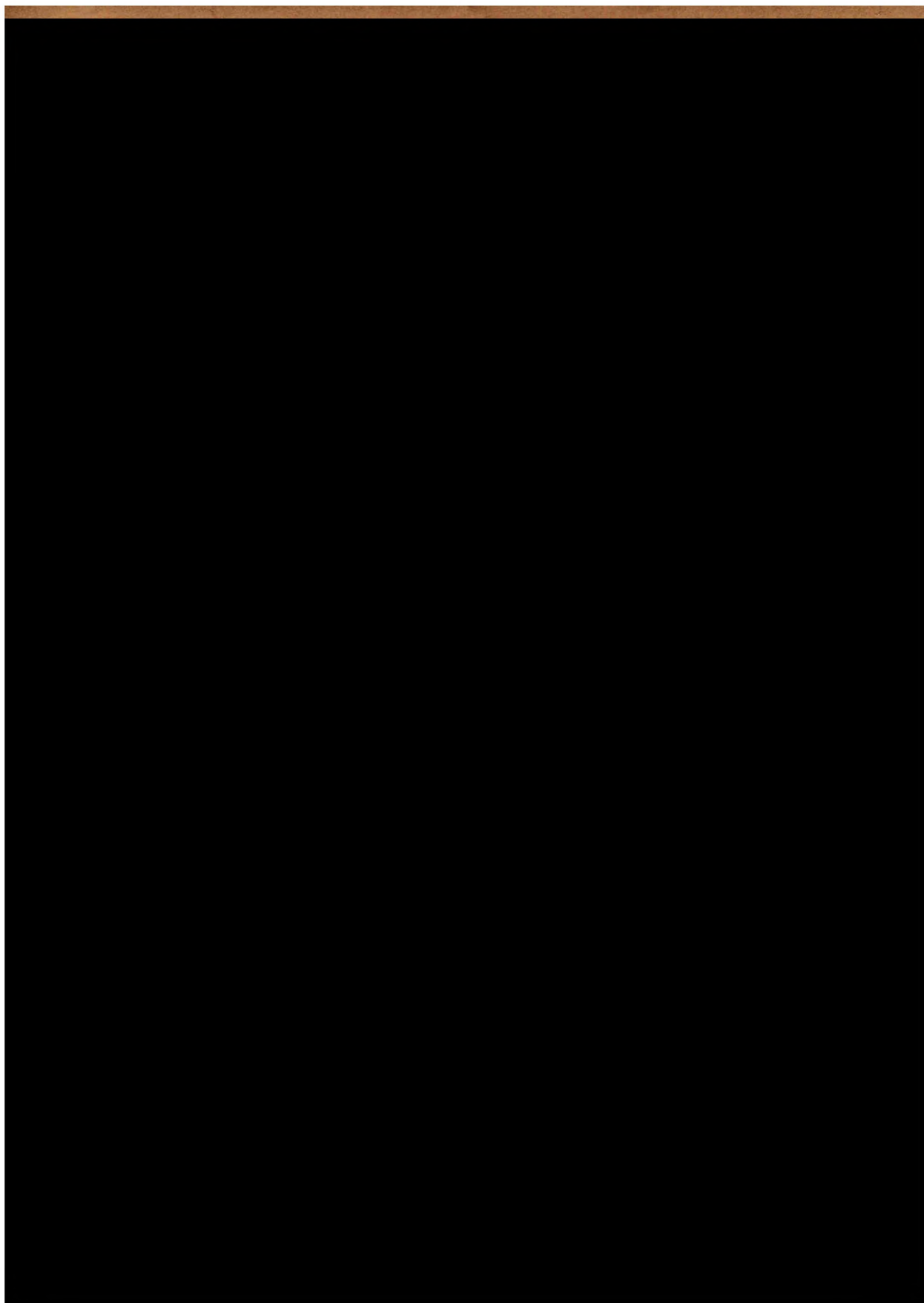


several occasions, the refugees from the when the people of the main land migrated mainland took shelter (as a temporary bodily to the biggest island, Rialto of the measure and started corporate existence Estuary, fortified it and bravely defened it in 466) in the more unapproachable terri- against attacks. The entire territory of tory of the Estuary, adjoining the lagoon the Venetian confederacy on the mainland, in the Adriatic, which were subject to up- the Venitia, was now dispossessed but the











his pupil to the peculiar anomaly in the electrocapillary curves and instigated him to study them more closely. Jaroslav Heyrovsky thus acquainted himself with the mercury drop electrode, by means of which he began to measure the surface tension of polarized mercury. When the tedious experiments lead to no result, J. Heyrovsky—at that time already an assistant of the chemical institute of Professor Bohuslav Brauner—tried instead of weighing the mercury drops, to measure the current passing through the solution. This experiment disclosed the excellent properties of the mercury drop electrode for electrolysis.

In the year 1920 J. Heyrovsky after submitting his habilitation thesis on aluminates became a docent of physical chemistry which was then founded as a new branch of science at Charles University.

At that time he also submitted a doctor's thesis in Great Britain and in the year 1921 he obtained the degree of D.Sc. at London University. Then he concentrated on a new discovery—electrolysis by means of a mercury drop electrode. The first article about this significant method was published in the year 1922 in the magazine *Chemické listy*. The international scientific world was informed about this method in the year 1923, when Heyrovsky for the first time read a lecture before an international assembly about the results of his work at a session of the Faraday Society in London.

An important milestone in the development of the new method was the year 1924. At that time J. Heyrovsky with his Japanese pupil Masuzo Shikata designed an apparatus for the automatic registration of the curves of the intensity of the current in dependence on the potential, which they called "polarograph." The whole process of the registration of the graph was thus shortened from hours to minutes. This soon meant an increase in the number of works devoted to this method.

In the year 1922 Jaroslav Heyrovsky was named Associate Professor and in the year 1926 Professor of physical chemistry and Director of the physical chemistry

institute of Charles University in Prague. In the year 1926 he obtained a Rockefeller scholarship and worked six months in Paris at the Sorbonne with Professor G. Urbain, where he compared the polarographic method with the spectroscopic method.

Led by the desire to make the valuable works of the Czechoslovak chemists known in the world's chemical literature, Professor Emil Votocek and Jaroslav Heyrovsky founded the Anglo-French magazine *Collection* which they edited jointly from the year 1928—with the exception of the war years—until the year 1947, when it was taken over by the Czechoslovak chemical society. In the year 1931 Jaroslav Heyrovsky together with docent Frantisek Behounek published a pioneering book in a new field of science *An Introduction to Radioactivity*.

In the Institute of Physical Chemistry the assistants and pupils of Professor Jaroslav Heyrovsky founded the Czech polarographic school, which worked out the theoretical and practical foundations of polarography. Persons interested in the polarographic method travelled to Prague from all parts of the world. Professor Jaroslav Heyrovsky through his lectures untiringly informed the scientific world about the polarographic method; in the year 1933 he spent six months in the United States of America, where he lectured at American Universities, in autumn he lectured at the Congress of physical chemists at Paris. In the year 1934 he read lectures in Moscow and Leningrad on the occasion of the commemoration of D. I. Mendelyev. The first Czech polarography textbook, which professor Jaroslav Heyrovsky wrote in the year 1932, was translated into Russian and published in Leningrad in the year 1937. For making polarography known all over the world, Heyrovsky's article in the compendium of Professor W. Bottger of Leipzig about the physical methods of analytical chemistry (published in the year 1936) was of great importance.

During the Second World War, after the closing of the Czech Universities, J. Heyrovsky was able to continue his work thanks to his friend, the German anti-fascist Professor





## EARTH-MOVING OPERATIONS IN INDIA



[REDACTED]

## EARTH-MOVING OPERATIONS IN INDIA

SINCE Independence, India has undertaken work of colossal magnitude, for conservation of water resources and many new projects, involving earth-moving and control of water resources of the country.

Of these, the major multi-purpose river valley projects, such as the D.V.C., Hirakud

## SOME ASPECTS OF STUDENT-INDISCIPLINE : CAUSES AND CURES

By A TEACHER

Indiscipline in schools, colleges, and universities is one of the more serious internal problems that confront our infant nation. Indiscipline among our student population which has alarmingly increased in post-independence years, is on the increase and must be eradicated. Many and varied are its manifestations. In one place a Vice-Chancellor is locked in his office and prevented from going home because he has not accepted the 'demands' of the students. In another, an agitation is launched against a teacher whose only known faults are that he does not belong to the region where he is employed and his insistence on the students behaving properly in the class room. In, yet a third, invigilators are threatened with violence or are actually assaulted because they would not allow certain candidate or candidates to take unfair means in the examination hall. The happenings in Calcutta, at the Annamalai University (Chidambharam), at Bareilly and at Bhopal not long ago, are clear indications that something is wrong, very wrong, indeed, somewhere in the educational life of the country.

Volumes have been written and spoken on the problem of student-indiscipline; but it remains as far from solution as ever. A few facts, however, need re-emphasising and the teachers' position in the modern set-up is not the least important among them.

Teaching is undoubtedly the least remunerative intellectual profession in India. It is among the lowest paid employments. We live in a materialistic world, which judges a man, first and foremost, by his bank balance and by what he earns. Everything else is of secondary importance. But a teacher is reminded in season and out of season that he is a missionary of culture and education and that suffering should be his badge. Almost everybody who is somebody or near-somebody misses no opportunity of reading homilies on "plain living and high thinking" to the teachers. These sermon-readers belong to a race of incorrigible ivory tower-dwellers, who stubbornly refuse to face

the stern realities of life. They ignore that plain living and high thinking are both at a discount in a society of extroverts that the modern society is. They miss the plain truth that teachers are normal human beings with all the virtues and vices of their contemporaries, but they too want to live with honour in society. But is not a teacher pitied, if not actually looked down upon, by all around him because of the smallness of his bank balance, if he is lucky enough to have one, and by the thinness of his pay packet? His scholarship, his character and the other qualities of head and heart that he may have are all ignored.

Teachers themselves are their worst enemies in not a few cases. Not a few of them compromise themselves and the whole fraternity of teachers by doing things which they should not. Acceptance of private tuition work is one of them. A very well-known and learned colleague of the present reviewer once described private tuition work as "the most perverted form of selling learning." It is, in fact, nothing short of intellectual prostitution. The moment it is known, that a teacher accepts private tuition work, he or she sinks in the estimation of all—students and others. To make matters worse, there are teachers who actually give more time and attention to the private tuition work than to the teaching work in the institutions which employ them. Instances of students being coaxed and cajoled and even coerced to employ tutors from amongst the teachers are by no means unknown. Such coaxing and coercion are not always without the knowledge of the heads of institutions concerned. Many teachers again run "private colleges" or teaching shops of their own, which are as plenty as blackberries in summer in many Northern Indian towns.

There are again teachers, who, lured by the twin temptations of cheap fame and easy money, write help-books and so-called text-books, which are not much better than help-books. These latter generally obtain the same

primatur of the powers that be. Two clever college teachers in one of the biggest Indian cities—one of them is a Doctor of the University of London—beat all their fellow-travellers hollow when a few years ago they started publishing help-books in the garb of a monthly magazine.

The excellent text-books written by teachers are not certainly meant. They are certainly a valuable contribution to the cause of education. Coming generations will cherish the memory of their authors with respect and gratitude.

Instances of teachers insisting on the use of their own works being used by their students are not unknown. There are others again who deliberately try to keep their own students in the dark about books written by others on subjects on which they themselves have written. The present writer knows a veteran Headmaster (now retired) who would actually penalise his students, who, when asked to write letters on a given subject would not reproduce verbatim the models given in his own treatise on letter-writing.

The following extract from the *Statesman* shows how degraded and degenerated some teachers are:

"Facts which would lead to the conclusion that teachers themselves are at least partly to blame for the growing indiscipline among students have now come to light. It is alleged that in certain local higher secondary and intermediate institutions the class teachers themselves incite their pupils to indulge in unfair practices and to threaten the supervisory staff if they are detected.

"It has also been reported that some teachers, either to make easy money or to maintain their position, even pass books to candidates in the examination hall. The result of this is that invigilators have to make the best of a bad job by remaining oblivious of what is going on before their very eyes or be prepared for a broken head."—(Report from the Agra correspondent published in the Delhi Edition of the *Statesman* in its issue of 4.1.58).

Many teachers unfortunately ignore the simple truth that if we want to be respected by others, we must first learn to respect ourselves. But many teachers are guilty of fawning on and

of hobnobbing with those more fortunately placed. They make no secret of their contempt for their own profession and comrades in profession. They thus demean themselves and the whole community of teachers in the eyes of those whose friendship (!) they seek.

Teachers are seldom given a fair deal by their employers. Their teaching capacity, intellectual calibre and scholarly attainments are rarely recognised. They are expected to be meek and submissive to the powers that be. Educational authorities, in other words, are allergic to freedom of thought and expression on the part of their employees. Criticism, however fair-minded, if unpalatable to the authorities, may bring and it often does, harassment, humiliation and even more serious consequences to the tactless critic. Many a brilliant youth, who enter the teaching profession every year are thoroughly disillusioned in a year or two. Not a few, particularly those in non-government institutions, leave for fresh fields and pastures new. Most of those who remain are disgruntled and suffer from a sense of frustration. The discontent and sense of frustration blunt the edge of their efficiency in most cases. Schools, colleges and universities are in consequence manned mostly by indifferent teachers at least. Such teachers, needless to say, cannot inspire the love and respect of the student population, which are, perhaps, the most vital factors in educational discipline.

A very dangerous phenomenon in the field of education in our times is the rise of teacher-politicians and the steady increase in their numbers. They very often pollute the educational atmosphere by interested propaganda, whispering campaigns, formation of cliques and coteries, shameless opportunism and the like. They are certainly among the "irresponsible or positively perverse teachers" who constitute an undesirable internal influence in educational institutions.

The cumulative effect of what has been said above—much more might have been said—has been a spirit of indiscipline among the students. It is fanned by outside influences, viz., "those of political leaders, usually of the less responsible kind and other agitators who (have) their own ends to secure by using the student body as their tools." (C. D. Deshmukh's Rajasthan University Convocation Ad-

dress, 1957). The surplus energy and enthusiasm of youth is being misused. Indian leaders in pre-independence days "used to canalise this enthusiasm to the struggle for freedom. Until 1947, students used to be inspired by the national leaders to fight for freedom. After the attainment of freedom our leaders could not inspire our students to participate in the national development plans. That is why instead of doing some constructive works, our students indulge in indiscipline." (Academic notes by Sheelabhadra in the *Hindusthan Standard*, 14.4.58).

Students, particularly at the college and university levels, are aware of the poverty of their teachers. They are not unaware how slavishly the latter have to toe the line of the powers that be. Students also know fully well the weaknesses of the average teacher. Unfortunately, few modern teachers have the qualities of the teachers of old, *viz.*, a spirit of dedication, integrity of character, wholehearted devotion to duty and the like. It must be admitted, however, that exceptions there are and like all exceptions they only prove the rule.

The results verge on the disastrous. Students have lost love and respect for their teachers. But the teacher-taught relation in general and the student's love and respect for his teachers in particular are among the most important factors in educational discipline.

The lack of the modern students' love and respect for his teacher has another equally important aspect, "The respectful acquireth knowledge" (*shraddhaban labhate jnanam*) is a wise and ancient saying. The learner must have respect—respect for the subject or subjects he wants to learn and the teacher or teachers as well thereof. But the modern student has little

or no respect for or faith in either. He knows that the education he receives has little or no practical value. The result has been a steady decline in educational standards all over the country attention to which was drawn by the Chairman of the University Grants Commission in his 1957 Convocation Address at the University of Delhi. Many other factors, it must be borne in mind, are responsible for the rapidly declining standards of education.

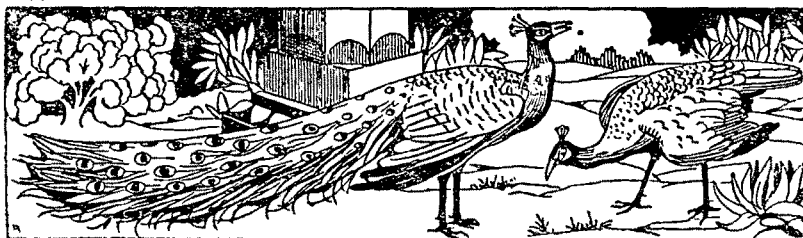
That the problem is a serious one, admits of no two opinions. What is the solution? The following suggestions might be well worth a consideration:

(1) Immediate steps must be taken to improve the teacher's position by giving him better conditions of service including increased emoluments and greater security of service. He must have an effective voice in formulating educational policies and in regulating academic life.

(2) Our educational policy must be re-orientated. Education must be related to the actual economic, political and social conditions prevailing in the country and must aim at improving these conditions. Education must not be purely theoretical. Theory and practice must be co-ordinated.

(3) The teacher must "turn the search-light inward." He must try to find out why he has forfeited the love and respect enjoyed by teachers in the past. He must take courage in both hands and remove his own defects and drawbacks. He must try to acquire those qualities which will raise him in others' estimate.

(4) Merit and merit alone should be the criterion of the recruitment of teachers at all levels. Educational authorities must firmly set their face against all personal, regional, political and sectarian considerations.



## A NOTE ON THE PROBLEM IN SLUM WELFARE

By KANTI PAKRASI AND SURAJ BANDYOPADHYAY,  
*Sociology Section, Indian Statistical Institute, Calcutta*

The metropolis of the States of West Bengal nourishes a striking multitude of slum (*bustee*) population which is estimated as 6,774 persons.<sup>1</sup> Slums of Calcutta (excluding Tollygunge) cover a space of 1,612 acres out of the total area of 19,697 acres and provide accommodation to more or less 4,000 *bustees*. With regard to the social planning of a Welfare State, improvement of the slums that are confined to the Greater Calcutta should necessarily have the priority. It has been stated that at least 1,000 of the *bustees* of Calcutta require immediate clearance.<sup>2</sup>

In this context the Calcutta Slum Clearance and Rehabilitation of Slum-dwellers Act<sup>3</sup> of 1958 deserves salutary commendation. This Act promises alternative housing for the present *bustee*-dwellers, improved, hygienic, and sanitary measures and makes provisions for compensation to the landlords of the slums. The magnitude of such an welfare programme for the *bustee*-dwellers is basically depending upon many socio-economic factors<sup>4</sup> that need adequate appraisal in the very interest of the goodness of the provisions of the said Act.

At the very outset, thus, it is essential to understand the social morphology of the incumbents and their social ecology, because these are the two important determinants that cohere in shaping the patterns of life and living of the slum-dwellers. Besides the question of time, space and fund that are the principal prerequisites in exercising successfully the underlying spirit of the West Bengal Act XX of 1958 to clear and/or improve slum areas of

Calcutta, it is required to understand immediately the possible sociological implications of the said Act in producing the desired results in the hitherto-existing set-up of *bustee*-life.

Since an exact evaluation of the social, economic and ecological situations in which the slum-dwellers have so far organised their inter-personal and inter-group relations, is fundamentally essential to formulate the right approach to the problem of slums, it may be asked if the Calcutta Slum Clearance Act<sup>4</sup> can be accepted as the right formula for integrating each group of *bustee*-inhabitants to the wider, 'advanced' group life of Calcutta. 'Welfare' and 'Development' seem, no doubt, to be the fruit-bearing base for such formula. But on scanning the contents of the Act, as it stands today, the scope of such 'Welfare' appears to be primarily linked up with the issue of the necessity for the improvement of the 'unhealthy and unhygienic' condition of the slums which is injurious to 'public health or to the health of the inhabitants of the area' concerned. The provisions of the said Act seem to have been built upon the sole motive for improving the injurious environmental setting of the community life of the slums and abolishing such 'plague spots' from within the heart of Calcutta. The emphasis is laid more, if not fully, on the clinical aspect of a planned 'hygienic' development of those quarters of Calcutta where the slums have, in the context of the historical growth of the City, concurrently developed. Such development envisages a total removal of the present population of the slums to the alternative dwellings situated in some non-*bustee* locality.

But 'Welfare' is fundamentally a problem of weaving some kind of social preferences out of individual preferences and with this very perspective the utility

1. Dhandhanian, K. L.—Calcutta Corporation Budget Estimate Speech: *The Calcutta Municipal Gazette*, March 21, 1959.

2. Govt. of West Bengal—*West Bengal Today*, P. 158, 1954.

3. Govt. of West Bengal—*The Calcutta Gazette*, (Extraordinary), December 30, 1958.

4. Dhandhanian, K. L.—*Supra*, 1959.

of the developmental measures as envisaged in the Slum Clearance Act should be viewed in integrating different patterns of living (as continuing in different environs of Calcutta). Sociologically it is required at first to know the ordering and character of individual's choices as well as inter-personal relations that have been so far evolved by the slum-dwellers in consequence of their many-sided *contacts* with the people living just outside the orbit of a slum. The objective bases of such orderings are the fruitful forms of symbiotic-interdependent life and livelihood within and without the *bustees*. These originate, on the other hand, from that sense of belonging-together which is based on personal and group rapport; they are nothing less than the manifestations of the responses to the social and economic needs of the life of each societal group that has contributed to the growth of the City. The responses can never be nurtured in one ecological setting and easily grafted in another without violently disrupting that social links which forge the dynamic equilibrium of the city life. Apathetic treatment of this important issue is likely to perpetuate foci of conflict and tension. It is precisely for this reason a careful assessment of the possible sources of conflict and tension is needed before implementing the *new* forms of social integration and cohesion as proposed in the said Act. It is needless to emphasise here that the provisions of the Act should be sensed as the forces of solidarity and security and *never* as the forces of cleavage. The standard of living-together is to be cultured and promoted in the interest of the everyday pattern of living amongst all sections of the City population.

Thus, in evaluating the import of the Slum Clearance Act of 1958, one is inclined to believe that something more vital is involved than the spirit of welfare to be translated in action by demolishing the existing slums and dispersing the dwellers from their 'homes' in some other alternative new accommodations. Provision of better housing facility and improvement of the unhygienic condition cannot necessa-

rily be the last word in 'welfare,' something more is indeed, involved and to explore this 'something more' a careful examination of the said Act from the sociological standpoints is obvious.

What has been attempted in this note in focusing on the sociological aspect of the problems of welfare meant for the slum-dwellers, should not be supposed as mere theoretical quibblings. On the contrary, we have had very recently the occasion to investigate case-histories of twenty-five families which were selected at random from among the inhabitants of a very big *bustee* situated in the Pottery Road-Convent Lane areas of Calcutta. It was with the particular reference to the proposed Slum Clearance Act and its possible concomitances, these case-histories were enumerated. And as such, on the basis of the concrete facts gathered from these case-histories, we are in a position to formulate our viewpoints about the *possible effects* that the implementation of the said Act is likely to engender in the socio-economic life and living of the *bustee*-people concerned. What has been discussed in this paper reflects truly the immediate experiences that have been drawn from the genealogical portrayals of the said case-histories of twenty-five families, the members of which are living in the *bustee* for generations together.

Let us now refer to certain aspects of the West Bengal Act XX of 1958 in pointing out the scope of misapprehension of some concepts with which the provisions have been ordained. In the first place, the definition of 'slum' as given in the sub-section (5) of Section 3, tends to be a loosely-knit formulation. In the context of the hitherto-existing structural pattern of the human habitations built in the slums, a more precise definition would have been better to standardize the concept of a 'slum.' Such difficulty in standardizing the physical notion of a slum had already been faced at the time of the survey of the slums of old Delhi.<sup>5</sup> In this case as no

5. Bharat Sevak Samaj—*The Slums of Old Delhi*, 1958.



precise definition of 'slum' could be decided upon, the meaning of slum that is given in the Oxford Dictionary, was primarily considered to concretize the notion of a bustee: "A street, alley, court, etc., situated in a crowded district of a town or city and inhabited by people of low income classes or by very poor; a number of these streets and courts forming a squalid and wretched character." Some more comprehensive definition, like the above, would have been more helpful in delimiting the *bustee*-areas in conformity with the real situation of the metropolitan ecology. All the more, such standardization is imperative in determining the locus of the 'slum-dwellers' within the social order of the City. Identification of the locus has its sociological import in the study of inter-and intra-group relations which enliven the social interaction continuously within the complex culture-patterns which are presented by the citizens of Calcutta.

Moreover, from the viewpoint of social harmony and cohesion, the immediate problem is this: how far the patterns and foundation of the *matrix* of inter-group bonds can be kept unimpaired under the operative impact of the said Act? If social equilibrium is to be assured and social tension is to be arrested, we need, no doubt, a true sociological evaluation of this matrix. Such evaluation would be immensely helpful to comprehend the manner in which social (group) choice is being governed by individual values. This realization would, on the other hand, help us in learning that "where the four wishes of (i) security, (ii) new experience, (iii) recognition and (iv) response are not realized there will be discontent, unrest, social disorganization" (R. E. Park) and eventually this means the onset of the worst form of social tension. Thus, what is wanted is linked up with the need for the precise definitions of a "slum area" and "slum-dwellers" so as to demarcate the same distinctly from the rest of the city and her ever-growing population. Social tension is also likely to precipitate under the circumstances and as such, the

cause for which such a situation may prevail, must be thoroughly searched out in the very interest of the welfare of the city as a whole. It is precisely here that a penetrative study of the social structures and the inter-group relations at different slum-areas of Calcutta can be seen in its role of a fruit-bearing *tool*.

The next important feature of the Act that evokes sociological interest is the question of "alternative accommodation as near as may be within a radius of one mile from the slum area" to the *bustee*-dwellers according to the sub-section (3) of section 6. It can pertinently be asked if necessary and sufficient land would be available within the "radius of one mile" from the slum area concerned for providing such "alternative accommodation" in the already over-crowded and congested areas of Calcutta. Accordingly, the Chairman of the Standing Finance Committee, Calcutta Corporation, was right to say that "Considering the magnitude of the problem, it would be idle to expect quick result in the implementation of the programme (of slum improvement). Difficulties are sure to arise with regard to the availability of land within the radius of one mile from the *bustee* to be improved for providing alternative accommodation to the dweller as required under the provisions of the Act. Large fund would also be needed. Some say that at this space 80 years would go by before the last slum dweller is rehabilitated. It is estimated that Rs. 400 crores would be required for compensation alone to the landlords, even on the reduced scale."<sup>6</sup>

Proposal for alternative accommodation to the evicted *bustee*-dwellers is, on the other hand, intrinsically linked up with another very vital aspect of individual and family life, *viz.*, the sources of livelihood and means of income for a family concerned. A shift in the present habitations of the slum-dwellers outside the limits of their neighbourhoods is prone to augment undesirable disorganization in the existing occupation-cum-economic activity set-

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6. Dhandhanian, K. L.—*Supra*, 1959.

up. Such disorganization shall obviously have its logical impact, in the long run, on the general socio-economic life of the individuals, families or households living in slums of Calcutta. The vital role of the residence in a given social environment is obvious, as it influences significantly "in creating or retarding employment and economic growth, in maintaining health and social stability and in preserving the values of a decent family" among any social group we may consider. The urgent need is, therefore, to give serious attention to the economic life of the people concerned, because welfare or the sense of well-being is to be viewed from the perspectives of (a) the material conditions falling to the lot of individuals, (b) the inter-personal relations that bear upon the problems of distribution of income and opportunities, (c) the economic make-up of a social group and (d) primary driving force accounting for the self-movement of the general economic activities of the social groups concerned.

Thus, in the proposal for an 'alternative' dwelling to the *bustee*-dwellers we cannot but take notice of the above four socio-economic factors in ensuring true welfare. Welfare of the slum inhabitants does signify something far bigger than the mere building of new houses. "It is intimately connected with occupations and work and the general economy of that place. It has to face ingrained habits and a lack of desire as well as a lack of training to use better accommodation."

To act upon the measures meant for slum clearance and rehabilitation of the slum-dwellers, one cannot afford to be blind to the objective reality of the *bustee*-dwellers' life and work as revolving in and around the slum areas of the city. It is, indeed, a problem to disperse them far away causing their uprooting from the work, occupation and mode of living that are congenial to the environment of their homes within the *bustees*. Patch-work remedies can never fit in with planning or with the solution of problems of economic organization of the *bustee*-people.

Now, if appropriate attention lags, it is

clear that to exercise the provisions of the Act in question, for providing improved, alternative accommodation and maintaining the general economic make-up, obvious difficulties are likely to cast spell in weakening the welfare-spirit of the Act. (1) Non-availability of the requisite land, (2) economic stress to pull the required large fund, (3) extraordinary time-consuming programme and (4) need for maintaining the existing occupational pattern as well as general economy of the people are but the most apparent problems that require immediately a very careful and calculated assessment in the interest of the social planning. This is, again, more essential to eradicate completely all possibilities of hasty, piece-meal attempts in the name of real welfare, to make immediate changes in the forms and contents of social and economic organization as well as psychological make-up of the slum-dwellers.

Without going into the details of the above issue, we would like to stress here on the organizational requirements of a correct sociological approach to the practical side of the problems in question. The importance of "home" in socio-economic life of any man or his family requires to be consciously understood. Social ecologists have already shown that "man must have a dwelling, it is also his wish. In the unchanging language of the human heart, 'home' means today a man's own house—his home" which has again metaphorically been presented as the "solid fragment man has torn from the frightening infinity of space; it is his shelter from the chaos which ever threatens to envelop him. It is his home to be shared only with his nearest and dearest." Should the provisions of the said Act be, at any rate, instrumental in causing rapid changes into that 'solid fragment' to bring ever-threatening 'chaos' in the general life of the human beings of the slums? Human approach to this contingency has, no doubt, the positive role to play in the circumstances.

Further, it is known that "the house of a man for which he really cares stands between houses, between neighbouring houses, between the houses of his neigh-

hours." Such neighbourhood-feeling is, indeed, the solid bed on which the inter-personal as well as inter-group bonds amongst the slum inhabitants, or for that matter between groups of any locality, have evolved to shape the hitherto-existing structures of the urban society of Calcutta. And, hence, man has developed certain values which he wants to cultivate in the course of neighbourly meetings, perhaps when one or the other steps out of the door of his house, or to the window of his house he greets others. In these neighbourly meetings of the fellow inhabitants in their place of stay their mutual greetings are accompanied by a friendly look, "a look in which curiosity, distrust, and routine have been silenced by reciprocal sympathy, the one makes the other feel that he approves his existence. This is the indispensable minimum of humanity. If the world of man is to be humane world, immediateness must prevail between man as well as between house and house." (Buber).<sup>7</sup>

Thus we may start from this basic postulate that the administration of the provisions of the Act should be such that

- a) the 'indispensable minimum of humanity' is never neglected and/or throttled, and
- b) 'immediateness' is not violently disrupted in the life and living of the *bustee*-dwellers. The sense of togetherness in the corporate living of the slum inhabitants is required to be strengthened, otherwise, there remains every danger of social disorganization coupled with tension. This in turn would precipitate apathetic interest, frustration, bitterness, mistrust, chaos among the people concerned only to defeat the very purpose of the welfare project embodied in the West Bengal Act XX of 1958. In visualizing such undesirable possibilities, we have, right from the beginning, been stressing on the urgent need of knowing the mechanism through which the

social choices are being accepted in terms of individual values in the society<sup>8</sup> in question.

What has been just stated constitutes the fundamental sociological problem that encompasses all the issues related to social planning and welfare. Once this mechanism in all its dimensions is understood, we are, no doubt, in a better position to proceed with any fruit-giving scheme meant for a social group of an urban society. The issue of improving *bustees* and the lots of slum-dwellers should be viewed as the integrated constituent of the societal problems of the country as a whole. In the wider context of the social setting and the societal problems of the State of West Bengal, the Calcutta Slum-Clearance and Rehabilitation of the Slum-dwellers Act of 1958, is to be given due weightage. The success of this Act in improving the slums of the City presupposes a series of pilot surveys of the real socio-economic situations that have been responsible for the growth and existence of the so-called slums of Calcutta. Such pilot surveys shall provide data, on the strength of which the sub-section (6) of section 6 of the said Act can very effectively be implemented to avoid confidently the possibility of any violent social tension and thereby to win the goal of the Act. In fine, we would like to be emphatic on this point that the authorities of the Calcutta Corporation and the State Government should endeavour in closest co-operation to uphold this sub-section (6) of section 6, because in doing so the slum-dwellers would really be benefited to the maximum extent. This sub-section (6) runs as follows: "The State Government may, instead of demolishing huts and other structures and erecting buildings, take measure to remodel the slum in such manner and subject to such conditions as may be prescribed."

7. Gutkind, E. A.—*Community and Development*, 1953.

8. Pakrasi, K. B.—"A Problem in Tribal Welfare": *The Calcutta Review*, (C.U.), August, 1954.

## ROBERT REDFIELD AND THE NEW ANTHROPOLOGY

By G. N. DAS

"I think the documents you are obtaining are very unusual and, properly presented, will be recognized as important by many anthropologists, West and East." So wrote Professor Robert Redfield in one of his last letters to me in connexion with my anthropological investigations in South India. I do not think my work deserved this appreciation, but it showed the deep interest which he took in my efforts and his firm belief that scientific research was a highly delicate and exacting task which could only flourish in an atmosphere of encouragement and deference.

One of the greatest anthropologists of modern times, Redfield was Robert Maynard Hutchins Distinguished Service Professor at the University of Chicago, where he had been teaching since 1927. He was the author of several valuable books and the recipient of the Huxley Memorial and the Viking Fund Medals which are considered to be some of the highest honours in the field of anthropology.

Originally, anthropology was concerned almost exclusively with primitive societies. "Today," says Redfield, "anthropology, especially American anthropology, studies just about everything human." It now deals more and more with large and heterogeneous societies and cultures. In recent years anthropologists have studied and are studying communities forming parts of civilizations, national states like Germany and Japan, national character like that of Russia, peasant and urban societies and the like. In the study of peasants in the Middle-East, China and India, "the investigator," writes Redfield, "sees a small society that is not an isolate, that is not complete in itself, that bears not only a side-by-side relation but also an up-and-down relation to more primitive tribal peoples, on the one hand, and to towns and cities, on the other." These developments have revolutionized the study of social anthropology and in this great transformation Professor Redfield played a leading part.

A few years ago, in collaboration with

Professor Milton Singer, Redfield started a programme of inter-cultural studies at the University of Chicago comprising seminars and publications for the scientific understanding of Asiatic civilizations. The first seminar on India was held in 1954 and dealt with the Indian village. Since then more seminars have been organized and they have shown, among other things, that "social change in India is both a movement toward an urban and cosmopolitan mode of life and also a revival and penetration downward of ancient Hindu elements of culture and religion."

In 1955, Professor and Mrs. Redfield came to India and took part in the All-India Conference of Anthropologists and Sociologists held in Madras. Speaking at the conference, he said:

"Of all the parts of the world that may be expected to be influential in the development of . . . our science, India surely is of first importance. Here, more than anywhere else, can the Western anthropologist hope to learn something about the inter-relations of primitive, peasant, and urbanized life. Here, above all other places, may the visitor seek to learn, from the Indian students, how to begin the fashioning of new tools of thought and field procedure that will enable social anthropology to become a study not only of primitive societies, but of civilizations."

In his view India affords unique opportunities for the study of the links between the great tradition of the "cultivated few" and the little tradition of the "unreflective many." Here "the structure of tradition is very complex indeed and provided with a great variety of specialists, often caste-organized, for communicating the greater traditions to the lesser. Milton Singer says that in Madras he found three major groups of specialists associated with the Sanskrit tradition: the priests supervising domestic and temple rites; reciters, singers and dancers who convey the popular Puranic culture; and Sanskrit pundits and

scholars who cultivate different branches of Sanskrit learning. Looked at in this way, the inter-action of great and little traditions can be regarded as a part of the social structure of the peasant community in its enlarged context."

It will interest social workers to know what Redfield thought of the concept of cultural relativism, according to which "the values expressed in any culture are to be both understood and themselves valued only according to the way the people who carry that culture see things." "Cultural relativism," he wrote, "is in for some difficult times. Anthropologists are likely to find the doctrine a hard one to maintain. . . . All the rules of objectivity I should maintain: the marshalling of evidence that may be confirmed by others, the persistent doubting and testing of all important descriptive formulations that I make, the humility before the facts, and the willingness to confess oneself wrong and begin over . . . But I think now that what I see men do, and understand as something that human beings do, is seen often with a valuing of it. I like or dislike as I go . . . Writing of Petalesharoo, the Pawnee Indian who in the face of the customs of his tribe rescued a woman prisoner about to be put to death ceremonially and strove to end human sacrifice among his people, I called him 'a hint of human goodness' . . . I regret that the Siriono in the Bolivian forest abandon their dying kinsmen without a word, while I come to understand the rigours of their life that make such conduct excusable. I am pleased that the Yagua in their big communal houses respect even a child's desire to be alone, and refrain from speaking to him when he turns

his face to the wall . . . I gloried in the rise of creative intelligence, as represented in systematic philosophic thought and in the world religions. I simply could not look neutrally at the ideas that move in history toward a more humane ideal and practice . . . I have placed myself squarely on the side of mankind, and have not shamed to wish mankind well."

On the conclusion of the Madras conference referred to above, Redfield and I had planned to work on a research project in the State of Orissa when he suddenly became ill and had to return to the United States for medical attention. His ailment was subsequently diagnosed to be lymphatic leukemia, to which he succumbed in Chicago on October the 16th, 1958, at the age of 60.

With his passing anthropology lost one of its distinguished votaries. It is yet too early to attempt a full assessment of his manifold contributions to the science of man. Perhaps, the final verdict on his work will be more or less in his own words: "It is the way of an inquiring mind, as contrasted with the way of the True Believer (as Eric Hoffer has recently described him)—that he is never sure of his success and always doubtful of his programme. He is only sure that freedom is both means and ends, that an inquiring and creative mind in any man is a good to enjoy and to defend. He knows that such minds have never been numerous and are always in danger. And knowing this, he does the little he can, praying only for a little room to turn around in, and a heart without bitterness."





# Book Reviews



Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But Reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

EDITOR, *The Modern Review*

## ENGLISH

**HINDU SOCIAL ORGANIZATION:** By Pandharinath H. Prabhu. Popular Book Depot, Bombay. Third ed. 1958. Pp. 387. Price Rs. 20.00.

This is a very thorough, scholarly and systematic work. As the author tells us at the beginning, it is "an attempt towards constructing a picture of Hindu social organization and institutions from the standpoint of their socio-psychological foundations," and to interpret in this process the Hindu scriptures and theories in their original perspective and setting. In making this investigation the author has drawn upon his wide and deep knowledge at first hand of the vast literature of Brahmanism on the subject as well as of the latest and most advanced works on social psychology. His exposition betrays throughout his power of keen analysis with that of illuminating synthesis. The plan of the work is exceptionally sound. After a short prologue (Ch. I) in which he indicates the uses of his study for our present purposes, the author passes to an excellent exposition of the fundamentals of the Hindu view of life (Ch. II). This leads in the following chapter to a general survey of the four *asramas*. The intensive study of the second *asrama* involves an exhaustive account of the Hindu system of education (Ch. IV) and that of the third *asrama* leads in a series of chapters (Chs. V-VII) to a full exposition of the institutions of marriage, family and the position of women. This is followed by an equally thorough exposition of the institution of the four *varnas* (Ch. VIII). In the Epilogue (Ch. IX) the author explains the value of the scientific study of the basic ideology of

Hindu social institutions as providing 'the first essential step for all who are interested in the progress of our society,' and he recapitulates the essential principles of *varna* and *asrama* organizations as "seeking to achieve social efficiency consistent with the physical, mental and moral well-being of the community and its members." An exhaustive bibliography and two indexes of names and subjects appropriately bring this work to a close. A short but appreciative Foreword is contributed by Dr. S. Radhakrishnan.

Without detracting from the high value of this work, we propose to make a few remarks. The study of the position of women (after the Brahmanical sources) would have been complete with some reference to the development of their proprietary rights in the later *Smritis*. What is more important, a study of social organization after the parallel Buddhist and Jaina sources would have helped to confirm at some points and modify in other respects the author's conclusions. We have detected a few slips, e.g., *Dharmasutras* identified with *Dharmasastras* (p. 9) and Dr. Radhakumud Mookerji mentioned (p. 372) as the author of the work *Democracies of the East*.

Altogether this work is bound to be of fundamental importance for all students of our traditional social institutions.

U. N. GHOSHAL

**HISTORY OF THE GAHADAVALA DYNASTY:** By Roma Niyogi. To be had of Firma K. L. Mukhopadhyay, 6/1A, Bancharam Akrur Lane, Calcutta-12. Demy 8vo. Full cloth. Pp. xvi+286. Price Rs. 15.00.

Dr. Roma Niyogi of the Bethune College, Calcutta, has published her thesis

entitled "History of the Gahadavala Dynasty." She appeared before me in the library of the Asiatic Society, when I was the General Secretary. I found her plunging into the research on the Gahadavalas with a rare zeal and thoroughness. In fact the unexpected presence of several Gahadavala copper-plates in the Society's collection encouraged her to make the first exhaustive analysis of almost all the epigraphic documents of that dynasty. The biggest inventory of the Gahadavala inscriptions was naturally in the historic museum at Lucknow where she worked patiently for a length of time. (Vide the complete list of inscriptions in Appendix B.)

The *provenance* of the inscriptions led the author to examine the geographical pattern of the Gahadavala regime, centred principally in the present Uttar Pradesh. The rulers of this dynasty maintained political and cultural relationship with the farflung provinces of India, mainly, however, with Behar and Bengal, whose epigraphic and literary documents would amplify the scope of the present work. Dr. Niyogi has traced relationship, even beyond Bengal and Utkala, as far as Chola and Andala. Has it anything to do with the parallel movement of the so-called Karnataka Senas into Bengal?

That brings us to the important findings of the author in the domain of Law and Administration. She has given a graphic account of structure and function of the state in the early mediaeval period when much of administrative history and *rajadharma* came to be incorporated into the *Nivandhas* like *Vira-mitrodaya* and other encyclopaedic compilations, Brahmanical, as well as Jaina. The town and village administration was well demarcated as shown by the author, who with equal clarity allocates the revenue and expenditure—budget of those days.

The social picture of the period is ably drawn with reference to various caste patterns and their economic implications. In this connection the author has given a lucid account of the religious faith and policy of the Gahadavala kings as well as the religious condition of the country in general. Alas, due to reasons known to everybody, the architectural glories of this period, in this area, were ruthlessly destroyed by the invaders. But when the "Stones of Varanasi" will be thoroughly

re-examined, many superb Hindu arts specimens will be found to decorate some early mosques of North India. This had already been found at Ajmere and Jaunpur which is in the very heart of the Gahadavala empire. Probably with more intensive research on the monuments and archives of Varanasi, this historic city and not Kanauj will be found to be the capital of the Gahadavalas, as the author has tried to demonstrate in Appendix A.

The book is the outcome of years of painstaking research for which we congratulate the author and recommend her book to the colleges and libraries of our Universities.

KALIDAS NAG

PATNA UNIVERSITY JOURNAL, VOL. X, 1956.

PATNA UNIVERSITY JOURNAL, VOL. XI, 1957.

PATNA UNIVERSITY JOURNAL, VOL. XII, 1958.

*Published by the Deputy Registrar, Patna University, Patna.*

The above journals issued by the Patna University maintain an admirably high standard of research. The papers bear mainly on economics, history and philosophy and cover a variety of topics, such as the (a) Origin of Caste; (b) Aurobindo's theory of Nationalism; (c) Prophet Muhammad's embassies; (d) Problems of Vocational Guidance and (e) Graphic representation of complementary goods on consumers' indifference curve.

In paper (a) Mr. N. Prasad has assembled a mass of facts on *caste*. He has discussed with clarity the various theories propounded by scholars like Senart, Sir Herbert Risley, Ibbetson Nesfield, and Dr. Mees on its Origin and concluded by constructing a theory in which class struggle is shown as having determined the social pattern of India. This generalisation is rather facile; for the theory has not been related to time and place. Dr. Tooth's dictum in his preface to Dr. Prabhu's masterly work on "*Hindu Social Organisation*" is of great significance.

"The career and progress, whether of an individual or of an institution to be empirically apprehended must be accepted as necessarily related to time and place; any claim to interpretation of any social or other phenomena, without any reference to these, must not be accepted as sufficiently valid in science."

Dr. V. P. Verma continues his discussion



of "*Aurobindo's Theory of Nationalism*," in Vols. X and XI. The author's approach to the subject, his treatment and elucidation of it, on the basis of the original writings of the great seer have appeal to the general reader and scholar. Prof. Askari has unearthed new material on the history of Bihar and on the Universality of Islam as propagated by Muhammad. Dr. G. P. Sinha, Dr. A. Sinha and P. H. Prasad in their contribution on aspects of economics, supply useful data, while Prof. H. M. Jha make a very lucid exposition of the abstruse technicalities of an important aspect (*avachchedakata*) of neo-logic.

N. B. Roy

**THE CHALLENGE OF OUR WATERSHEDS:** *Published by Soil Conservation Society of India, Hazaribagh, Behar, India. Pages 162. Price not mentioned.*

In this compilation the latest thinking on the various aspects of use of land and water in the development of watersheds, delivered in the form of lectures has been brought together. It gives the background of other technologies to specialists in any one field and presents in a short compass the basic principles of resource development for people engaged in the struggle for better living for human society.

The first article "The Challenge of Our Watersheds" is contributed by Mr. K. S. V. Raman, Chairman of the Behar Public Service Commission and Editor, *Journal of Soil and Water Conservation in India*. The contents have been classed into five sections, viz., (i) Watershed Behaviour and Development, (ii) Forests, Grasslands and Arable Lands in Watershed Management, (iii) Watershed Management Research, (iv) Project Planning and Operation and (v) Education and Participation of Local People and contains 4, 10, 7, 4 and 2 articles respectively. Among the contributors, Mr. John H. Wetzel, Mr. Herbert C. Storey, Mr. A. de Vajda, Mr. C. A. R. Bhadrin, Mr. Clark E. Holscher, Mr. P. M. Dabadghas, Dr. J. K. Basu, Dr. H. N. Mukherjee, Dr. John Blackmore, Mr. D. C. Kaith, Mr. P. R. Ahuja, Mr. R. A. de Rosayro, Mr. R. S. Singh and Mr. H. O. Seth have contributed one or more topics.

The papers were first presented at the Watershed Management centre conducted jointly by FAO of the United Nations and the Government of India at Hazaribagh in February and March 1957. This centre attracted

land and water technicians from nine countries of Asia and Australia.

This is a very important publication and will be useful to both practising technicians and students. The papers will stimulate an expanded attack on the watershed problems of Asia and the Far East.

**IPP INDUSTRIAL DIRECTORY 1958:** Published by Industry Printers and Publishers. F.N. 39, Teretta Bazar, 12, Lower Chitpur Road, Calcutta-1. Price Rs. 10.

This is the first annual publication of the Directory for men in business and industry. The general information section contains among other subject Indian Constitution, Postal Information, Commercial Laws, Companies Act, Patents Act, Income Tax Act, etc. The information are extremely short and should be suitably enlarged to benefit those for whom the Directory is meant. Things are better done in classified list of traders although some improvements are called for in the next edition. Presidential address and the section for the Personalities are too short for a directory of this nature.

As a first venture, we congratulate the editor and the publishers for bringing out a well-printed Directory at a moderate price.

A. B. DUTTA

**GEETA (The Celestial Song):** By Suvidh Chandra Ghose, of Rishikesh. Published by Lal Mohan Sinha, 4, Dr. T. N. Majumdar Street, Calcutta-26. Pp. 150. Price Rs. 2.50.

It is an excellent translation of the *Geeta* in English verse. Though there are very many English translations of this Sanskrit Poem, yet one more is always welcome. All the eighteen Cantos with seven hundred slokas have been almost literally rendered in English verse retaining a bit of the original fervour. Our *Geeta* was first named the Celestial Song perhaps by Edwin Arnold, the immortal author of the *Light Of Asia*. Perhaps Edwin Arnold is also the first translator of the *Geeta* into English verse.

The present rendering is however quite readable and authentic. Sri. S. Raghavakrishnan, the Vice-President of India has written about this book as follows: "I have looked through your translation. You have tried to bring out the spirit of the work." The English-knowing readers who wish to understand this sacred text or its textual import will find it very useful.

There is no introduction or even a short foreword at the outset. Now-a-days no book, devoid of these indispensable features, can attract the attention of the careful readers.

Swami Jagadiswarananda

**SHAW THE NOVELIST:** *By E. Nageswara Rao. Tribeni Publishers, Masulipatam, Madras. Price Rs. 2.50.*

Shaw the novelist has been eclipsed by Shaw the dramatist, and naturally so; because as literary creations his plays have far excelled his novels. Yet to the searching reader the study of his novels is not unprofitable; it will reveal to him the various aspects of Shaw's genius and help him to follow the growing maturity of his mind. "Many ideas of his plays have their roots in the novels." The author has carefully illustrated them. He has also given us a neat biography of Shaw and comprehensive discussion of each of his novels and short stories. The writer deserves thanks for his valuable effort.

D. N. Mookerjee

#### SANSKRIT

**SANGITAMUKTAVALI:** *Edited with notes and translation by Banambaracharya Sahityacharya Vidyabhushana. Published by the Utkal University. Price Rupee one and a half.*

We have here an edition of a little-known medieval Sanskrit text on Indian music, written by a princely author, Haricandana, son of King Gopinatha Bhanja of the Kanika Raj family of Orissa. The edition based on a single manuscript, originally written for the perusal of King Visvesvara Bhanja and now belonging to one Varshana Charan Pattanayaka, appears occasionally to suffer from the defect of corrupt readings. The edition is accompanied by an Oriya translation in Devanagari script and short notes here and there. A brief introduction in Sanskrit gives a summary of the contents and draws attention to the special features of the work. It is rather peculiar that a number of illustrations are culled here from Oriya literature and several types of folk dances are dealt with. A critical study of the work is expected to throw welcome light on the history of music in Orissa. It is one of the numerous specimens of the valuable contributions made by the province to Sanskrit literature. It is gratifying to note that organised efforts are being made by institutions like the Utkal

University, the Orissa State Museum and the Orissa Sahitya Akademy to bring them to light. The work under review is the first publication of the Utkal University in this line and we hope this will be followed by scientific and critical editions of other important texts.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

#### BENGALI

**NANDANTATWA:** *By Dr. Sudhir Kumar Nandi. Published by Prakash Mandira, 3, College Row, Calcutta. Price Rs. 5.*

The book under review is a treatise on aesthetics written in Bengali. Bengali literature has been reaping a bumper crop in almost all its branches. Novels, short stories, travels, criticism and poetry find a ready and colourful place in the rich granary of Bengali literature. But one must tell the truth of not finding much writing on pure aesthetics in recent times. Doyens of old days are not more active and as such a lamentable gap has been created in this particular field of writing. That is why this volume will be received cordially by the literary public of Bengal. The author deals with the principles of literary criticism and with the fundamental philosophical concepts involved in aesthetic evaluation. His writings prove a blend of philosophical austerity and literary grace. The author has a charming style of his own. That is where it differs from the so-called books on literary criticism. The author has given ample evidence of his rigorous training in philosophy and metaphysics while showing a good grasp of the latest trends in modern painting and literature.

The book presents thirteen essays. Some are devoted to the principles and basic concepts of aesthetics such as aesthetic universality, reality in art, essence of art, aesthetic detachment, utilitarianism in art and *vakrokti*, and others to the discussion of aesthetic theories propounded by such masterminds as Bharata, Hegel, Romain Rolland, Avanindranath and Rabindranath. The method of analysis as employed by the author ably brings out the good and bad of these aesthetic theories. The author though a Crocean effects a few amendments on Croce himself. For example, he does not agree with Croce where the master holds that the technique of externalization is foreign to the nature of intuition qua intuition. However, the book under review provides ample food for thought for those genuinely interested in the study of aesthetics in its pure and abstract nature.

Professor Humayun Kabir, Minister for Scientific Research and Cultural Affairs, in appreciation of the valuable work done by Dr. Nandi has contributed a foreword which greatly enhances the prestige of the volume under review. The publishers deserve a word of praise for the nice get up and good printing of the book.

SAILENDRAKRISHNA LAW

### HINDI

**DARASHIKOH:** *By Dr. Kalikaranjan Quanungo, with a Foreword by Dr. Rameshchandra Majumdar. Published by Gaya-prasad & Sons., Agra. 1958. Pp. 204. Price Rs. 8/-.*

This is a Hindi translation of the second edition (1953), of the well-known book by Dr. Quanungo who requires no introduction to the reading public. His scholarly mind was induced to take up the subject at the request of Sir Jadunath Sarkar, but his studies ended in placing

him on a line with Kabir, Akbar and Ram-mohan Ray, discovering the unity of India. The translation has been a distinct service to historical literature in Hindi.

P. R. SEN

### GUJARATI

**MHARI SHRESHT VARTA:** *Edited by Prof. M. M. Jhaveri. M.A. Published by Vora & Co., Bombay. Printed at the Lipika Press, Andheri. Illustrated. Thick Card Board. Pp. 268. Price Rs. 3-8-0. New Edition. 1952.*

A batch of seven stories, each selected by the writer himself as his best, are comprised in this collection with a learned Introduction by the Professor, an acknowledged author of repute. The selection is a delightful and varied one, as each story brings out some representative trait, emotion, sensation, feeling or sensitiveness of the human heart. Its suitability for passing a pleasant half hour cannot be gainsaid.

K. M. J.

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## The National Ideals of India

*Prabuddha Bharata* writes editorially:

A country with hundreds of millions of people, with almost inexhaustible resources of every sort bestowed on her by Nature in all bounty, was ruled by an alien power that had scant respect for the eternal values and traditions of this sacred land. The material wealth of the nation was mercilessly exploited, leaving behind poverty and pestilence, famine and death on an unprecedented scale. Foreigners coming to shake the pagoda tree made rapid fortune overnight and left the country impoverished and her people ill-fed and ill-clothed. 'The glory that was Ind' lost her lustre, and she lay prostrate before the military might of her alien master.

New values purely based on the material aspect of life began to appear on the board. New methods and aims of education were introduced, which were all geared up to aid and sustain the ruling power. New ways of living and new attitudes began to develop, considering old values and ideals to be anachronistic and out of tune with the mood and temper of the modern man and the spirit of the present age. Lacking the independence of judgement and freedom of choice, people rushed to clutch at the new hopes that were held before them. It appeared as if all trace of national pride was being blotted out from the heart of the nation. The children of the soil were becoming strangers and aliens in the land of their birth. There was no freedom of any sort left to the masses of people; they became just hewers of wood and drawers of water, obediently carrying out the dictates of their foreign masters. Thus India began to drift aimlessly, and entered a very gloomy chapter in her long history. In the long, unbroken stream of her spiritual life, in her age-long tradition and culture which had given her a peculiar characteristic all her own, a vacuum was thus created, offering a challenge to her very existence.

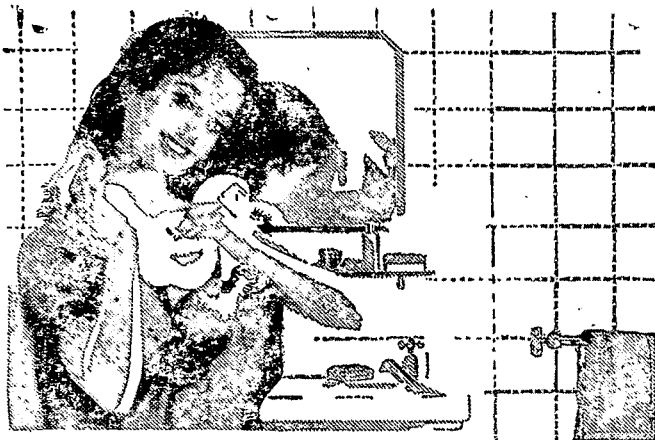
But nature abhors a vacuum. A remedy certainly comes to cure that which is unnatural and unhealthy. To the challenge that the nation encountered, the response rose from within the heart of the nation itself. It sprang up in the shape of a massive upsurge, and its

tidal waves rolled over the length and breadth of the whole country. Even from the beginnings of the nineteenth century, deep beneath the changes that were taking place on the surface could be heard the rumblings of a spiritual and cultural renaissance. A galaxy of sensitive minds and giant intellectuals, fully imbued with the spirit of India, appeared on the Indian scene and inaugurated a great renaissance which hardly had any parallel in her past history. In every department of our national life mighty giants arose, who were deeply rooted in the traditions of the past and yet modern enough to understand and assimilate the new trends of modern knowledge and scientific advancement. New movements were initiated which very soon enveloped the entire country. Fresh life was infused into every sphere of her being. A new awakening, as it were, dawned on the national mind of India, and the mighty leviathan rose to her feet again.

Naturally, the cry for political freedom came first and foremost. Without that first condition, no plan or programme could be launched to work for the progress and prosperity of the nation. Freedom is the first and indispensable condition for growth. This is as much true of the nation as of the individual. Man cannot attain a true and full development except in an atmosphere of freedom. So also a nation cannot grow to its full stature except in freedom. After a long struggle, India became free. With the dawn of independence, she has begun to assert herself, once again bringing her inherent and undying characteristics to the fore.

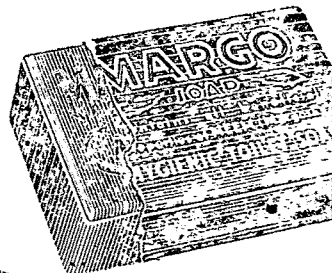
The saga of India's freedom struggle during the first half of this century, which was inspired by a number of self-sacrificing and spiritually great men and women, will go down as a most memorable chapter in her history. Political freedom has been achieved, and India has become the master of her own destiny to shape her future as she likes.

In the new India of today, when we are planning for the economic and social betterment of our fellow-countrymen, through the various five-year plans, community projects, and national extension services, it is the duty of those men who are at the helm of affairs to keep before them the time-honoured ideals of



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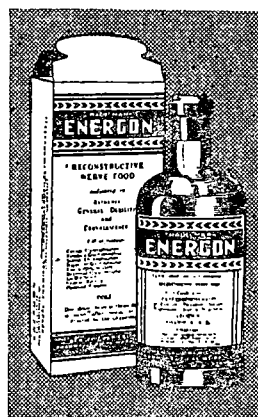
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the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata* as their guiding principles and spread them broadcast throughout the country, so that men and women, young and old, learned and illiterate may assimilate them and act according to those noble ideals. The Indian concepts of the dignity of man and the harmony of individual efforts and social relations are based on certain fundamental spiritual values, and the nation can be built only on the basis of these values and ideals.

In one of the most magnificent and memorable utterances, Swami Vivekananda, the patriot monk of modern India, reminds his compatriots of the unforgettable national ideals of India. Says he: 'Oh India! Forget not—that the ideal of thy womanhood is Sita, Savitri, Damayanti; forget not—that the God thou worshippesst is the great Ascetic of ascetics, the all renouncing Sankara, the Lord of Uma; forget not—that thy marriage, thy wealth, thy life are not for sense pleasure, are not for thy individual personal happiness; forget not—that thou art born as a sacrifice to the Mother's altar; forget not—that thy social order is but the reflex of infinite universal motherhood; forget not—that the lower classes, the ignorant, the poor, the illiterate, the cobbler, the sweeper are thy flesh and blood, thy brothers.'—(*The Complete Works of Swami Vivekananda*, Vol. IV, pp. 412-13).

### India's Foreign Policy in Relation to World Peace and Order

*National Christian Council Review* writes editorially:

There are three concepts that are to be clearly understood in Indian foreign policy. They are: (1) Non-alignment; (2) Co-existence; (3) Panch Sheel.

#### 1. NON-ALIGNMENT

India's foreign policy is based on the desire, expressed at the time of her attaining Independence, for friendship for all and enmity towards none. Non-alignment first took shape in the context of the Korean War, when India refused to align herself with either of the power blocs. Since then it has been developed as the positive policy of India's relation with the power blocs. This policy has been much misunderstood. Non-alignment is not a negative policy of ignoring power blocs. On the contrary, it takes power blocs as realities and seeks to establish a way of

relating our country positively to them which implies the reserving to ourselves freedom to judge all issues as they arise and to take sides on those issues without any prior commitment. This policy seeks as well to promote positive relations leading to better understanding between the power blocs themselves. It is natural, therefore, that India rejoices in the recent meeting of President Eisenhower and Prime Minister Khrushchev.

The latter objectives of non-alignment, namely, mutual understanding between power blocs and world peace, necessitate co-existence which constitutes another basic principle of our foreign policy.

#### 2. CO-EXISTENCE

This concept in the present political context had, however, a different origin historically. It was first enunciated by Stalin. India has all along sought to give a positive content to this idea of co-existence, (a) by her consistent opposition to war for any reason, (b) by treating co-existence as a first step towards a positive, purposeful and dynamic partnership among the nations, (c) by enlarging the area of peace by inviting other sovereign states to commit themselves to and abide by the five principles of Panch Sheel.

Co-existence has been implicitly recognised by a large number of nations as the only alternative to total destruction. It is noteworthy that the idea of co-existence has gained greater acceptance in recent times. India was able to make a special contribution of this idea in the shape of wide and consistent advocacy of it largely on account of the freedom from the inhibitions of alignment with power blocs. The fact should not be ignored that India's stand was considerably strengthened by the support and co-operation of similar uncommitted nations.

#### 3. PANCH SHEEL

Panch Sheel, which has been formulated more recently, has been enunciated as the philosophy of the principles of non-alignment and co-existence, and hence has become the third and the comprehensive principle of our foreign policy. The following are the five clauses of Panch Sheel:

- (a) Mutual respect for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty;



- (b) Non-aggression;
- (c) Non-interference in each other's internal affairs, for any reasons of an economic, political or ideological character;
- (d) Equality and mutual benefit; and
- (e) Peaceful co-existence. (Quoted from the Indo-Soviet communique).

These fundamental principles are permeated with the conviction that no nation has an exclusive claim to righteousness and that differing ideologies and systems can live side by side. Its corollaries are: (a) India's unequivocal stand on universal human rights, (b) her uncompromising stand on colonialism and self-determination for peoples everywhere, (c) her opposition to imperialism either of the East or of the West.

The foreign policy of India as comprehending the three basic concepts of non-alignment, co-existence and Panch Sheel, need assessment as a positive evaluation on the one hand and in terms of its limitations on the other.

#### *Positive Evaluation*

1. The foreign policy of India while in the early stages of non-alignment was a factor in reducing tensions in certain areas of conflict and in localising and resolving some outbreaks of war in recent history. The salutary effect of India's policy on the Korean and Indo-China wars are only two examples of her achievements in this respect. In the later stages of our foreign policy also we were able to play a somewhat similar role in helping to localise the outbreak of war in the Suez area, where there was no alignment and polarisation of power blocs.

2. It has helped to temper ideological and political passions in both the power blocs.

3. It has acted as a corrective to the ideological and moral crusading spirit in both the opposing camps of the Cold War.

4. It is truly consistent with India's newly-won freedom from foreign domination and the demands of national interest as a growing national power involved in certain unresolved disputes, e.g., Kashmir.

5. It strengthens the country's sense of dignity and integrity as a nation and her legitimate desire to be significant and effective in the counsel of nations.

6. It gives her freedom to express her national soul, which is characterised by the universalist world-view. India's free cultural exchanges with all the nations of the world illustrate this.

7. It has helped her to promote the cause of world peace out of her concern not only for the security of the nation and for the realisation of her national goal of rapid economic advancement but also for the security of mankind.

Having regard to the positive elements in our foreign policy, Christian citizens have no hesitation in giving wholehearted support to it. Nevertheless it is our duty to point out some serious limitations in the policy as it is in operation.

#### *Limitations*

1. One limitation of this policy is that our adherence to the three underlying principles of non-alignment, co-existence and Panch Sheel as though they were dogmas of political faith, might lead us to regard different ideological systems as equal in moral content. In contrast to the habit of some countries in the Western bloc, India refuses to divide the world sharply into the Communists and the 'free world,' equating them respectively with dictatorship and freedom and to judge all international issues on that basis. This refusal may appear to be consistent with the policy of non-alignment and of being realistic because the anti-Communist bloc is not made up entirely of free democratic nations. But it can make us minimise the dangers of Communism and lose sight of the values of democracy.

2. Moral principles are always fundamental in any political philosophy of international relations. But when they are followed with a sense of self-righteousness, we get into a position of moralism. Generally our leaders seem to be aware of this danger. But there has been a great deal of accretion of this element of moralism in the pronouncements and attitudes of some of the advocates of our foreign policy. Therefore it has been misunderstood as being based on an assumption of moral superiority on our part as a people. For the same reason, our policy has been criticised as lacking a sense of realism regarding the moral dilemmas of power. In fact, moralism has tended to conceal the inherent moral strength of our foreign policy.

3. An element of dogmatic rigidity

present in the policy of non-alignment has led to a failure to recognise the full realities of the different situations. So we tend to cling to it even in situations in which it has little relevancy. Only if all the principles of Panch Sheel are loyally adhered to by the nations concerned, can the policy of non-alignment be practised by any country. What is more, Panch Sheel requires a continually nurtured mutuality of goodwill and good faith. In our relations with China, for instance, the question has arisen as to what will happen to freedom and security, which were to be secured by a policy based on Panch Sheel, where the other party withdraws its goodwill and becomes aggressive. What alternative have we in such a critical situation? This is the dilemma our foreign policy has to face. Can world opinion and the influences of a progressive society and a healthy vigorous economy provide the necessary alternative to military power in the absence of goodwill in our neighbours? Possibly, our sympathetic leanings in foreign policy decisions have in recent years been with China and her friends and this has resulted in the loss of a certain amount of world opinion in our favour. Can we in these circumstances still deal with the Indo-Chinese situation on the lines of Panch Sheel?

4. The tendency to be dogmatic has marred to some extent the effectiveness of our foreign policy. Before our foreign policy assumed a dogmatic character, we were able to achieve some notable results in international negotiations for settling conflicts, e.g., Korea and Indo-China. And we need to ask ourselves why we have failed to be so effective in more recent conflicts like Hungary. Is it because we have become less able to deal with conflicts which are part of the struggle between the power blocs? We were no doubt effective in the Suez problem, but then, it was not a part of that struggle.

#### *The Prospect for Non-alignment*

We are convinced that a policy of true non-alignment, with its dynamic involvement in every relevant international issue, is alone the right policy for India to pursue. There is much in the contemporary world situation that encourages us to persist in this policy. The high level conversations that are now taking place on the basis of

the Khrushchev proposal for total disarmament, is a matter for particular satisfaction to us. Nevertheless we feel it necessary to caution ourselves that we should not pin our entire hope on their outcome. Mindful of the concrete realities of the world and the paradoxes of human sin in history, we should take care not to be swayed to extremes of optimism and pessimism. And although we should not belittle the frightening prospect of a nuclear war, we should not allow ourselves to be psychologically paralysed by it. India's expressed resolve to develop and use nuclear power for peaceful purposes only is of real symbolic value. In the same way, her continued protest against nuclear weapons tests have given strength to the movement for a total ban on such weapons.

#### *India and the U.N.*

Our wholehearted participation in the United Nations has been a factor strengthening that organisation, which also gives us a forum for wider expression of our policy of non-alignment. However, taking into consideration the present structure of the U.N., we must be warned against excessive expectations from the U.N. in settling all controversial problems and in bringing into being the universally-cherished idea of a world community and order, for we take note of the fact that on points at which U.N. decisions touch the self-interest and sover-

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ignty of nations, there has been a tendency to resist them. We ourselves are no exception to this tendency. The situation challenges us to realise the fact that international law and its enforcement through the U.N. are ultimate goals to which our foreign policy must be geared.

#### *The Moral Dilemma*

On a total appraisal of our foreign policy, we can conclude that there is here a passionate adherence to global peace. The desire for peace is very much reinforced by its sheer necessity for our national reconstruction. This explains our adherence to non-commitment and our vacillation in certain crucial international issues where human rights were involved. The anxiety for peace also indirectly involves our commitment to democratic freedom within the country which is sought to be preserved by the building up of a welfare state. Hence our objection to military pacts in our area, which objection is quite legitimate. These military pacts in our area seek to impose a universally

applicable solution to the threat to freedom without taking into account the special complexities of the problems in the under-developed countries. The western powers, who are the major partners in these military pacts, have erred in assuming that freedom could be maintained by the extension of the military frontiers. There has not been sufficient recognition on their part of the fact that the threat to freedom could also come from within as a consequence of unjust and reactionary social systems which resist the demand for rapid social and economic change. A contented and progressive society should be regarded as the first line of defence against the onslaught of communism in the South-East Asia region.

On the contrary, the extension of our opposition to military pacts in other areas, particularly Europe, where the above considerations are not equally relevant, tends to be blind and unrealistic. In either case, there has been a tendency to seek easy and simple solutions to complex dilemmas involving moral values.

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# FOREIGN PERIODICALS

## Mar Aba I

G.F.S. Grey writes in the *International Review of Missions*, July, 1959:

The first Christian missionaries did not, as is sometimes asserted, go out from Europe: rather, they came out to Europe from Asia. Even five hundred years later, Christianity was no more the religion of Europe than of Asia. Most parts of southern Europe and western Asia were at least in name Christian. Northern Europe and eastern Asia were still for the most part untouched by the Christian Faith. As there were Christian groups, the survivors of early missions, for example, in the western parts of the British Isles in the sixth century, so the Alexandrian Greek traveller, Cosmas Indicopleustes, in his journeyings through Asia about A.D. 525, found groups of Christians in south-west Arabia, south India, Ceylon, Burma and possibly further east.

Several bishops of Rome in the fifth and sixth centuries were men of great ability, and the influence of the see of Rome was accordingly growing. Similarly, most of Asian Christianity accepted the spiritual authority of the Bishop (Patriarch) of Seleucia-Ctesiphon. It is worthwhile to look at Mar Aba I, a Patriarch of the East in the sixth century, fifty years before Augustine came to Canterbury.

Aba came of a Zoroastrian priestly (that is, Magian) family, whose home was in the south-west of the present Iraq, and in his youth he was much attached to the Zoroastrian faith. He was well educated and attained the rank of 'Instructor of the Magi' (the precise significance of this is unknown) and had risen to the important position of secretary to the governor of one of the civil provinces.

Through whatever means he may have been first influenced to Christianity, he gave up his official career and soon afterwards was baptized.

He studied in the theological school at Nisibis, near the present frontier of Turkey and Syria. Even since the Roman Emperor Zeno, under 'Orthodox' influence, in 489 closed the school at Edessa, on the ground that it spread 'Nestorian' teaching, Nisibis had been the main theological centre of the Nestorian or Persian Church, and

continued so for several centuries. There Aba learnt Syriac, the language of the Eastern Church: later he studied at Edessa, where he learnt Greek. After a time, with a friend named Thomas, he went, as did a good many, on a visit to places in the Byzantine Empire: his chief motives apparently were to visit the Holy Places and to try to win back to the true faith a well-known church leader, Sergius, who had gone over to Monophysitism. The authorities at Nisibis did not, indeed, encourage such visits, no doubt fearing that their men might be led astray by teaching which they regarded as unsound: and it was a rule that no student at Nisibis should go there without his superiors' permission.

Aba and Thomas went to Palestine and then to Egypt, where Aba met the old traveller Cosmas and where he expounded the Scriptures in Greek, and on to Greece and Constantinople, where Thomas died. During his year at the Roman capital, Aba was admitted without question to Communion.

His learning and devotion became widely known: and when the Catholicos died in 540 (or 536), he was without his knowledge unanimously elected to the vacant office by the bishops, clergy and faithful, and approved by the King of Kings, Chosroes I Noshirwan. It was almost without precedent for the Persian Church thus to choose a head without intrigue or fraud, and without political interference. It says much for Aba's devotion that he accepted the office, though a convert and, as such, in a specially precarious position.

The Persian Church was in a very unsatisfactory condition, and sorely in need of reform. As was the custom, Aba held a synod very soon after his election, one serious problem being, as we have seen, schism and faction, with rival claimants to many sees and some bishops claiming to be independent of the Catholicos.

Largely through Aba's personal influence, order was quickly restored in Mesopotamia. Aba did not himself visit Segestan (the southern part of the present Afghanistan), but arranged that it should ecclesiastically be divided between two claimants.

Mar Aba was also confronted with the

problem of uncanonical marriages, within the prohibited degrees, which Christians had contracted, but to which Persian and Zoroastrian custom made no objection, and even praised: the Magians were, indeed, notorious in antiquity for their complete laxity in this respect. Some had married, or lived with, the wife of their father or of their uncle (brother of either father or mother), their aunt (sister of father or mother), their sister, daughter-in-law or step-daughter, daughter, wife's daughter, son's daughter, daughter's daughter, wife's grand-daughter, as the Magi; or their brother's wife, as the Jews: or an unbeliever, as the pagans: and Aba decreed that none of these things was to be done. Aba, however, did much to promote the celibate life and forbade bishops to be married. Aba also came into conflict with Zoroastrian customs when he forbade Christians to eat food over which the Magians had pronounced their sacred formulae or prayers.

Soon after his accession as Patriarch, Aba drew up a profession of faith. This was directed against both Nestorianism and Monophysitism.

In spite of the difficulties of the times, a number of new churches seem to have been founded during Aba's Patriarchate and under his influence. During the first five years, and spasmodically right up to 562, the Persian Church was persecuted. This was largely in consequence of war between Persia and the nominally Christian Roman Empire: as so often in the Persian Empire, Christians were thought to be a pro-Roman fifth column. And indeed more than one Roman Emperor was imprudent enough to champion Christians against their king, and so gave some ground for this idea. But many churches and still more monasteries were destroyed: only Christians who had themselves been converted from Zoroastrianism seem actually to have lost their lives.

Accusations were brought against the Patriarch by, among others, renegade Christians and the Zoroastrian clergy. Aba was charged with being himself an apostate and with converting Zoroastrians and also with judging suits among Christians, thus depriving the civil authorities of fees which they felt to be their perquisites: and in general with upsetting Persian customs. The king, Chosroes, was himself

no fanatic, and seems to have respected Aba personally, but he could not afford to offend the powerful Zoroastrian hierarchy. Despite pressure from the hierarchy, he took no steps for a time, but eventually Aba, and with him a number of other Persians of high standing who had become Christians, was arrested. The Patriarch was promised his freedom if he would stop receiving converts, if he would admit to Communion those who had been married by Zoroastrian law and allow church people to eat food offered in Zoroastrian sacrifices. Aba could only refuse, and was imprisoned in the care of Zoroastrian priests, who were not likely to treat him gently. The Christians, however, were a by no means negligible minority, and their attitude became so threatening when the Patriarch was imprisoned that he was exiled to Azerbaijan in the north, where there were no Christians. But church people, including some at least of the bishops, flocked to him even there to be blessed. In prison about seven years, he continued to administer the affairs of the Patriarchate and to ordain clergy.

After escaping assassination by a renegade whom he had excommunicated Aba fled secretly with one follower to Seleucia, where he presented himself before the king, declaring his readiness to die publicly, but not obscurely in the mountains at the hands of a renegade. Chosroes pardoned his escape and would have released him altogether but for his fear of infuriating the Magi.

It was a little after this incident that a delegation of Hepthalite Huns, traditional enemies of the Persian Empire, came to Seleucia-Ctesiphon, to ask the Patriarch to consecrate a bishop for them. Chosroes was greatly astonished and impressed at this evidence of the wide influence of the Church and its Patriarch.

In 551, one of the king's sons, who was a Christian, revolted. Many Christians were involved—indeed, it may have been primarily a revolt of Christians; and the Patriarch was suspected of complicity. The king threatened to blind him, throw him into a sand-pit and leave him to die. But no evidence at all was found against him. Aba wrote to the rebels, urging them to submit, and even visited them, and quelled the revolt. In consequence, he was released. But his years in prison had worn him out, and not long afterwards he fell ill and

died, on February 29th, 552. His disciples gave him deservedly the title of martyr. Hosroes is said to have refused a demand by the Zoroastrian priesthood that his body should be cast to the dogs. Aba's disciples buried him either in the monastery at Seleucia or, less probably, at Hira, his early home.

### Three-year Plan of the MPR

Here is a brief summary published by *Mongolia Today*, October, 1959, of the Three-Year Plan of the Mongolian People's Republic (1958-60) that was adopted at the third session of the Great National Hural (Parliament) in March, 1959:

Achieve substantial increase of rural economy production by scoring further advance in livestock-raising and steep rise in agriculture (land cultivation). Take necessary measures for consolidating the agricultural co-operatives economically and organisationally by further increasing their public property; by improving the organisation of production, stocktaking, planning; and also by encouraging, in every possible way, the setting up of agricultural co-operatives and expansion of activities in this field. Taking into consideration the fact that at the present stage of development of the rural economy machine and cattle-breeding stations are rendering enormous material and technical aid to the agricultural co-operatives, pay paramount attention to economic and organisational consolidation of these stations. Raise the technological progress in agriculture; application of new techniques on a large scale to rural economy and raise the labour productivity of the agricultural workers, paying particular attention towards the training of technical personnel for the state farms and the machine and cattle-breeding stations; take the necessary measures for the improvement of the standard of technical schools, educational centres and the courses for advanced training of various experts for rural economy.

Increase the livestock, Camels, Horses, Cattle, Sheep, Goats, etc., during the period by not less than 1,674 thousand heads and carry it to 25 million in the year 1960. To secure the tempo of comprehensive reproduction of herds, a steady increase of the proportion of breeding females in the herds must be attained. Increase considerably the yield

of young livestock from every 100 females. With a view of further extension and consolidation of the fodder reserves for the livestock raising, increase the harvesting of hay by 23.5 per cent covering all the branches of husbandry in the country, and increase the production of dry concentrated fodder. Construct tubewells of total depth of 9,500 to 10,000 metres in the Steppe and Gobi regions of the country for ensuring ample water supplies to pastures. Intensify the fight against various diseases of cattle in every possible way, and to this end extend the network of veterinary services and curing facilities and improve disease-prevention services on state farms and agricultural co-operatives. Increase the productivity of herd: expand the pedigree work on the basis of improving the local strains; raising of pure breeds on state farms; expand greatly the artificial insemination, improve the maintenance and care of the pedigree cattle and the cattle of improved strains; attain significant rise in the productivity of livestock on state farms in the year 1960, in particular, increase the wool yield of every cross-breed sheep to 2.5 kg. and milk yield of every cross-breed cow to 1,500 litres. In order to improve the management of livestock husbandry, set up a strict state control for securing the progressive realisation of planned specialisation in the livestock husbandry.

For meeting the needs of the country in home-produced flour, increase radically the sowing area of cereal crops. Bring the total sowing area of the MPR in 1960 under different agricultural operations to 257.2 thousand hectares; in state farms to 202.6 thousand hectares, and in agricultural co-operatives to 51.6 thousand hectares. Bring the sowing area under foodgrains in the year 1960 to 234.6 thousand hectares and increase gross output of foodgrains to 197.9 thousand tons. Raise the yield of cereal crops to an average minimum of 900 kg. for an hectare on state farms in the year 1960. Organise 4 new cereal crop state farms in 1959. For the efficient use of the sowing area and for increasing the harvest are envisaged: The completion of the first phase of the irrigation system at the Khar-Khorin state farm in 1959-60 on an area of 8,000 hectares. Improvement in the field work, particularly in the soil treatment before sowing, by applying latest agro-technical achievements. With a view to rais-

ing indigenous cereal and fodder crop seeds, specialisation for the same will be carried out on state farms of Tsagantolgo, Oron, Khar-Khorin and Barunturum. Intensive application of the organic and mineral fertilizers in farming. For further intensive mechanising of the agricultural operations, increase the fleet of agricultural machines by the end of the year 1960: tractors by 6.2 times as against 1957 figures and harvester-combines by 4 times on state farms.

Increase the overall industrial output of Coal, Electric energy, Oil, Bricks, Timber, Processing big hides, Processing small hides, Leather shoes, Yurt frames, Carts, Paper, Matches, Flour, Salt, etc., by 53.2 per cent at an annual rate of 15 per cent, the shares of state industry and co-operative industry to be 60 and 24.1 per cent respectively. Ensure the increase in productivity of labour of workers by 26 per cent in the industry as a whole and in the state-owned and co-operative industries by 27.8 and 17 per cent respectively. Ensure the reduction in the production costs by 5 per cent including 5.2 per cent in the state industry and 3.8 per cent in the co-operative one, serious attention to be paid towards the systematic improvement of the quality of the industrial products.

Increase the goods transport overall in the country by 20.3 per cent; by car 2.4 times and by railway 16.9 per cent. Increase the passenger transport overall by 23.4 per cent including the motor transport by 19.3 per cent.

Extend use of air services for passenger transport and increase it to 13.6 million passenger-kilometres in 1960. Take measures for the improvement of the road building industry and for further mechanisation of labour-consuming processes in it. Undertake the task of extending the capacity of Telephone Exchanges of Zag-Bayankhongor. Complete the construction of broadcasting centre in Ulan Bator and start the construction of the Radio Station in Bayanulgi aimak. Increase the capacity of Radio-junctions and expand their network. For the services for postal services, use air services for postal delivery and increase the number of post offices.

Make allotment in the national economy of the MPR during the period 1958-60, amounting to 1,300 million tugrik

approximately. Improve the work of building organisations and mechanisation of the labour-consuming processes in construction in order to raise the productivity of workers in these enterprises by 20 per cent during the Three-Year Plan; pay special attention to providing the building organisations with ample manpower; speed up the programme of construction of separate units; take measures for achieving a rhythmic pace of work and ending the seasonal drawbacks.

Increase the number of workers in the country by 10.4 per cent. Increase the wage fund of workers and employees by 12.9 per cent. Increase considerably the state grants for social maintenance and allowances to mothers of many children. Envisage the increase in the volume of retail trade turnover by 31.0 per cent; increase the turnover of public catering and improve its work. One of the major tasks for raising material and cultural standards of the people is extensive construction of houses. To this end build in 3 years houses with total area of not less than 228 thousand square metres. Strengthen the system of compulsory education for school-age children; ensure the transition towards obligatory 7-year education in cities and towns. Increase the contingent of students in general educational schools by 8.8 per cent and carrying the number to 103 thousand persons in 1960. Increase the number of students in specialised colleges by 54.0 per cent. Increase the number of students in higher educational institutions by 31.5 per cent. Expand the network of kindergartens by 50 per cent and increase the number of children attending them by more than 1.5 times. Take measures for increasing the number of cultural institutions: clubs, recreation centres, reading rooms, libraries, cinema houses, mobile movies and theatres. Ensure further expansion of the network of medical establishments; for this purpose: increase the number of special and general hospitals by 5 units, increasing the number of beds in them by more than 10 per cent; expand the number of medical centres by 14 per cent, increase the number of beds in them by 30 per cent, carrying out intensive activities for the improvement of the medical-prophylactic and sanitary measures; ensure further development of sport and physical culture.

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